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## ZENO OF ELEA'S ATTACKS ON PLURALITY.

In recent decades students of mathematics, philosophy, and the classics have again and again raised their voices<sup>1</sup> to vindicate the serious importance of Zeno's paradoxes of motion (*Vorsokr.*<sup>2</sup> 29 A 25-28 = Lee,<sup>3</sup> nos. 19-36), not even excluding the Stadium. No longer can the problem implied in the paradoxes be disposed of by simply pointing out that time and space are equally divisible. The question which is at the bottom of all four of them is far more profound. It concerns the fundamental structure of continua, and the cognate problem of the nature of the infinite and its relationship to the finite;<sup>4</sup> or, to quote Brochard:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bertrand Russell, *The Principles of Mathematics* (Cambridge, University Press, 1903), I, § 327-36; V. Brochard, *Études de philosophie ancienne et de philosophie moderne* (Paris, Alcan, 1912), pp. 3-22; A. Koyré, "Bemerkungen zu den Zenonischen Paradoxen," *Jahrbuch für Philosophie und phänomenologische Forschung*, V (1922), pp. 603-28; H. Lanz, "Disintegration of Integrals," *The Personalist*, X (1929), pp. 248-55; H. Cherniss, *Aristotle's Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1935), pp. 154-61. (I have listed only writings which I have used. I am not equipped to follow up the mathematical aspect of the problems involved.)

<sup>2</sup> Hermann Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 5. Auflage herausgegeben von W. Kranz (Berlin, Weidmann, 1934-37). The chapter on Zeno is no. 29 in the fifth edition, no. 19 in the preceding editions. The fragments of Zeno will be quoted from *Vorsokr.* in the form "frag. B 4."

<sup>3</sup> H. D. P. Lee, *Zeno of Elea*, Text, Translation and Notes (Cambridge, University Press, 1936). The evidence is presented more extensively than in *Vorsokr.* and the commentary is very useful. Texts from Lee will be quoted in the form "Lee, no. 17."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. G. Calogero, *Studi sull' Eleatismo* (Rome, Tipografia del Senato, 1932), pp. 87-157. Calogero discusses all fragments and other evidence

"La question est de savoir comment . . . cette série de divisions, par définition inépuisable, peut être épuisée . . ." (p. 9). Furthermore, it has been shown that Aristotle, when criticizing the paradoxes, was not concerned conscientiously to adjust his objections to that which the historical Zeno had tried to prove, or rather disprove.<sup>5</sup> For Aristotle, Zeno's deductions were nothing but single items in the immense wealth of given material of which he could take advantage to clarify his own views. If it is thus established that Zeno's syllogisms must not necessarily be condemned as a futile play of dialectics<sup>6</sup> and that Aristotle's censure fails to do Zeno justice, a road seems to be open to a full rehabilitation and, perhaps, glorification. But one doubt remains. How adequately did the real Zeno actually deal with the problems he had in hand? And how sincere was he about them? These questions cannot, for obvious reasons, be conclusively answered for the four paradoxes of motion which have come down to us only in the form which Aristotle or his commentators<sup>7</sup> gave them. We have to look rather to the three or

with great acumen and tries accurately to determine Zeno's historical position. He especially stresses, and sometimes overemphasizes to the exclusion of other aspects, the antinomy of finite and infinite.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Calogero, p. 92, and especially Cherniss, p. 43, note 165.

<sup>6</sup> Zeno was called by Aristotle "inventor of dialectics" (*Vorsokr.* A 10). To explain what Aristotle meant it is sufficient to quote three authorities: 1) According to Simplicius (*Phys.*, p. 139, 5; cf. note 7 *infra*), every one of Zeno's arguments purported to prove *ὅτι τῷ πολλὰ εἶναι λέγοντι συμβαίνει τὰ ἐναντία λέγειν*.

2) According to Aristotle himself (*Rhet.* 1, 1355 a 33), dialectics and rhetoric are the only arts the business of which it is to forge contradictions (i.e. to derive contradictory conclusions from identical premises).

3) According to Plato (*Phaedrus* 261 d-e), finally, the technique of contrary contentions (*ἡ ἀντιλογική*) has a legitimate place in rhetoric, but "the Eleatic Palamedes" (= Zeno) was likewise proficient in the art of making *φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀκούουσι τὰ αὐτὰ ὅμοια καὶ οὐκ ὅμοια, καὶ ἐν καὶ πολλὰ μένοντά τε αὐτὰ καὶ φερόμενα*.

<sup>7</sup> The commentators will be quoted by page and line from the Berlin Academy edition: *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca edita consilio et auctoritate Academiae Literarum Regiae Borussiae* (Berlin, Reimer). Philoponus, in *Phys.*, first part, is in volume XVI, ed. Vitelli, 1887; Simplicius, in *Phys.*, first part, is in volume IX, ed. Diels, 1882; Simplicius, in *De Caelo*, is in volume VII, ed. Heiberg, 1894; and Themistius, in *Phys.*, is in volume V, part 2, ed. Schenkl, 1900.

- four<sup>8</sup> fragments preserved in their original wording (*Vorsokr.* B 1-4). Since they likewise deal with aspects of the identical problem, the problem of the continuum, they are likely to yield inferences of a more general nature. And it might prove worth while to determine, as accurately as can be done, precisely what Zeno said in his own words, and how he said it.

Turning now to the scanty remnants of Zeno's original book and putting the question as we did, we are met at once by a fragment which of itself illuminates the whole situation. The fragment reads:

Εἰ πολλὰ ἔστιν, ἀνάγκη τοσαῦτα εἶναι ὅσα ἐστί, καὶ οὔτε πλείονα αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐλάττωνα. Εἰ δὲ τοσαῦτά ἐστιν ὅσα ἐστί, πεπερασμένα ἂν εἴη. Εἰ πολλὰ ἔστιν, ἄπειρα τὰ ὄντα ἐστί. Ἀεὶ γὰρ ἕτερα μεταξύ τῶν ὄντων ἐστί, καὶ πάλιν ἐκείνων ἕτερα μεταξύ· καὶ οὕτως ἄπειρα τὰ ὄντα ἐστί (*Vorsokr.* B 3 = Lee, no. 11).

“If there are many things, they must necessarily be as many as they are, neither more nor less. And if they are as many as they are, they will be limited. If there are many things, the things that are are unlimited. For there are always other things between the things that are, and again other things between those, and thus the things that are are unlimited.”

One glance at the text is sufficient to make us realize that for “limited” and “unlimited” (*scil.* in number) we could almost substitute “exhausted” and “inexhaustible,” and at once the fragment reads like a translation back into Zeno's Greek of what we quoted above from Brochard. Brochard himself does not seem to have been aware of the coincidence. Like most writers, he had his eyes fixed on the four paradoxes of motion as reported by Aristotle and others, and gave the rest of the material hardly more than a transient thought.<sup>9</sup> By keen intuition and conjectural inference, the French scholar developed from the four paradoxes an idea which now appears to be manifestly in evidence in one of Zeno's authentic fragments. When he formulated his novel explanation, Brochard of course made it primarily apply to the four paradoxes. In our quotation, however, we indulged

<sup>8</sup> Calogero's attempt (pp. 93-4) to add a fifth fragment (= Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 562, 3-6) was refuted by K. von Fritz, *Gnomon*, XIV (1938), pp. 104-5.

<sup>9</sup> Brochard never mentions any of the original fragments specifically and makes only a general remark on the close relationship between the arguments against motion and those against plurality (p. 4).

in the trickery of suppressing some words and making Brochard's remark appear more general than it was actually meant to be.<sup>10</sup> We thus brought out in sharper relief the fundamental coincidences between conjecture and evidence and between one group of fragments and the other.<sup>11</sup> The experiment bears out, first, that Brochard's view was sound; second, that the paradoxes of motion are indeed closely related to the arguments against plurality; and, third, that Zeno, when he invented the four paradoxes, did not by mere accident hit on certain ideas which, under the benevolent interpretation of someone else, would yield profound implications. Zeno himself, in another paragraph of his book, did develop one such implication, and it is thus securely established that he was not merely juggling with the superficial aspects of a grave problem.

But we have allowed ourselves to use frag. B 3 for one particular purpose, without previously ascertaining its full and exact meaning. It contains an obscurity which we now must try to remove. Zeno's assertion that "there are always other things between the things that are" is rather startling, and, in the absence of any clue in the text, we have to guess what led the author to his contention. According to Zeller<sup>12</sup> and others, Zeno meant that two things can be two only if separated from one another and that to separate them something else must be between them. There is, as far as I can see, no evidence for this explanation, and it does not sound probable. Nowhere does Eleaticism deny that two things can be in direct contact.<sup>13</sup> Whenever Zeno speaks of plurality, he includes divisibility,<sup>14</sup> and by divisibility he does

<sup>10</sup> What Brochard actually wrote is this: "La question est de savoir comment, dans l'un et dans l'autre (*scil.* dans l'espace et dans le temps), cette série de divisions, par définition inépuisable, peut être épuisée, et il faut qu'elle le soit pour que le mouvement se produise." Cherniss formulates the problem in its broad generality: ". . . denying that continuity can be constructed of elements whether finite or infinite" (p. 161).

<sup>11</sup> For another remarkable coincidence of the same kind cf. *infra*, note 24.

<sup>12</sup> E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 6th ed. by W. Nestle (Leipzig, Reisland, 1919), I, 1, p. 752.

<sup>13</sup> The hypothetical assumption in frag. B 1 (to be treated in the second section of this paper) of corporeal surfaces can hardly be used to support Zeller's view.

<sup>14</sup> Calogero contends (p. 127) that Zeno did not consciously and ex-

- not mean physical separation alone but also the mental distinction between parts or regions within the continuous body of the object. There is literally no room for the insertion of a partition to segregate one definite region from another contiguous region, and much less is there any reason to posit an intervening third thing to distinguish two things from one another.<sup>15</sup> *Res rem finire videtur* (Lucretius, I, 998).

In order to explain the second part of the fragment, there seems to be left only the alternative of operating with things, or parts, of indefinite magnitude. If we assume plurality, i. e. divisibility of any unit, some part of it is here and some other part is there. But even if Here and There are very close together, nothing can prevent us from making the Something here and the Something there small enough to allow for a third thing to be squeezed in between them. The operation can be repeated indefinitely without reaching a limit. The premise of plurality and divisibility does not admit the assumption of an ultimate indivisible unit, and strict logic does not allow a gradual transition from the very small to the unextended. For it is the nerve of many of Zeno's arguments that lack of magnitude must be radically distinguished from any magnitude, however small.<sup>16</sup>

PLICITLY make the presupposition of infinite divisibility in the abstract, though he admits that in the concrete Zeno reasoned in accordance with that principle. But Calogero's arguments in favor of his view are far from compelling, and it would be strange if Zeno were not aware of a principle which he applied so persistently and successfully.

<sup>15</sup> Parmenides discusses differentiation twice (*Vorsokr.* 28 B 8, 22-25 and 44-49). To prove his contention that Being is homogeneous and does not suffer internal differentiation, he argues both times on the same lines and states that, if there were any distinction between parts or regions, the parts would have to be either separated from one another by gaps or distinct by different degrees of being here and there. He does not require that a third thing should be there to keep two things apart. Zeno, in frag. B 1, speaks of possible distinction in terms of *ἕτερον πρὸς ἕτερον ἕσται*, which again shows that two things are enough to produce differentiation. As to the demarcation setting off a single object from others (*πέρασ, ἕπος*) it is in Greek philosophy conceived either as the beginning and end of the object itself or as the beginning and end of other contiguous objects (*τὸ περιέχον*); but not as an independent third object.

<sup>16</sup> For the explanation of Zeno, scholars often make use of the notion "infinitely small" (infinitesimal), a term, that is, which mediates between the contraries Extended and Unextended. The term easily lends

The idea of decreasing quantities, as we tentatively suggested it for the explanation of frag. B 3, recurs in Zeno's dichotomy, Achilles, and frag. B 1. The closest parallel, however, is to be found in Plato's *Parmenides*, in a dialogue, that is, which was meant by its author to elaborate and refine the methods of Zeno's dialectics and to supplement his achievements by working out the points he had failed to make.<sup>17</sup> In the second part of that dialogue, and in a passage which, as we shall see later, echoes one of the extant fragments of Zeno, Plato uses the following reasoning (165 a-b): If, in a given object, we mentally (*τῇ διανοίᾳ*) distinguish certain parts according to their position, and e. g. single out some indefinite mass (*ῥγκος*) as occupying the central position, then we can again single out, within the central part, a smaller quantity which is more central than it.<sup>18</sup> Plato afterwards makes it clear that the argument can be applied with devastating results to any part of any object: *θρύπτεσθαι δὴ οἶμαι κερματιζόμενον ἀνάγκη πᾶν τὸ ὄν, ὃ ἂν τις λάβῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ*. The procedure is exactly the same as we assumed it to be for Zeno, and it

itself to misuse: the infinitesimal can conveniently be considered either as a negligible quantity, i. e. no quantity at all, or as a unit which, though small in itself, can by multiplication yield any great quantity. B. Russell (see *supra*, note 1) has shown in § 333 that for the treatment of Zeno's paradoxes the infinitesimal is not admissible; and the material we possess yields no indication to justify the assumption that Zeno did admit the infinitesimal. (It is true that Lee, no. 2 operates with the infinitesimal, but Zeno's authorship for the argument, far from being certain, is based by our source on conjecture alone, and a very weak conjecture at that, cf. Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 140, 21-26.) Where Zeno hypothetically speaks of objects with no magnitude, he does not reach this stage by gradual decrease but by taking extension away in one mental act (cf. *infra*, p. 16). Lee, on p. 33, ascribes to Zeno the idea that "the element ultimately to be reached has the properties of a point." It is, however, precisely Zeno's contention that in a process of continued division no "ultimate" can ever be reached, cf. frag. B 1: *οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον ἔσχατον ἔσται*. To this extent I also take exception to Lee's remark (p. 31) on the fragment under discussion: "The second part of the fragment must again make nonsense unless it is understood that the 'things' in question are supposed to have the properties of points in a line."

<sup>17</sup> Cf. especially Plato, *Parmenides* 135 e-136 c.

<sup>18</sup> We simplify the Platonic context and omit what is unnecessary for the present purpose. A fuller quotation will be given in the second section of this paper.

is here explicitly stated that the quantities we distinguish are to be made smaller with each new step.

The main idea, then, of frag. B 3 is this. If we admit plurality and divisibility, all the parts together will make up the whole of the universe. In order to be complete, their number, whatever it is, must be finite.<sup>19</sup> Looking, however, the other way, not from the parts toward the whole but from the whole toward its parts, the summation proves never to be exhaustive and the number of parts is infinite.

The fragment is significant because here the problem of an infinitely divisible finite continuum is set forth in its simplest form. The quandary is not complicated by an interplay of two continua such as space and time. In conceiving his antinomy, Zeno certainly thought only of the spatial continuum (or, more precisely, the number of things coexisting in a finite space). But, as a matter of fact, not one alteration in the wording would be necessary to make it apply to any other continuum, e. g. time, or motion, or change in general.

The next fragment to be studied cannot claim any such sweeping generality of import. It commands our special interest, however, because it, like the famous four paradoxes, attacks the reality of motion. We possess two versions:

τὸ κινούμενον οὐτ' ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶ τόπῳ κινεῖται οὐτ' ἐν ᾧ μὴ ἐστὶ  
(*Vorsokr.*, frag. 4 = Lee, no. 17, from Diogenes Laertius).

"That which moves moves neither in the place (position) where it is nor where it is not."

τὸ κινούμενον ἥτοι ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶ τόπῳ κινεῖται ἢ ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἐστὶ. καὶ οὐτε ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶ τόπῳ κινεῖται οὐτε ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἐστὶν. οὐκ ἄρα τι κινεῖται  
(Lee, no. 18, from Epiphanius).

The second version is longer and complies with the rules and conventions of post-Aristotelian syllogisms. The first version has a better claim to authenticity and probably quotes Zeno's<sup>20</sup> actual words. In its greater conciseness, it makes the verb contradict

<sup>19</sup> Cf. e. g. Plato, *Parmenides* 144 e-145 a.

<sup>20</sup> Sextus Empiricus twice mentions a very similar syllogism and ascribes it not to Zeno but to Diodorus Cronus (*Pyrrh. Hypot.*, 3, 71 and, with one variation, *Adv. Phys.* 2, 87). The second quotation, however, is introduced by the remark οὗτός γε (*scil.* Diodorus) τὸν περιφορητικὸν συνερωτᾷ λόγον εἰς τὸ μὴ κινεῖσθαι τι, which indicates that Diodorus was not the originator of the argument.



its subject: τὸ κινούμενον οὐ κινεῖται, just as in the Arrow, according to Aristotle, Zeno had contended that ἡ οὐστὸς φερομένη ἔστηκεν.<sup>21</sup> The absurdity could not be brought out more forcefully and playfully. Zeno first allows the object to move, then he analyzes its motion and shows that, even if taking place, it does not take place.<sup>22</sup>

But what precisely did Zeno have in mind when he implied that, if motion were real, the moving object must either move in a place where it is or in a place where it is not? Certainly he had some reason for setting up the dilemma, the first horn of which hardly requires an explanation whereas the second stands very much in need of elucidation. Again we shall first suggest a possibility and then try to support it.

The human mind, when trying to give itself an accurate account of motion, finds itself confronted with two aspects of the

<sup>21</sup> In addition to the parallel of the Arrow, we have Plato's explicit statement that Zeno ridiculed both plurality and motion by the method of antinomy and contradiction (see *supra*, note 6), showing that "the same things are at rest and in motion," i. e. that an object, while in motion, is at rest.

<sup>22</sup> For this reason, of the two constructions of which Aristotle's account of the dichotomy is capable (cf. Lee, pp. 67 ff.), I reject the one adopted by the ancient commentators. They subdivide the first, not the second, half of the distance, so that the half-way points surge up immediately, close down on the object, and block it before it has had a chance to set out for its goal. The other construction is more dramatic and corresponds more closely to the Achilles. The runner is allowed at first safely to cover one stretch of the stadium track and to reach the half-way mark of the turning point; but on the home stretch, he is more and more entangled in the infinite number of subsequent half-way points. The closer he approaches the goal, the thicker they come up and, without actually stopping him, prevent him from finishing the race. The latter explanation is also recommended by a passage in Aristotle's *Topics* (8, 8, 160 b 7 = *Vorsokr.* A 25; missing in Lee): πολλοὺς γὰρ λόγους ἔχομεν ἐναντίους ταῖς δόξαις, καθάπερ Ζήνωνος ὅτι οὐκ ἐνδέχεται κινεῖσθαι οὐδὲ τὸ στάδιον διελθεῖν. The last remark can refer only to the dichotomy. It gives evidence that Zeno spoke of a runner in a stadium, and the expression διελθεῖν shows that the athlete had managed to get under way but could not complete the run. Furthermore, Aristotle's discussion turns on the completion of an infinite number of contacts; for this it is necessary that the motion be started. It is only on second thought that we are expected to apply the same reasoning to the first part of the distance and so to become aware of the fact that the motion could never have begun.

- phenomenon. Both are inevitable but at the same time they are mutually exclusive. Either we look at the continuous flow of motion; then it will be impossible for us to think of the object as being in any particular position. Or we think of the object as occupying any of the positions through which its course is leading it; and, while fixing our thought on that particular position, we cannot help fixing the object itself and putting it at rest for one short instant. In order somehow to coördinate the two aspects, we are forced to form a "cinematographic" <sup>23</sup> pattern. We single out a number of discrete positions which are very close together and think that the object now "is in" this position and then in the next, but in between it "is not in" any particular place but rather on its way from the one to the other definite position. Zeno, then, in fragment B 4 objects that the thing does not move if it "is in" a position, nor can it be thought to move in a place "in which it is not." <sup>24</sup>

The explanation we attempted rests on the idea that motion, if it exists, might be of a discontinuous character. The hypothesis of a cinematographic character of motion is by now generally acknowledged to be implied in the fourth of Zeno's paradoxes of motion, the Stadium. The first step for developing the pattern is to single out positions. All the four paradoxes take this step. From this point of view we consider the result rather than the process and think of motion in terms of one position given up in favor of another; or, in short, of an "exchange of position." This was precisely the form in which even Parmenides had contemplated motion. When contending that both motion and change exist in name alone, he speaks of both in terms of "exchange," using synonymous verbs for the one and the other:

<sup>23</sup> I borrow the term from Lee, p. 100. The cinematographic pattern operates with certain indivisible quanta of motion. The quandary between the assumptions of (a) elementary quanta and (b) infinite divisibility is well exemplified in the argument of the millet seed (*Vorsokr.* A 29 = Lee, nos. 37 and 38). A bushel of millet seed, when falling upon some object, makes a noise. Is this noise the sum of the sounds produced by (a) all the individual seeds or (b) all the single parts of all the individual seeds?

<sup>24</sup> Cf. B. Russell (note 1 *supra*) § 333: "a state of change . . . involves infinitesimals and the contradiction of a body's being where it is not." The quotation is taken from Russell's explanation of the Arrow paradox, but it happens in part to coincide, even to the very wording, with Zeno's fragment B 4. The coincidence is similar to the one discussed above, p. 3, and we can draw from it the same inferences.

καὶ τόπον ἀλλάσσειν διὰ τε χροᾶ φανὸν ἀμείβειν .

"To exchange the place and permute the shining color"  
(*Vorsokr.*, 28 B 8, 41).<sup>25</sup>

There was no special word for "position" in the language of Parmenides, and therefore he had to use the broader term *τόπος*, "place." No doubt Parmenides thought here only, or at least primarily, of two positions: the initial and the final. But with Zeno it is a favorite practice to transfer a mode of reasoning from the whole to any of its parts. Thus, in the fragment we are studying, the first of its two points is that an object cannot be thought to move *in* any of the positions *through* which it is supposed to move.

<sup>25</sup> It is worth while also to follow up for a moment the second half of the line quoted. At first sight, "exchange of the shining color," *scil.* for black, does not appear exactly parallel to "exchange of place." While "change of position" covers any motion, "white turning black," or vice versa, seems to be but one example for changes of condition. In Parmenides' world of appearance and change, however, shining color and invisible blackness are the qualities of its two components, and in 28 B 9, 2 Parmenides indicates that any possible quality is equivalent to either whiteness or blackness (cf. *Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1930, p. 175). With Parmenides, then, the terms White and Black, rightly understood, exhaust all qualities, and we can at will substitute for them e.g. Hot and Cold, or Alive and Dead. In addition, White and Black are adjectives, and thus Parmenides was able to point out in terms of "is" and "is not" the contradictions to which the idea of change leads. We may feel reasonably sure that he actually did elaborate all these points in his oral teaching. With disciples like Zeno he would certainly discuss his doctrine in much greater detail than he cared to do in his one comprehensive book, in which he concisely summarized his grandiose system with archaic reserve and discretion. After Parmenides, we find Melissus mentioning "alive and dead, black and white, and all the rest which men think to be real" (*Vorsokr.* 30 B 8; the last words echo what Parmenides had written, in the passage under discussion, line 39: ὅσσα βροτοὶ κατέθεντο πεποιθότες εἶναι ἀληθῆ). Empedocles and others declared White and Black, the colors of the sun (cf. "the white sun" *Vorsokr.* 31 B 21, 3) and water, to be the basic colors (cf. Theophrastus, *De Sensibus*, 59). Anaxagoras spoke of colors only in terms of Black and White (Theophrastus, *loc. cit.*), and he commented on the phenomena of change by using the example of a change from white to black (*Vorsokr.* 59 B 10 and 21), from white snow to black water (*Vorsokr.* 59 A 97). Aristotle illustrates the phenomena of *ἐν τῇ ἀντιφάσει μεταβολῇ* by a change from non-white to white, and he does so in a passage which immediately follows upon his discussion of the

Before we come to the second point, it will be better to widen the topic. First, the difficulties resulting from the cinematographic pattern apply in exact correspondence to the two continua space and time. Whatever may be said about positions is also true, *mutatis mutandis*, for the instants in which they are occupied. Second, whatever can be stated with respect to motion is equally valid for any other change, if only for "position" we substitute the more generic notion "condition." We have seen that even Parmenides treated motion and change on the same lines, and it is well known that in Greek philosophy the one term Motion often serves for any kind of change. These considerations allow us to take as identical corresponding problems of space or time or condition in general, such as they arise from an analysis of either motion or any other change; and we are now able to illustrate and support our interpretation of Zeno's fragment B 4 by a comparison with two cognate passages from Plato's *Parmenides*<sup>26</sup> and Aristotle's *Physics*.<sup>27</sup>

The cinematographic construction presents motion and change under a combination of two aspects, and it was our contention that the two points of Zeno's fragment B 4 refer to these two aspects. On the one hand, we fix and correlate definite positions in space, or conditions, and definite instants in time. Zeno's

Zenonian paradoxes of motion (*Physics* 6, 9, 240 a 20). This arrangement caused Aristotle's commentator Themistius (*Phys.*, p. 201, 8) to introduce the *κατὰ ἀντίφασιν μεταβολή* as "another argument, in addition to the preceding four (Zenonian paradoxes of motion)." No doubt the problem implied in color change is substantially identical with that of the four paradoxes; and, since we see both Parmenides and Aristotle discuss them in immediate succession, it is probable that even in Zeno's book a paradox of color change followed on the paradoxes of motion. Much as Anaxagoras did, Zeno might have insisted on the continuous succession of imperceptible transitions by which a black object can gradually turn white, Anaxagoras in order to prove infinite divisibility and Zeno in order to disprove it. In any case the material shows the continuity from Parmenides to Aristotle in the treatment of the problem of *ἐν ἀντιφάσει μεταβολή* (cf. also Plato, *Theaetetus* 182 d, etc.).

<sup>26</sup> Plato, *Parmenides* 156 c-d. The passage, which appears closely to parallel Zeno's ideas, not only occurs in the second part of the *Parmenides* but, moreover, is concerned with the problem of rest and motion. But Plato modifies the argument and, as he often does, transfers it, as it were, to a higher order. While Zeno simply dealt with the transitions implied in motion, Plato comments on the transition from rest to motion.

<sup>27</sup> *Physics* 6, 9, 240 a 19, see note 25 *supra*.

paradoxes expose the grave difficulties to which this aspect leads, and so does fragment B 4 in its first part. But even greater is our embarrassment when we try to give a rational account of the other aspect and scrutinize the assumed transitions (*μεταβολαί*) from each definite position or condition to the next. Plato justly remarks that the nature of this transition is extremely strange (*ἄτοπός τις φύσις*). While the object is going through it, it is not in any definite condition at all. Zeno, in the second part of B 4, makes the point for space, speaking of the object as, hypothetically, "moving in a place where it is not." Plato, in addition to pointing out the puzzling fact that an object should be in no condition, dwells on the temporal aspect of the problem. The time of transition is given by him the name "suddenly," and he says that it "is not in any one time," i. e. in any definite instant.<sup>28</sup> It will be noted that this "is not in" is an exact counterpart of Zeno's "in a place where it is not." There is in fact no way of locating the transition more accurately than by stating that it is "in between" (*ἐγκάθεται μεταξύ*, Plato) and on the way "from" something "to" something definite, but "not in" something definite. In this manner Aristotle says, with reference to change, that a thing, while changing "from" non-white "to" white, "is not in either one" (*ἐκ τοῦ μὴ λευκοῦ εἰς τὸ λευκὸν μεταβάλλει καὶ ἐν μηδετέρῳ ἐστίν*). The expression "is not *in* either non-white or white" is indeed unusual; normally one would say "it is neither non-white nor white."<sup>29</sup> But we now understand the wording as molded by the type of reasoning and its fixed tradition.

Thus our tentative explanation of Zeno's frag. B 4<sup>30</sup> gains additional probability. The same point which we assume to have been made in it by Zeno with reference to space was made again, in identical terms, with reference to time and condition by Plato

<sup>28</sup> Just as, for "position," Zeno had to use the term "place" or "space" (*τόπος*), so Plato, for "instant" uses the word "time" (*χρόνος*).

<sup>29</sup> As a matter of fact, Aristotle himself felt the need of explaining the unusual expression: he adds a translation, as it were, into normal phrasing.

<sup>30</sup> Calogero (p. 138) indicates, without elaborating upon it, a similar explanation: "La contraddizione del moto è appunto quella dell' essere in un luogo e del non esservi, e del superare così quella propria delimitazione spaziale che è insieme determinazione e immobilità temporale." This is, in a nutshell, a clear exposition of the complex quandary.

- and Aristotle respectively in passages which seem to be based on Zeno's <sup>31</sup> book.

At the stage we have now reached, it would be tempting to speculate on the actual meaning of the Arrow paradox. In frag. B 4 Zeno insisted on the difficulty of finding a position in which the object should move. In the Arrow he seems to have made a similar point with reference to both space and time. But here his argument appears to have been more subtle and circumstantial. Zeno might have pointed out that the arrow, whether at rest or in motion, must occupy an equal space at every moment,<sup>32</sup> and, since it even while in flight cannot at any time reach beyond its own length, it must during the whole time occupy an equal, and consequently the same, stretch in space; i. e. it must be at rest.<sup>33</sup> The evidence, however, for the Arrow is not ample and dependable enough to justify an elaborate conjecture.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> See notes 26 and 25 *supra*.

<sup>32</sup> The choice of an arrow, instead of runners (as in the Dichotomy or Achilles) or masses (as in the Stadium) indicates that this time Zeno based his reasoning not on the number of points to be reached nor on the distances to be covered nor on mass quanta but on the stretches of space which the arrow, by virtue of its own dimension in length, is occupying at different times. These stretches are said by Zeno to be equal, equal, that is, to one another rather than to the arrow. Of course, the latter is also true but *dei karà tò ἕσον* makes the point that the arrow occupies the same amount of space at any time and under any condition.

<sup>33</sup> If we strip the text of what obviously and admittedly was added by Aristotle (cf. Calogero, pp. 133 f.), the argument is reduced to the statement that the arrow, even while in flight, *dei èστι karà tò ἕσον*. From this Zeno could easily derive the conclusion that it is at rest all the time. For *dei* can mean both "at any given time" and "all the time." In this connection it may be recalled how Plato in his *Parmenides* (145-46) treats two similar propositions. He uses the premise, *τὸ ἐν ἐν αὐτῷ ἔστιν* (cf. *Parmenides, Vorsokr.* 28 B 8, 29 f.), for deducing that the One is at rest, and the premise, *τὸ ἐν ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἔστιν*, for concluding that it is in motion. The latter conclusion is reached with the aid of the ambiguities implied in the terms *ἕτερον* and *dei*. After stating that the One is in something else (= not within itself), Plato smuggles an *dei* into the sentence: *τὸ ἐν dei* (= all the time) *ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἔστιν*. Then he reinterprets the very same sentence so that it now says: The One is somewhere else in each moment, i. e. it is in motion. This exuberantly tricky play may have had some milder precedent in Zeno's Arrow. But even in this case it would be rash to assume that Zeno had failed to realize the actual gravity and importance of the argument.

<sup>34</sup> Aristotle's exposition of the Arrow is mutilated by textual cor-

One thing, however, is patent. All of Zeno's arguments against motion amount to demonstrating that motion is impossible because it cannot in any plausible way penetrate the continua of space, time, and mass. To analyze and justify motion, we must first of all differentiate within the continua. But if we do set up a multiple continuum and try to make motion operate in it, one of two things will happen. Either motion will be smothered and brought to a ridiculous standstill among the too numerous and too fanciful elements of the artificial medium; or motion will wreck the articulate continuum by splitting the units out of which we constructed it. The experiments drastically bear out the fact that a continuum does not yield to differentiation and plurality. It is homogeneous:

οὐδὲ διαίρετόν ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ πᾶν ἐστὶν ὁμοῖον . . .  
τῷ ξυνεχὲς πᾶν ἐστὶν.

So said Parmenides,<sup>35</sup> and Zeno follows suit.<sup>36</sup> Disproving motion, he disproves the thesis of plurality in one of its major applications.

The remaining fragments deal with plurality directly. Their exact position within the original book is not known,<sup>37</sup> but their mutual connection is obvious and the context from which they

ruption, and in addition it is quite possible that Aristotle misunderstood what Zeno had intended to say, just as he failed to see Zeno's point in the Stadium. The explanation offered by Simplicius is of no value for us. As his words clearly indicate, he did not use independent material but only tried to explain Aristotle's text which he read in the same corrupted form in which it has come down to us. While in each of the other paradoxes there is a certain geometrical construction to guide our interpretation, none is implied in the Arrow.

<sup>35</sup> *Vorsokr.* 28 B 8, 22-25.

<sup>36</sup> As the context shows, with *διαίρετός* Parmenides meant "capable of differentiation" rather than "divisible." We cannot differentiate between parts of the continuum because it is *ὁμοῖον*, i. e. homogeneous throughout. The opposite contention, therefore, the contention of plurality, has first of all to answer the question of homogeneity. Thus the very first proposition of Zeno's was, as we learn from Plato, *Parmenides* 127 e (= Lee, no. 12 = *Vorsokr.*, p. 251, n. 7): *Εἰ πολλά ἐστι τὰ ὄντα, δεῖ ἅρα αὐτὰ ὁμοιά τε εἶναι καὶ ἀνόμοια*. For the subsequent history of *διαίρεσις* (distinction and classification) and speculations on the *ὁμοιον* cf. J. Stenzel, *R.-E.*, III A, cols. 1641 ff., s. v. "Speusippos."

<sup>37</sup> We are told only that the fragments anteceded frag. B 3 ("The elements are both infinite and finite in number").

are taken can be reconstructed from the evidence we possess. For the sake of convenience, before studying the fragments in detail, we restate<sup>38</sup> the general outline of Zeno's arguments: "If there is plurality, these absurdities will follow:

- (a) The single units of which the One is composed will have no magnitude,
- (b) and, as a consequence, will be non-existent (= *Vorsokr.*, frag. B 2 = Lee, no. 9).
- (c) Thus, since the assumption is that they exist, they will have magnitude. This leads to the conclusion that their magnitude is unlimited (= *Vorsokr.*, frag. B 1 = Lee, no. 10, first part).
- (d) Thus, if we accept the thesis of plurality, it results that the units are both small so as to have no magnitude (= a) and great so as to be unlimited (= c)" (= *Vorsokr.*, frag. B 1 = Lee, no. 10, second part).

Of the four points (a-d), the evidence for (a) is Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 139, 18-19 (= *Vorsokr.*, p. 257, test. B 2): . . . προδείξας (scil. ὁ Ζήνων) ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔχει μέγεθος ἕκαστον τῶν πολλῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ταῦτόν εἶναι καὶ ἔν.<sup>39</sup> This means that, if the principle of plurality is accepted, the universe ultimately consists of single particles, each of them a unit. Within each unit no parts should be distinguishable, because the plurality of parts would be incompatible with the character of the whole as a single thing and a unit,<sup>40</sup> and the diversity of the parts from one another and the whole would nullify the identity of the thing with itself. Thus the elements to which we come in the last analysis must be indivisible; and yet our assumption was that plurality and divisibility are unlimited. It looks as if we were caught,<sup>41</sup> but there is a

<sup>38</sup> The order and connection of Zeno's arguments (though not the single points) were correctly rendered by E. Zeller, *op. cit.* (see note 12), I, 1, pp. 749-52. In the *Vorsokratiker*, however, point (b) has received the number B 2 and follows after (c + d) = B 1.

<sup>39</sup> For the reading see *infra*, note 46.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Melissus, *Vorsokr.* 30 B 9: Εἰ δὲ ἔχοι πάχος, ἔχοι ἂν μόρια, καὶ οὐκέτι ἐν εἴῃ, and Plato, *Parmenides* 137 c-d and 159 c 5: Οὐδὲ μὴν μόριά γο ἔχειν φαμέν τὸ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν. For Zeno himself see the next note.

<sup>41</sup> We can expect Zeno to have elaborated this quandary in one of his forty *ἐπιχειρήματα*, and in fact there is some evidence for it in certain of Aristotle's commentators. None of them, however, seems to have used



loophole. Divisibility applies only to things with extension. Thus we can have indivisible ultimate elements, if only we do not allow them to have magnitude.

So far for point (a). With reference to the whole series (a-d), the order in which the four points were made results with certainty from the intrinsic logic of the argument. But in addition there is Simplicius' testimony to confirm the arrangement. It

Zeno's book directly for his exposition of the argument, and thus the authenticity and fidelity of their renderings remain doubtful. The argument is reproduced, with more or less clarity, by the following authors (for the editions see note 7 *supra*):

1) Philoponus, *Phys.*, p. 80, 25 = Lee, no. 3: *Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐν εἴῃ τὸ ὄν καὶ ἀδιαίρετον ἀλλὰ διαιροῖτο εἰς πλείονα, οὐδὲν ἔσται κυρίως ἐν· εἰ γὰρ διαιροῖτο τὸ συνεχές, ἐπ' ἀπειρον ἂν εἴῃ διαιρετόν. Εἰ δὲ μὴδὲν ἔσται κυρίως ἐν, οὐδὲ πολλά, εἰ γὰρ τὰ πολλά ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ἐνάδων σύγκειται, etc.*

2) Themistius, *Phys.*, p. 12, 2 (quoted also by Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 139, 19) = Lee, no. 1: . . . *Ζήνωνος, ὃς ἐκ τοῦ συνεχές τε εἶναι καὶ ἀδιαίρετον, ἐν εἶναι τὸ ὄν κατεσκεύαζε, λέγων ὡς, εἰ διαιρεῖται, οὐδὲ ἔσται ἀκριβῶς ἐν διὰ τὴν ἐπ' ἀπειρον τομὴν τῶν σωμάτων. . .* In this form, however, the exposition defies any logic. It can be rewritten thus: *Ζήνων συνεχές τε εἶναι καὶ ἀδιαίρετον* (cf. Parmenides, *Vorsokr.* 28 B 8, 22 and 25) *καὶ ἐν τὸ ὄν κατεσκεύαζε, λέγων ὡς, εἰ διαιρεῖται, οὐδὲν ἔσται ἀκριβῶς ἐν διὰ τὴν ἐπ' ἀπειρον τομὴν τῶν σωμάτων.* For the last of the suggested changes, *οὐδὲν* instead of *οὐδὲ*, we have not only the parallels in the other versions but also some manuscript authority. The manuscript tradition on which the Aldine edition of Simplicius is based had apparently a marginal variant *οὐδὲν ἔσται ἀκριβῶς ἐν*, which, however, subsequently was misplaced. Not recognized as a variant, it now appears as an "interpolation" in Diels' note on line 17.

3) Alexander *apud* Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 138, 4 = Lee, no. 7: *Ζήνωνος . . . λέγοντος ὡς, εἰ μέγεθος ἔχει τὸ ὄν καὶ διαιροῖτο, πολλά τὸ ὄν καὶ οὐχ ἐν ἔτι ἔσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τούτου δεικνύντος ὅτι μὴδὲν τῶν ὄντων ἐστὶν ἐν (ἐστὶν ἐν scriptis: ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν libri).*

4) Alexander in turn referred to Eudemos, cf. Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 99, 12 = Lee, no. 6: *Ὁ μέντοι Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Ζήνωνος ὡς τὰ πολλά ἀναιροῦντος μεμνησθαι τὸν Εὐδήμον οἶεται. Ὡς γὰρ ἰστορεῖ, φησιν, Εὐδήμος, Ζήνων ὁ Παρμενίδου γνώριμος ἐπειράτο δεικνύναι ὅτι μὴ οἶόν τε τὰ ὄντα πολλά εἶναι, τῷ μὴδὲν εἶναι ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν, τὰ δὲ πολλά πλῆθος εἶναι ἐνάδων.*

The four versions are strictly parallel; thus it is easy to correct the slight mistakes committed by either scribes or doxographers. The point being made is that, if the principle of divisibility is once admitted, nothing will be immune from it and, consequently, there will be nothing in the whole world (*μὴδὲν τῶν ὄντων* or *μὴδὲν ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν*) which, strictly speaking (*κυρίως* or *ἀκριβῶς*), could be called a unit (*ἐν*). (In Plato's

• is true that the discussion of Simplicius suffers from confusion,<sup>42</sup> but the incidental remarks by which he indicates the original connection of single points are not affected by the cuts we might make to disentangle the disorder. Here is the evidence:

Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 141, 1 (= *Vorsokr.*, test. B 1 = Lee, no. 10): Προδείξας γὰρ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ ἔχοι μέγεθος τὸ ὄν, οὐδ' ἂν εἴη (= b), ἐπάγει· “Εἰ δὲ ἔστιν, etc.” (= c + d). The passage attests the order (b, c, d) and suggests that (c) followed directly on (b).<sup>43</sup>

Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 139, 16 (= *Vorsokr.*, test. B 2, p. 257): <sup>44</sup> ὅτι μέγεθος ἔχει ἕκαστον τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ἄπειρον,<sup>45</sup> τῷ πρὸ τοῦ λαμβανομένου αἰετὶ εἶναι διὰ τὴν ἐπ' ἄπειρον τομὴν (= c) · ὃ δὲ δεικνυσὶ προδείξας ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔχει μέγεθος ἕκαστον τῶν πολλῶν ἐκ τοῦ <sup>46</sup> αὐτῷ ταῦτόν εἶναι καὶ ἔν(= a). The evidence shows that in the original work point (a) preceded (c).

The following quotation outlines the general array of Zeno's arguments:

Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 139, 5 (= *Vorsokr.*, test. B 2 = Lee, no. 9): Ἐν μέντοι τῷ συγγράμματι αὐτοῦ, πολλὰ ἔχοντι ἐπιχειρήματα,<sup>47</sup> καθ' ἕκαστον δεικνυσὶν ὅτι τῷ πολλὰ εἶναι λέγοντι συμβαίνει τὰ ἐναντία λέγειν. Ὡν ἓν ἐστὶν ἐπιχείρημα ἐν ᾧ δεικνυσὶν ὅτι, εἰ πολλὰ ἔστι, καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ καὶ μικρά· μεγάλα μὲν ὥστε ἅπαιρα τὸ μέγεθος εἶναι, μικρὰ δὲ οὕτως ὥστε μηθὲν ἔχειν μέγεθος (= d). Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ δεικνυσὶν ὅτι, οὐ μήτε μέγεθος μήτε πάχος μήτε ὄγκος μηθείς ἐστὶν, οὐδ' ἂν εἴη τοῦτο.

*Parmenides* one of the tentative premises is *εἰ ἐν μὴ ἔστι*, 160 b.) But the principle of divisibility and plurality demands units of which the multiple may consist.

<sup>42</sup> E. g. the words *Καὶ ταῦτα οὐχὶ τὸ ἐν ἀναιρῶν δὲ Ζήνων λέγει ἀλλὰ* (p. 139, 16) have no connection either with what precedes or with what follows. They rather belong in line 22 (after *σωμάτων*). The sentence, p. 139, 16 (ἔστι)-19 (καὶ ἔν) = (a + c), duplicates lines 7-9 = (d) = (a + c). In his discussion of Zeno Simplicius seems with indifferent success to have combined several sources, inserted critical remarks of his own, and added verbatim quotations for which we may be especially grateful. I have, however, not attempted to analyze methodically the whole passage in Simplicius.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Calogero, p. 98, note 1.

<sup>44</sup> There is no connection with what precedes, cf. *supra*, note 42.

<sup>45</sup> ἄπειρον scripsi: ἀπειρων libri.

<sup>46</sup> ἐκ τοῦ huc transposui et propter sensum et collata priore sententiae parte: post μέγεθος exhibent libri.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *Vorsokr.* 29 A 15 (Proclus, in *Parm.*, p. 694, 23): πολλῶν δὲ εἰρημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ζήνωνος λόγων καὶ τετταράκοντα τῶν πάντων . . .

"Εἰ γὰρ ἄλλω ὄντι" φησὶ "προσγένοιτο, etc." (= b).<sup>48</sup> From this it follows that (b) and (d) were parts of the same ἐπιχείρημα. Simplicius first summarizes the whole ἐπιχείρημα and for this purpose he aptly quotes its comprehensive conclusion (d); next, he discusses the single point (b).

After clarifying the content of point (a) and the general outline of Zeno's exposition, we shall now enter on a detailed study of the second point (b). The evidence for this point is threefold:<sup>49</sup>

1) The passage from Simplicius which we have just quoted. Here Simplicius starts out with a paraphrase of Zeno's words (Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ δείκνυσιν ὅτι . . .) but later continues with a verbatim quotation (φησὶν).

2) The same Simplicius, in *Phys.*, p. 141, 1 (cf. *supra*, p. 17), renders the whole argument in one short sentence: Εἰ μὴ ἔχοι μέγεθος τὸ ὄν, οὐκ ἂν εἴη.

3) Aristotle says, in *Metaphysics* II, 4, 1001 b 7 (= *Vorsokr.*, A 21 = Lee, no. 4): Ἐτι εἰ ἀδιαίρετον αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν (= a)<sup>49</sup> κατὰ μὲν τὸ Ζήνωνος ἀξίωμα οὐθὲν ἂν εἴη. Ὁ γὰρ μήτε προστιθέμενον μήτε ἀφαιρούμενον ποιεῖ μείζον μῆδὲ ἔλαττον, οὗ φησιν τοῦτο εἶναι τῶν ὄντων.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Eudemus, frag. 7 (= Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 97, 15-16 = *Vorsokr.* A 21 = Lee, no. 5) quotes not from Zeno directly but from Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (our no. 3), cf. U. Schöbe, *Quaestiones Eudemeae* (Diss. Halle, 1931), p. 56. This makes his testimony useless for the reconstruction of Zeno's demonstration.

<sup>49</sup> Indivisibility is here meant to imply lack of extension; cf. Zeno's point (a) to which the conditional clause refers. The notion and term αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν, however, is not Zeno's but rather Platonic and Aristotelian. Zeno is not discussing αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν but a hypothetical tangible unit which is supposed to be the element of a world of plurality. Aristotle is pressing Zeno's argument into the service of a heterogeneous problem (cf. Cherniss, pp. 42 ff.), a procedure which leads to confusing incongruities.

<sup>50</sup> Next follows a comment by Aristotle on the premise under which Zeno's conclusion will hold: ὥς δὴλον ὅτι μεγέθους τοῦ ὄντος, καὶ εἰ μέγεθος, σωματικόν· τοῦτο γὰρ πάντῃ (πάντῃ ἐν libris: delevisi ἐν), τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πῶς μὲν προστιθέμενα ποιήσει μείζον πῶς δ' οὐδέν, ὅλον ἐπίπεδον καὶ γραμμὴ, στιγμὴ δὲ καὶ μονὰς οὐδαμῶς. Then Aristotle angrily censures Zeno: 'Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οὗτος θεωρεῖ φορτικῶς, etc. The criticism, however, seems to miss its mark in so far at least as it is directed not so much against what Zeno had tried to demonstrate but against the application, by Aristotle himself, of Zeno's reasoning to Aristotle's problem. And again Aristotle's

- . It will be noted that there is, from our point of view, a logical break in Aristotle's rendering of the syllogism. What he says amounts to this: "Zeno declares it to be *nothing*, and his reason for declaring it to be *non-existent* is . . . ." The rendering by Simplicius, which is more detailed, differs in this respect. Here the more radical proposition (non-existence) is made in the first instance: *ὅτι, οὐ μήτε μέγεθος μήτε πάχος μήτε ὄγκος μηθείς ἐστιν, οὐδ' ἂν εἴη τοῦτο*. Then follows, in Zeno's actual words, a demonstration for the startling proposition that whatever is unextended does not exist:

Εἰ γὰρ <sup>51</sup> ἄλλω ὄντι προσγένοιτο, οὐδέν ἂν μείζον ποιήσειεν. Μεγέθους γὰρ μηδενὸς ὄντος, προσγενομένου δέ, οὐδέν οἷόν τε εἰς μέγεθος ἐπιδούναι· καὶ οὕτως ἂν ἤδη τὸ προσγιγνόμενον οὐδέν εἴη. Εἰ δὲ ἀπογιγνόμενον <sup>52</sup> τὸ ἕτερον μηδὲν ἔλαττον ἔσται, <sup>53</sup> μηδὲ αὖ προσγιγνόμενον αὐξήσεται, δῆλον ὅτι τὸ προσγεγόμενον οὐδέν ἔν, οὐδὲ τὸ ἀπογεγόμενον (Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 139, 11-15 = *Vorsokr.* B 2 = Lee, no. 9).

The text reads smoothly enough. Only the phrase *μεγέθους οὐδενὸς ὄντος, προσγιγνόμενον* δὲ seems unnecessarily involved. A more serious objection, however, is the apparent lack of progress in the discussion. In the beginning the truism is proffered that a thing with no magnitude, when added to another thing, will not make it any greater; and the final conclusion seems to be that addition or subtraction of a thing without magnitude will not

next remark (lines 17-19) entirely coincides with Zeno's own intentions. In the intricate discussion the ground is shifted so frequently that it is hard to disentangle the logical structure.

<sup>51</sup> In the discussion above we took the *γὰρ* to be authentic, with the implication that in Zeno's original text fragment B 2 was preceded by the proposition that the hypothetical unextended unit is nothing (Aristotle) or that it is non-existent (Simplicius). The alternative is that Simplicius remolded the first words to suit his own context and that Zeno had written something like *Εἰ δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον, scil.* the unextended element as it results from (a). In the latter case, the statement that a thing without magnitude, thickness, or mass is non-existent followed our fragment B 2 and did not precede it (cf. *infra*, note 57). The explanation, however, of the text is not affected by our uncertainty with respect to the order and arrangement, and we cannot make a serious mistake if we simply follow Simplicius.

<sup>52</sup> It is hardly possible, in this text, to be dogmatic about the correct tenses for the participles; both present and aorist can equally well be justified.

<sup>53</sup> *ἔσται* Diels (?): *ἐστι* libri (no note in *Vorsokr.*).

result in increase or decrease. Can we lay our finger on any particular point within the fragment which marks a substantial turn in any definite direction?

The nerve of the demonstration is the statement which Zeno himself underscores by introducing it with *καὶ οὕτως ἤδη*. The sentence *τὸ προσγινόμενον οὐδέν ἐστιν* is equivocal; its ambiguity involves a transition from one meaning to the other, and thus the sentence carries the argument forward by a decisive step. On the one hand, *τὸ προσγινόμενον οὐδέν ἐστιν* "nothing is added" can be taken to mean *οὐ προσγίνεται οὐδέν* "no increase takes place"; the verb *προσγίνεται* is negated by virtue of its connection with the negative subject *οὐδέν* "nothing," and it refers to an increase in size. On the other hand, the same sentence *τὸ προσγινόμενον οὐδέν ἐστιν* "nothing is added" can also be read to mean "that which is added is nothing"; now the verb "is added" remains positive and refers not to increase but to one thing, viz. a nothing, joining the other. Thus Zeno reverses the ancient *οὔτις* trick by which once upon a time the wily Odysseus escaped the revenge of Polyphemus' friends and neighbors.<sup>54</sup>

But how did Zeno contrive to make his readers (which include ourselves) see that he was giving a curious twist to an innocent looking expression? The answer to this question removes the stylistic difficulty we mentioned. The phrase *μεγέθους δὲ μηδενὸς ὄντος, ἐπιγινόμενον δὲ* (i. e. *ἐπεὶ μεγέθους μὲν οὐδενὸς ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπιγινόμενον, ἐπιγίνεται δέ*)<sup>55</sup> was shaped as it is for just this purpose. The one simple statement is split into two parts, one containing the negation and the other free from it. Thus the reader was able, when he arrived at the ambiguous sentence, to divorce the negation from the verb and to gather from it that the unextended thing is nothing. Aristotle saw the point, since he quotes Zeno to this effect (*οὐθέν ἂν εἴη*).

It was, however, not enough for Zeno to demonstrate that the

<sup>54</sup> Homer, *Od.*, IX, 408 ff. We remember in this connection that Parmenides' entire doctrine is founded on the axiom: any negation deprives of reality the context in which it occurs. In this case, however, Homer is a truer Eleatic than Zeno. Homer's Cyclopes, on learning that "Nobody" is making an attempt on Polyphemus' life, infer that no attempt is being made; while Zeno, on finding that nothing is added, concludes that an addition is being made but the thing added is nothing.

<sup>55</sup> For this resolution of the absolute genitive cf. K. von Fritz and O. Becker in *Vorsokr.*, II, pp. 423-24.

- unextended is nothing. The ultimate conclusion of the argument was rather that the unextended does not exist. For both Aristotle and Simplicius say so,<sup>56</sup> and the first words of the subsequent fragment B 1 (Εἰ δὲ ἔστω) indicate that they once were directly preceded by a statement saying that the hypothetical element, if it had no magnitude, would not even exist in the first instance.

It is possible that such a statement was made by Zeno in a passage which is now lost, between the end of B 2 and the beginning of B 1.<sup>57</sup> The deficiency, however, can also be remedied, with small effort, by way of emendation. There are some good reasons, though none of them decisive, for changing, at the end of B 2, οὐδὲν ἦν to οὐδὲ ἦν. For the emphatic δῆλον ὅτι is more likely to have introduced the ultimate conclusion than another preliminary step; there is indeed little progress in the last sentence unless we make the change; Simplicius in his quotation would hardly have left out the final passage;<sup>58</sup> and lastly, τὸ προσγεγόμενον οὐδὲ ἦν, οὐδὲ τὸ ἀπογεγόμενον reads more smoothly than what the manuscripts give. After οὐδὲν, the οὐδὲ is illogical; we rather expect καὶ: "the thing added was nothing in the first instance, and so was the thing subtracted."

It is hardly necessary to inquire how Zeno might have connected the thesis of nothingness with that of non-existence. For us, there is a very great difference between the two assertions, but the Eleatics took it for granted that whatever is nothing is no thing and is not.<sup>59</sup> And we have already had occasion to remark (p. 19, *supra*) that Aristotle, when rendering Zeno's

<sup>56</sup> οὐ φησιν εἶναι τοῦτο τῶν ὄντων, Aristotle; οὐδ' ἂν εἴη, Simplicius in both passages.

<sup>57</sup> In connection with the alternative as mentioned in note 51 *supra*, we might e.g. have frag. B 2 begin with Εἰ δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄλλω ὄντι προσγένοιτο, and tentatively supply at the end of the fragment, from Simplicius, Οὕτως οὖν, οὐ μήτε μέγεθος μήτε πάχος μήτε ὄγκος μηθεὶς ἔστιν, οὐδ' ἂν εἴη τοῦτο. Next follows frag. B 1: Εἰ δὲ ἔστιν, ἀνάγκη ἕκαστον μέγεθος τι ἔχειν καὶ πάχος, etc.

<sup>58</sup> This reason, however, is void if the original arrangement was such as suggested in the preceding note.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Parmenides, *Vorsokr.* 28 B 6, 2: Μηδὲν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν, and Melissus, *Vorsokr.* 30 B 7, 7: Οὐκ ἂν οὖν εἴη τὸ μηδέν. Even for the Platonic Parmenides the predicates "is not" and "is nothing" seem to be interchangeable, since he says (145 e) Μηδαμοῦ ὂν (scil. τὸ ὄλον), οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη, where we expect him rather to say οὐκ ἂν εἴη.

point (b), treated the two contentions of nothingness and non-existence as equivalent. Zeno seems to have progressed from the former to the latter with the tacit implication of their identity.

We are now in a position to go over the fragment from beginning to end and see how the reasoning proceeds. Zeno states first that the unextended, when added to something else, will not make it any greater. He then proves this by pointing out that a thing with no magnitude is unable to contribute magnitude. The proof only confirms an obvious fact, but in its clever wording it serves an ulterior purpose, since it contains elements which are suited to help the intended progress in reasoning. First, the term "nothing" (or "none") is twice repeated (*μηδενός, οὐδέν*) and thus brought to the reader's special attention. Second, the possibility is suggested of divorcing the verb *ἐπιγίνεσθαι* from the negation (*supra*, p. 20). Third, the one and original meaning of the impending ambiguous phrase finds unequivocal and precise expression (*οὐδέν ὁλόν τε εἰς μέγεθος ἐπιδοῦναι*). Having thus prepared the ground for what will follow and having brought the reader into such a frame of mind that he will read both meanings into the ambiguous phrase when it comes, Zeno introduces that sentence with the triumphant words *καὶ οὕτως ἤδη*, i. e. "And thus, while consolidating our cautious first forward step, we have stumbled, as it were, into a new substantial advance." After this unexpected and ostensibly accidental turn of the reasoning, Zeno takes up again, with the last sentence, the methodical march of his demonstration. The eventual conclusion to be reached, on this line, was the non-existence of the unextended. We have seen that a statement to this effect was made either in the last sentence of our fragment or in an additional sentence which is now lost.

But, strangely enough, this is not all. Our analysis of the fragment was conducted under the impression that Zeno had introduced the idea of addition merely as a device to make his verbal trick possible; and we should consequently expect him to drop the subject as soon as it has served that purpose. Instead, Zeno mentions addition again in the final sentence; moreover, he now makes the same point for subtraction as well. The inevitable inference is that Zeno, in point (b), had more than one purpose. In addition to proving that the non-extended is non-existent, he had something else in mind.

The ultimate object of Zeno's attacks is plurality, i.e. the concept that the whole of our universe is made up of single elements, combining in various ways so as to build up the various things and separating again so as to destroy them. Zeno, on his way to the antinomy "the parts are both small and great" (d), had made the hypothetical assumption that in the presumptive plurality the elements have no magnitude (a). On this point, he makes a digression (b) which will prove to be far more important than the intended antinomy "both small and great." He points out that, by the addition of a thing with no magnitude, the other thing does not increase; nor does anything decrease if a thing with no magnitude be taken away from it. The implication is that nothing with magnitude can be created by any accumulation of such material; nor, conversely, could anything disintegrate through loss of such material. The demonstration is convincing even for us.

But we have not yet exhausted Zeno's point (b). We still have to ascertain the full bearing of the introductory words, as rendered by Simplicius (see *supra*, p. 17): ὅτι, οὐ μήτε μέγεθος μήτε πάχος μήτε ὄγκος μηθείς ἔστιν, οὐδ' ἂν εἴη τοῦτο. The wording<sup>60</sup> indicates that the criterion for having, or not having, magnitude is the possession or lack of thickness and mass, i.e. of the complete set of all three dimensions.<sup>61</sup> The unextended, therefore, will include, in addition to points, both lines and planes, and we shall have to think of planes in the first place.<sup>62</sup> Zeno then would primarily demonstrate that solids do not consist of planes. In order to prove this, he could point out that, if one should lay film upon film, none of them possessing thickness, then no number of them, however great, can produce a solid with "magnitude, thickness, and mass." In fact, however, Zeno starts with adding one plane to an existing tri-dimensional body, and later

<sup>60</sup> Μήτε μέγεθος μήτε πάχος μήτε ὄγκος μηθείς can, of course, be understood to mean: "no magnitude, viz. for that matter, no thickness or mass." Cf. μέγεθος τι καὶ πάχος in frag. B 1 with "defining" καί.

<sup>61</sup> This was also Aristotle's explanation, see *supra*, note 50.

<sup>62</sup> Zeno makes it clear that he is trying to demonstrate that lack of the third dimension (which entails lack of mass) implies non-existence. This he could not conclusively show unless he proved it for objects which lack nothing but mass and the third dimension, i.e. for planes. *A fortiori* it will then follow that lines and points are likewise non-existent.



he takes away a plane from a solid body.<sup>63</sup> The operations of adding and removing obviously take place at the surface of the solid, and this suggests that Zeno had a theory in mind according to which the constitutive elements of solids are their surfaces. The view that solids are formed by putting surfaces together in a certain way was actually held in antiquity. Plato's *Timaeus* is a very well known example.<sup>64</sup> Read in this light, Zeno's point is that by no manipulation<sup>65</sup> can a solid be produced out of planes, e. g. its surfaces, nor can it disintegrate through loss of planes. There is no hoist, as it were, to lift an object from the two-dimensional level to the three-dimensional. So far Zeno is right, and with a grain of salt we may even admit that, as long as we reckon with masses, any object below that level, any plane or line or point, is a nullity and non-entity.

As soon as we realize the implications which the text conveys, the tempo of Zeno's exposition appears rather brisk. The philosopher, while investigating the presumptive elements of a plural universe, had first, in point (a), concluded that they, in order to be indivisible, must of necessity lack extension (*scil.*

<sup>63</sup> The words *μείζον*, *ἐλαττον*, and *αὐξήσεται* indicate that the other partner in the addition and subtraction does possess magnitude, which makes it, according to the preceding tenet, possess all three dimensions.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Plato, *Timaeus* 53 c ff.; also Aristotle, *passim*, e. g. *De Caelo*, III, 1, 298 b 33: *Ἐὰν δὲ τινες οἱ καὶ πᾶν σῶμα γενητὸν ποιοῦσι, συντιθέντες καὶ διαλύοντες εἰς ἐπίπεδα καὶ ἐξ ἐπιπέδων*, probably referring to Plato. I am not familiar with the history of Greek mathematics but I feel that Zeno's fragment B 2 (in itself and even more so, as will be shown later, in connection with the subsequent fragment B 1) indicates a knowledge of the theory that solids can be derived from planes, viz. their surfaces. I do not contend, however, that Zeno is merely attacking one certain theory. While making his point in such a way that the informed reader will think of that theory in the first place, Zeno was careful to couch his arguments in such terms as to defeat any possible theory of a plural world (see *infra*, notes 84 and 92).

<sup>65</sup> Zeno, speaking of "mass," has no operations in mind other than addition and subtraction. His parts are building materials, not data for a mathematical construction. Plato, on the other hand, creates solid figures out of planes, arranging them about and within the recipient space (*χώρα*, cf. *Timaeus* 52 a). His theory, however, since it lacks the concept of mass, does not easily lend itself to explain the phenomena of weight. To account for them, Plato had to make the additional assumption that the different elements have affinities to different regions of the universe (cf. *Timaeus* 63 e).

in the dimension in question). Immediately then, in point (b), he starts a mental experiment with one of those hypothetical units, putting it on the body of some object and removing it from it. The operation, thus performed, drastically bears out the conclusion that a full-dimensioned object is in no way affected by the coming or going of a thing with a lesser number of dimensions. But even before the experiment is completed, a new and more radical refutation of plurality springs forth. Zeno makes it appear that, given the premise, the unit would be nothing. The universe then would be said to be built out of a number of nothings! No further word seems necessary to ridicule the absurdity.

But even better than that! We are led to believe that such units cannot exist. If the parts of the One are swept out of existence, it is most directly established that the One is indivisible. The thesis of plurality is utterly defeated even before the intended antinomy "the parts would be both small and great" (= d) is carried through. Point (b) has no relevance for that antinomy (d); but, instead, it independently launches three vigorous and vicious attacks against plurality. In the sportive fury of his onslaughts upon the enemy, Zeno overtakes himself, as it were. The welter of argumentation in which he is trying to drown the assumption of plurality can be likened to a surging wave which develops new waves on its own crest. While rolling on against the unhappy swimmer, they bend over and break and dash foam into his face, even before the bulk hits him with heavy impact.

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*(To be continued.)*

## THE STRUCTURE OF THE *CAPTIVI*.

All extant drama, ancient and modern, contains inconsistencies in plot, character, or other ingredients of drama. In so far as they contribute to the comic or dramatic effect, or at least fail to mar it, they are very common. In the plays of Plautus I have consistently maintained that these inconsistencies, considered merely as such, are no evidence of contamination. This view, which has too often been ignored by scholars more intent upon written consistency than effective theatre, is again coming into gradual acceptance and has found its most recent and keen expression in a review by K. M. Abbott of Kuiper's fantastic reconstructions of Greek comedies.<sup>1</sup> It is a view which, in spite of repeated warnings by Prescott and others,<sup>2</sup> continental scholarship has as a whole failed to heed, and has consequently sometimes mired in its own absurdity. Adherence to this point of view, however, does not mean that inconsistencies which concern the main dramatic effect or clear understanding of the intrigue may be similarly condoned either in Plautus or elsewhere. License does not exceed the requirements of dramatic art; in fact, it may exist only for the benefit of that art. Consequently, when we find, as in the *Captivi*, inconsistencies which affect the very heart of the intrigue, namely the deception of Hegio by Tyndarus and the anagnorisis of Tyndarus as Hegio's son, it is no betrayal of principle to ask for explanation. On the contrary, adherence to principle demands it, and if Plautine reworking offers the best explanation it becomes the most probable one.

In the first scene between Hegio and Ergasilus (129-194) the former states categorically that he knows the family and wealth of his prisoner Philocrates (170). When, however, he confronts the prisoners themselves, this same information is drawn forth from the pseudo-Philocrates as though Hegio knew nothing of his slave's origin (277). The information in question has been given in the prologue (24-26, 30-34) except for the name of

<sup>1</sup> *C. W.*, XXXIV (1934), pp. 53-55. This view has also been recently and forcefully reasserted by H. D. F. Kitto in his *Greek Tragedy* (London, 1939).

<sup>2</sup> *C. P.*, XIV (1919), p. 135, *T. A. P. A.*, LXIII (1932), pp. 103-125. Cf. also P. W. Harsh, *A. J. P.*, LVIII (1937), pp. 282-293.

Philocrates' father which appears here for the first time. The name, however, is wholly unimportant and unnecessary, for Aristophontes' exposition of the deception is effective without the Thensaurochrysonicochrysid's joke. It is only incidental to the real unmasking of Tyndarus' pretense, which rests upon Aristophontes' obvious sincerity and his description of Philocrates' physical appearance.

Also in the Hegio-Ergasilus scene, the old man speaks of Philopolemus as his only son (*unicus*, 147) and Ergasilus' rejoinder emphasizes the expression *unicus* by applying the hyperbole *magis unicus* to Philopolemus' relationship to himself. Although the emphasis on the only son may not be wholly inconsistent with a *senex* whose second son was stolen many years ago, the very parasite who here discussed Hegio's progeny as *unicus* suddenly appears as aware of the loss of another son when he introduces the slave Stalagmus (875) *qui aufugit domo, qui tibi surripuit quadrimum puerum filiolum tuum*.

These facts are true inconsistencies, and they clearly affect the two essential phases of the drama, the deception of Hegio and the anagnorisis of Tyndarus and Hegio. We are therefore justified in examining the play further to discover whether or not there are other situations in the *Captivi* which contribute to the intensification or solution of this problem. Up to this point the evidence suggests no more than that within the limits of the Hegio-Ergasilus scene (129-194) there are factors which do not fit the rest of the play.

The entrances and exits of Hegio around the scene in question are unique in Roman comedy for their confusion and unmotivated change of purpose. The sequence is as follows:

110: Enter Hegio; conversation with Lorarius.

126: Hegio says that he will go to his brother's to see if other prisoners made any disturbance; then he will return home.

128: Enter Ergasilus; conversation with Hegio.

191: Exit Ergasilus.

192-4: Hegio says that he will go into his house to do his accounts and then go to his brother's, as he had said before. Exit into his own house.

195-250: Scene between Lorarii, Tyndarus, and Philocrates.

251: Enter Hegio, wishing to converse with the captives.

453-460: Exit Hegio with Philocrates to the praetor's;

Hegio announces that he will then go to his brother's to see the captives and inquire if any know Philocrates.  
 461-497: Enter Ergasilus. Monologue. Exit Ergasilus.  
 498: Enter Hegio and Aristophontes. Hegio has been to the praetor's, started for home, but then went to his brother's.

That exits and entrances may at times be poorly motivated is not serious, but that they should be utterly stupid is another matter. There is not the shadow of an excuse for Hegio's going indoors at 194 when the trip to his brother's was the announced reason for his appearance at 126. Nothing which took place between these two points had any effect on his plans. Nothing could be lamer than the bank balance excuse. At 251, the brother is forgotten. Conversation with the captives is the announced motif for his re-entrance, and his declaration that he will be back right away if he finds out what he wants only obscures the already confused issue because he does find out all that he could possibly hope for, yet departs at 460 to the praetor's without first going indoors. This visit to the praetor's is of course justified by the intervening scene wherein Hegio decides to send the pseudo-Tyndarus away, but if any announced purpose is to be postponed it should have been his return indoors (251), not the visit to his brother's (now a second time postponed, 458).

These conflicting announcements would cause no difficulty were the single absurdity at 192-4 eliminated, where, without the ghost of an excuse, Hegio breaks the thread of his movements. Ergasilus has said nothing to change Hegio's plans. To us, of course, it is crystal clear that Hegio must be restrained from going to his brother's until after Philocrates gets away or Aristophontes would come too early upon the stage. I cannot conceive that this mention of the brother's prisoners is intended as a foreshadowing of Aristophontes,<sup>3</sup> for the audience as yet has not the slightest idea that there could be anyone at the brother's

<sup>3</sup> So Harsh, *Studies in Dramatic "Preparation" in Roman Comedy* (diss., Chicago, 1934), p. 32. But the deception which Hegio fears in 115 is not the kind that Tyndarus effects; Hegio here refers to the ordinary effort of all prisoners to escape. Ergasilus' remark (99) is irrelevant. The continual going to his brother's is the only suspense, but, for the reasons given in the text above and because it is the point at issue here, it cannot be submitted as evidence of foreshadowing.

who could identify Philocrates, and secondly, though some deception of Hegio is announced in the prologue, so far in the play not one single thing has been done to deceive him. Hegio, in fact, when he first mentions the brother, has not yet even seen his own captives! Foreshadowing and suspense may well be employed by Roman and Greek dramatists, but in this case it simply does not exist; if so intended, it fails; finally, there is no parallel in comedy for the rousing of suspense by a character's threatening to go somewhere or do something which would have no effect other than to bring about the *dénouement* too soon and thus end the play before it ever begins. This is too crude! Even in Menander, where the opportunities are legion, such a device is never used. The awkward way in which the visit to the brother is continually avoided until it can be safely brought to pass is not good "theatre" and serves to weaken rather than strengthen the dramatic effect. In seeking an explanation we have no other course than to suppose that the visit planned at line 126 for one reason (and carried out at 458 for an entirely different one) was in the Greek play put into execution for the original reason, namely to see that the other captives had caused no trouble during the night. Nothing can explain why any playwright should gratuitously insert line 126. Furthermore it is noteworthy that the Ergasilus scene is immediately preceded by this unfulfilled announcement and immediately followed by the lame excuse to postpone it.

This fact intensifies the discordant nature of the intervening scene and emphasizes the evidence that the movements of Hegio preceding this scene are dramatically wrong, unjustified, and inconsistent with the whole play. The alteration which would account for these difficulties is obvious: the omission of the Ergasilus-Hegio scene from the Greek original of the *Captivi*.

This suggestion is neither new nor popular. Proposed in various forms by Ladewig,<sup>4</sup> Herzog,<sup>5</sup> and Kakridis,<sup>6</sup> it has

<sup>4</sup> Ladewig, *Ueber den Kanon des Volcatius Sedigitus* (Neustrelitz, 1842), pp. 28-31. Ladewig attributes the *Captivi* proper to Anaxandrides, the Ergasilus motif to Antiphanes (or possibly some later New Comedy writer,—at least parts of it, i. e., III, 1). Ladewig's attributions are made on the basis of similarities in the text and fragments of Plautus and the Greek writers respectively. The division of sources is not defended or explained; he merely states his belief. To Anaxandrides he gives I, 1, 93-109; I, 2, 110-132; II; III, 2 through the end of the act;

received scant acceptance among Plautine scholars. Since no one of the three proponents presented it convincingly or thoroughly, the task of refutation has been correspondingly easy and lightly executed. Kakridis argued so poorly that one reviewer could and rightly did dismiss him with a few scornful phrases.<sup>7</sup> Herzog's brief note was more concerned with refuting Ladewig's proposed source for the insertion than with the evidence for the insertion itself. Pascal's refutation<sup>8</sup> of Herzog deals, therefore, with that secondary phase of the problem. Ladewig's contention is more strongly put, though briefly and neither in the present form nor with the support of a detailed analysis.<sup>9</sup>

No complete analysis of the *Captivi* exists, save in the critical work of Lessing.<sup>10</sup> His famous essay is more often quoted by editors for its encomiastic praise of the play<sup>11</sup> than read by scholars for its critical material. Ladewig is the only writer on the structure of the *Captivi* to mention Lessing, and he only to

V; to Antiphanes, I, 1, 69-92; I, 2, 133-194; III, 1; IV; to Plautus, various additions and expansions most of which are not specifically cited.

<sup>7</sup> E. Herzog, *Jahrb. f. Class. Phil.*, CXIII (1876), pp. 363-365. Herzog contends that the Ergasilus motif is wholly Plautine rather than Greek. He gives no discussion of the whole structure of the play.

<sup>8</sup> T. Kakridis, *Barbara Plautina* (Athens, 1904), pp. 18-23. Kakridis believed that Ergasilus' introduction into the play from an outside source caused the dropping of one of Hegio's visits to his brother. Everything works out smoothly if this assumption is made, according to Kakridis.

<sup>9</sup> Hueffner in *W. K. P.*, XXII (1905), p. 712.

<sup>10</sup> C. Pascal, *Riv. di Filologia*, XXIX (1901), pp. 1-15. Cf. especially pp. 1-6 and note 20 *infra*.

<sup>11</sup> P. Langen, *Plautinische Studien* (Berlin, 1886), pp. 22-28, 116-124, 271-278, analyzes the play in some detail; cf. p. 118 for notice of Hegio's knowledge of Philocrates' social position. But, as with all of Langen's analyses, no general conclusions on the structure are offered.

<sup>12</sup> *Kritik über die "Gefangenen" des Plautus*. References to this essay are given to the edition of Ed. Stemplinger, vol. XIII of Petersen and Olshausen, *Lessings Werke* (Leipzig, 1925).

<sup>13</sup> "Ich bleibe also dabei, dass die 'Gefangenen' das schönste Stück sind, das jemals auf die Bühne gekommen ist, und zwar aus keiner andern Ursache, welches ich nochmals wiederholen will, als weil es der Absicht der Lustspiele am nächsten kömmt und auch mit den übrigen zufälligen Schönheiten reichlich versehen ist." Cf. also *Von Leben und Werken des Plautus* (*ibid.*, p. 64): "Es ist gewiss, dass es das vorzüglichste Stück ist, welches jemals auf den Schauplatz gekommen ist."

echo the editors. One may look in vain, even in editors' introductions, for any reference beyond uncritical acceptance of Lessing's excessive tribute.<sup>12</sup> To be sure, Lessing dealt with a somewhat different phase of the drama, and his own comments are perhaps more enthusiastic than scholarly, yet they constitute the basic work on the *Captivi* and should not be ignored. The essay attempts to refute criticism of the play and of Lessing's translation of it emanating from an unnamed critic whose letter, incorporated in the essay, forms more than three-fifths of the whole. In these criticisms questions are raised the credit for which later critics have either ignored or usurped. Here will be found the first objection to Hegio's exit and entrance complex,<sup>13</sup> the correct implications of *mox* (194), and the argument that Hegio must be coming from his brother's when he speaks line 251. These and other observations Ladewig and his successors would have done well to consider.

The exits and entrances of Hegio are the kernel of any criticism of the play. I have presented them here with supporting dramatic and structural details from the same scenes as are involved in his movements,<sup>14</sup> and the alternative has been proposed that the Hegio-Ergasilus scene did not appear in the Greek original.

What does this entail? Is there any evidence for it elsewhere in the play? There is one very unusual circumstance in connection with the dénouement of the *Captivi* worth bearing in mind in any consideration of the Greek play. The direct instrument of the anagnorisis is the slave Stalagmus, who returns with Philocrates and Philopolemus. He is essential to the plot as long as Tyndarus is to be discovered as Hegio's lost son. His is as integral a part of the plot as any secondary character whom Plautus brings on the stage to certify an anagnorisis. With

<sup>12</sup> Niemeyer in Brix-Niemeyer, *Captivi* (Teubner, 2nd ed., 1910), Einl. p. 3, n. 1, refers to Lessing, but only concerning the so-called unity of time. This does not appear in Brix's first edition (1884).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. especially pp. 139-140 and notes s and t.

<sup>14</sup> Roman puns and other Roman references in the Ergasilus-Hegio scenes, even when combined, as here, with possible Greek material, cannot be considered as evidence for separation from the original Greek play. Herzog commits this error (pp. 363-364). They will be useful in determining the possible source of the insertion, once the fact of insertion is determined by other means.



this there can be no quarrel, yet this necessary resolving character is thrust into the spotlight at the most dramatic moment of the play without one word of explanation of his capture or motivation for his coming.<sup>15</sup> There is no more dramatic connection between Stalagmus and the rest of the play than if he or the lost child whom he alone can identify were never mentioned. This was seen by Lessing's critic<sup>16</sup> who further objected that, since Philocrates did not know Stalagmus (985) and since the slave was not at that time in Theodoromedes' house, Philocrates could not possibly have brought him back.

Does this mean that Stalagmus, too, was an addition to the original plot? If that were so, the lost brother motif would go with him and the plot of the *Captivi* would vanish. Such a supposition is neither sound nor necessary. But, if we look at the transition between the Stalagmus scene and the rest of the play, we find that it is provided not by Philocrates, as we should expect, but by Ergasilus. He, in true parasite fashion, volubly keeping Hegio in suspense for nearly one hundred lines (780-

<sup>15</sup> Harsh (*Studies in Dramatic "Preparation,"* p. 21 and n. 5) takes lines 759, 875, 881, and 887 as anticipation of Stalagmus. This is true, but all these references except 759 are in the very scene in which Ergasilus announces Stalagmus and 759 is in Hegio's speech immediately preceding this scene. This is surely too close to be genuine anticipation. Harsh himself feels the lack of any explanation for Stalagmus' arrival. His own citation of LeGrand (*Daos* [Paris, 1910], pp. 394 and 421) does not, however, resolve the difficulty, for LeGrand's comparison of Crito in the *Andria* and Hanno in the *Poenulus* is not apt. Crito's entrance is, admittedly, "un vrai coup de théâtre" and as such is eminently admissible, but Hanno's is neither dramatically nor theatrically effective. It is merely routine. Hanno, moreover, is really one of the main characters, but Stalagmus is not, and whatever theatrical effect he might have is lost because there were definite circumstances which would make it impossible for him to return under the conditions as presented in the play. The conclusion that Plautus may have omitted details concerning Stalagmus (so LeGrand) is an explanation more suitable to my beliefs than to those of others, for the introduction of Ergasilus from outside the original play offers a reason for condensation of the original. Those who hold Ergasilus to be an integral part of the Greek version find it extremely difficult to explain why Plautus should omit such highly important information. In favor of what was it cast aside?

<sup>16</sup> P. 133. Lessing haughtily (and unsatisfactorily) dismisses this objection (p. 158).

873), finally, introduces the name of the runaway slave. Ergasilus, who knows nothing of the other son in 170, knows all about him when he brings him to Hegio. The character who is suspect in the earlier part of the play acts as the hinge between the two necessary but disjointed parts of the drama later. Why should Ergasilus be at the harbor if he was looking for a meal? He was last seen in III, 1 in monologue. He entered the stage alone, occupied it alone, and left it alone; he saw no other character and spoke to no one. He left bound for the harbor to bury his sorrow and seek gastronomic sustenance, yet in the very same breath he reminds us that he can eat at Hegio's house if he cares to (496). Why doesn't he? Why come on the stage to tell us that he has found no other patron? Why leave the stage without doing anything but complain? And above all, why go to the harbor?<sup>17</sup> The obvious explanation is that this monologue is a mere stop gap between Hegio's exit and re-entrance, but when Hegio's very exits have been already called into question this ceases to be an explanation. These are inconsistencies of a minor sort, to be sure; alone they are of no great import, for the general dramatic effect is not hurt. Humor is even enhanced by the incongruity of Ergasilus' movements and his purpose, yet the trail of the true inconsistencies previously discussed has led us to them, and in this light they assume very different proportions. We can excuse minor defects by themselves, but we need not be blind to their value as corroborative evidence when they may be reasonably interpreted as such.

In this case the hand of the dramatist, frequently heavy, has actually forced Ergasilus to the harbor, even against the very nature of his material. He is sent to announce Stalagmus and the returning party. Although such announcements may be frequent in comedy, none is necessary here, and the character who performs this unnecessary function is also unnecessary.

<sup>17</sup> Kakridis believed that Ergasilus' part in act IV was originally that of a slave who (like Pinacium in the *Stichus*) had a post at the harbor to watch for the arrival of someone. He seeks confirmation in Ergasilus' words describing his actions as *ut comici serri solent* (778). He does not see the mention of *serri* just as a comic confirms the slave's position, but the "comic" itself. It is an attractive suggestion, but I cannot be glad to be able to accept it, for, as far as I know, it remains (so far as I know) unproved. (Kakridis' *Stichus*, p. 100, note 1, and p. 101, note 1, acknowledge this.)

Indeed, the only essential task, namely the explanation of Stalagmus' presence, is not performed at all, either by Ergasilus or by those whom he introduces.

We have now seen that in three appearances Ergasilus is most obviously suspect in the first (his scene with Hegio before the deception). The strongest other evidence of discordant notes was his third and last appearance, announcing the travellers. The basis for this announcement was his trip to the harbor; this carried us directly to his second appearance (III, 1), where we found the trip wholly unjustified. The circle is now complete; a careful trailing of Ergasilus through the play leaves him outside the proper functioning of the plot and shows clearly the ill-fitting transitions into which he has been thrust. The evidence is the stronger because it is interdependent.

What is the result of removing Ergasilus from the *Captivi*? The first change must be the disappearance of the only other passage in which he appears, the opening monologue. This is no loss, for in it the parasite gives us nothing that the prologue has not already given. Unnecessary repetition of prologue information is no crime in Roman comedy, but it may emphasize an already suspicious circumstance. The original play probably opened with Hegio and the *lorarii* (after a prologue), quite possibly with the captives on the stage. Hegio announced his departure to his brother's and went, with the specific purpose of seeing whether they had rioted (126). The *lorarii* continued on stage with the captives as in the present II, 1. Hegio returned from his brother's and spoke line 252, *ubi sunt* . . . , not 251, which was undoubtedly written to explain his coming from his own house instead of from the wings. Possibly the whole speech is a Plautine substitute for a few lines of explanation concerning the visit to the brother's, for Plautus would naturally omit that in his version. An exclamation such as 252 is the easiest thing with which to begin a scene when the real beginning has been abandoned, for Hegio could easily come on stage without seeing the captives. He converses with Tyndarus and Philocrates, as in the Latin text, finding out now for the first time Philocrates' family connections and financial position. At the end of this scene he left with Philocrates to get the passport, returning later with a friend for the "Philocrates" who will remain as hostage. This can only be kindness designed

to permit "Philocrates" to see a friend; it had nothing to do with verifying the identity of his captive, for that would of course have been impossible in any plot. It is doubtful whether the purpose of this second visit was announced, for Hegio's later account of it (508) shows that it was only a second thought after he had started to return home from the praetor's.<sup>18</sup> The words in 458-460 "to visit captives and see if anyone knows Philocrates" are general enough to cover both purposes, but there is no point in identifying Philocrates unless it is done before sending Tyndarus off. Quite possibly Plautus inserted these lines for the purpose of foreshadowing the later unmasking of "Philocrates," forgetting that the visit was to be an afterthought, and then neglected to alter line 508 with which the insertion created a contradiction.

Tyndarus remained on stage after the departure of Hegio and Philocrates. The space before Hegio's return now filled by Ergasilus' monologue was probably taken by a monologue by Tyndarus which was interrupted by Hegio's return with Aristophontes. Support for this view may be found in the extreme improbability of the present situation at 516, where Tyndarus rushes out of doors when he was supposed to be closely guarded (456), yet no guards follow him and no punishment is even threatened by Hegio for what could appear to him only as gross disobedience.

The play then proceeded as does the *Captivi* through Tyndarus' discomfiture. He goes to the quarries; Hegio takes Aristophontes back. The returning travellers now entered, to be joined somewhat later by Hegio, who is now back from his brother's for the third time. The removal of Ergasilus from IV, 2 and 3 removes also the necessity for the *puer* scene (IV, 4). This scene, intimately connected with the Ergasilus motif, is quite possibly a Plautine addition (regardless of the construction of the Greek original) inserted to facilitate Ergasilus' change of costume to reappear in the rôle of Stalagmus or Philopolemus.<sup>19</sup> Hegio's meeting with the travellers took place on the stage in a dramatic scene which we sorely miss in the present play. It would offer also ample material for a study of the character of

<sup>18</sup> Explaining his (wrong) (and only real) argument

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Plautus*, ed. by G. H. Rieu, 2nd ed., *A. S. C. P.*, London (1910), pp. 31-50; see especially pp. 37-50.

scenes. There is even some evidence of the omitted material,, for the *hoc agamus* (929) of Philopolemus would lead us to expect the next words to come either from Hegio or from Philopolemus himself, yet they come, surprisingly enough, from Philocrates. These words would fit much better into the middle of a Philopolemus-Hegio dialogue which had been going on for some time (just as they are made in the *Captivi* to refer to off-stage conversation) and which dealt with matters other than those of Philopolemus' main interest. Such would undoubtedly be the explanation of how Stalagmus happened to be with the returning boys, the very crucial point which is missed in the *Captivi*. The *hoc agamus* would then be a joint by which Plautus returned to the original after inserting the stock entrance speech covering material the audience does not need to know. This normal comic function, however, is not well treated here, for, although the technique is very common, the material covered here is actually not known by the audience. This very use of a stock technique in a situation which does not conform to the stock situation is in itself suspicious and adds evidence to the theory that Stalagmus' presence should have been explained. The play then continued through the anagnorisis as it now does.

From what source did Ergasilus come? Are he and all his dialogue a Plautine addition? In parts, yes, but the long monologues and the main sections of the Ergasilus-Hegio dialogue come undoubtedly from some Greek parasite play<sup>20</sup> which offered the following features: a philosophizing monologue (I, 1), to which Plautus added expository material to make it fit the plot of the *Captivi* (91-100); a plea for dinner (129-192), to which Plautus added a number of Roman jokes; a second monologue of despair (III, 1), to which Plautus gave a wholly Roman tone (even a Dossenus); and a teasing scene in which a parasite withholds good news<sup>21</sup> (768-900),<sup>22</sup> with the end of which Plautus has tampered to make it fit the present circumstances

<sup>20</sup> That it may have been of Epicharmus (Pascal, *loc. cit.* in note 8 *supra*) I do not deny. My separation of Ergasilus from the *Captivi* need imply no disagreement with Pascal's criticism of Herzog, since I join the latter only in disassociating Ergasilus from the *Captivi* original, not in claiming a Plautine source.

<sup>21</sup> Possibly originally a *servus currens* scene; cf. note 17 *supra*.

<sup>22</sup> And possibly also 901-908; cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

(details of 873-876, 882-890, expansion of a simple oath by Apollo and Kore). These are common enough themes and could be found for the seeking in the pages of any Greek writer. It is noteworthy that none of the general themes is so closely related to the *Captivi* plot that it cannot be withdrawn from it without destroying the whole. These are stock situations which could be introduced with but little alteration for local use.

That Plautus did not originally create the Ergasilus scenes is clearly indicated by the not infrequent passages in which Roman references and Latin puns are clear expansions of a briefer Greek original section.<sup>23</sup> The Ergasilus speeches, however, are so much more expanded<sup>24</sup> than are other parts of the play and the Roman tone of his whole rôle is so emphasized that we may safely assert that his part has undergone more alteration than all other parts of the play together, regardless of source.

In conclusion, inconsistencies of a real, i. e., anti-dramatic, nature indicate that Ergasilus is a stranger to the *Captivi*. The evidence from Plautine expansions shows unquestionably that it was this rôle and its relation to the original with which Plautus was mainly concerned in his adaptation. In this adaptation many of the indubitably Roman passages served two purposes, both humorous effect and the cementing of the new material to the original framework. By demonstrating that the evidence is interlocking and mutually confirmatory, a conclusion hitherto unpopular and inadequately presented, namely that Ergasilus was not in the original Greek play, is considerably strengthened.

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<sup>23</sup> Lines 85-87, 90, 96, 152-166, 464-468, 475, 485, 491-495, 768, 774, 796, 811, 823, 825, 833, 849, 863, 864, 881-883, 888. Had Plautus created the whole, there would not exist these easily recognizable nuclei. But whether Ergasilus came from Antiphanes (Ladewig), Epicharmus (Pascal), or any other specific Greek writer is now, and will probably forever remain, beyond our power to determine.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. He 202, p. 331. All but six (126, 466, 474, 661, 766, 998) of the lines of the play are expansions of the Greek original. Ladewig mentions only 466 and 491-492 specifically (but he believes in Greek additions throughout the play).

## THE ROMANS IN SOUTHERN GAUL.

Although the Romans had often passed through the country lying between the Pyrenees and the Alps, it was a long time before they turned to their own advantage the resources of that region. In fact, they even aided Massilia to maintain her commercial supremacy in the Rhone valley. But shortly after 125 B. C. Roman policy in respect to southern Gaul underwent a sudden and portentous change, with the result that during the following century the whole of Gaul came under the domination of Rome. The story of the Romans in southern Gaul (later known as Gallia Narbonensis or simply as Provincia) and of Caesar's conquest of central and northern Gaul is a familiar one, but the sequence of events during the years 124-120 has not been clearly explained. A study of the accounts of those years given by modern writers reveals that they conflict in several respects, since they depend upon the use made by each writer of the apparent contradictions in the sources and upon the writer's interest in the tactical and geographical problems.<sup>1</sup> This paper is an attempt to present a critical and, if finality cannot be achieved, at least a plausible account of the events in those years. I hope to demonstrate that the sources are not so contradictory as they have generally been considered.

<sup>1</sup> Works consulted: Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, transl. by Dickson, III (New York, 1900), pp. 417-20; E. Herzog, *Galliae Narbonensis Prov. Rom. Historia* (Lipsiae, 1864), pp. 45-47; A. Lebègue, *Fastes de la Narbonnaise* (XV of Devic and Vaisseté, *Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, Toulouse, 1892), pp. 6-9 (quotes most of the sources); G. Maurin, "La Conquête de la Narbonnaise," *Mém. de l'Académie de Nîmes*, XVI (1893), especially pp. 245-56 (good survey, especially in topographical matters); W. H. Hall, *The Romans on the Riviera and the Rhone* (London, 1898), pp. 92-96 (superficial, inaccurate); *R.-E.*, s. vv. "Bituitus" (Klebs), "Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus" (20), cols. 1322-24 (Münzer), and "Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus" (110), cols. 1794-96 (Brassloff); Drumann and Groebe, *Gesch. Roms*, III, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 14-15 (gives sources); W. E. Heitland, *The Roman Republic*, II (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 332-33; C. Jullian, *Hist. de la Gaule*, I, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1914), pp. 14-19 (discussion, sources); H. Last in *Cambridge Anc. Hist.*, IX (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 111-13; Bloch and Carcopino, *La République romaine de 133 à 44 avant J.-C.*, I (Paris, 1935), pp. 276-77 (cited in the notes as "Carcopino").

Massilia and Rome probably had few common interests before the appearance of Hannibal in Gaul. But for commercial reasons, if for no others, Massilia joined Rome at the time of the Second Punic War in an endeavor to destroy the maritime supremacy of the Carthaginian empire. The vicissitudes of the war itself frequently brought the Greeks and Romans together, and for a long time after the war they remained friendly.<sup>2</sup> In fact, the Greek city profited by this friendship and, as time went on, came to depend more and more on Roman armies to help maintain her economic control of the Rhone valley. For example, in 181 she asked the Romans to check the Ligurian pirates who were active along the coast of southern Gaul,<sup>3</sup> and in 154 a Roman army defeated two Ligurian tribes who were besieging Antipolis and Nicaea, towns subject to Massilia. As a result, the Greek city acquired additional territory and the transalpine Ligurians were deprived of their own seacoast.<sup>4</sup>

In the second century, then, and probably earlier, Massilia was the head of a commercial empire that controlled the economic life of the Gallic tribes situated within and adjacent to the Rhone valley. One of these tribes, lying in the plains and hills

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Livy, XXI, 20, 7-8; 25, 1, and especially 26, 3-5; cf. also XXXVII, 54, 21 (speech of the Rhodian embassy before the Senate against Antiochus, 189). According to Justinus, XLVIII, 5, 10, Rome had an early treaty with Massilia (it is probable, however, that the grief expressed by the Massiliotes for the Romans when the Gauls sacked Rome and the treaty made at that time may be a historical retrojection from later times when the two states were friendly). For a brief notice of the importance of Massilia in the Second Punic War, cf. Tenney Frank "Rome, Marseilles, and Carthage," *The Military Historian and Economist*, I (1916), pp. 403-06; for her commercial rivalry with Carthage prior to the war, cf. S. Gsell, *Hist. ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, I (Paris, 1914), pp. 412 ff., 444 ff.

<sup>3</sup> No doubt the Romans were acting for their own interests as well. At that time L. Aemilius Paullus was fighting a Ligurian tribe, the Ingauni; C. Matienus was in command of the fleet operating in the *sinus Gallicus* (west of the Rhone); Livy, XL, 18, 4-5 and 25-29.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Livy, *op. cit.* XLVII and Polybius, XXXIII, 8 (the Ligurians besiege Antipolis and Nicaea), 9-10 (the Roman envoys en route to Antipolis are captured by the Ligurians), 11 (the Roman army of 10,000 men, led by the consul, defeats the Oxybi and Decetii, and gives some of their territory to the Massiliotes), 12 (the Roman army captures two subject-towns but all the intervening land as well. Opimius spent the winter of 154-153 in the region).



between the territory of Massilia and the Druentia river, was the Salluvii.<sup>5</sup> In 125, perhaps urged on by the ambitious Arverni who had made their power felt over a large part of southern Gaul, they made a raid across the border. That the Massiliotes were quite unprepared to meet the danger may be inferred from the fact that once again they asked Rome to come to their aid. This appeal, as the subsequent events showed, proved to be momentous for the Greeks, for the Romans, and especially for the Gauls, because it marked with a precision rare in historical developments the true beginning of the Roman conquest of Gaul: this time, after they had defeated the barbarians, the Romans took a personal interest in the country.

The reasons for this abrupt change of policy on the part of Rome are closely connected with the equally abrupt change of policy within the state itself. The reader need merely be reminded that the appeal of Massilia coincided with the troubled political situation brought about by the popular reforms of Tiberius Gracchus. Although Tiberius himself had perished, his *lex agraria* was still in force and the triumvirate to administer it was functioning despite the active opposition of the *Optimates*.<sup>6</sup> Now it is to be remembered that the Senate, which by the nature of the situation represented the conservative party, had always managed foreign, i. e., military affairs. When the Massiliotes asked aid from Rome, the Senate immediately granted their request and, taking advantage of the situation, placed M. Fulvius Flaccus, ardent Gracchan and consul in 125, in command of the expedition. In this unexpected manner a dangerous and powerful leader of the *Populares* was removed, at least for a few months, from the political scene at Rome.<sup>7</sup>

The campaign of Flaccus consumed one, possibly two, seasons; he triumphed in 123. The Salluvii, Ligurians, and Vocontii (north of the Druentia river) were defeated but were not treated

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Strabo, IV, 1, 11 (*init.*).

<sup>6</sup> For the agrarian reforms of Tiberius, cf. e. g., Carcopino, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 ff., 224 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Flaccus was a turbulent partisan of C. Gracchus and popular despite the suspicion that he had incurred with Gaius of having murdered Scipio Aemilianus a few years previously (129); Plutarch, *Gaius*, 10, 3-4. In addition to being consul in 125, he was a member of the Land Commission; Livy, *epit.* LIX, Appian, *B. C.*, I, 18.

with undue severity, and Massilia was relieved of her fears.<sup>8</sup> It is noteworthy that Flaccus, though a Gracchan and presumably an "expansionist," annexed no territory and did not even establish a garrison.

We turn now to an exposition of the campaigns during the years 123-21.

C. Sextius Calvinus, a senatorial and consul in 124, set out the following year to fight the tribes named above, a fact which suggests that perhaps the triumph of his predecessor had not been well earned. Deep within the territory of the Salluvii, about eighteen miles (or one day's forced march<sup>9</sup>) north of Massilia, he founded a *castellum* which he named Aquae Sextiae, the first site in Gaul permanently occupied by the Romans. This time they had come to stay. The campaign, including the construction of the fortress, lasted probably until 122, when Sextius was awarded a triumph.<sup>10</sup> Commercial enterprise was

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Livy, *epit.* LX. The use of *primus* (*Flaccus primus transalpinos Ligures domuit bello* . . .), which is echoed by Florus, I, 37, 3 (who has compressed this campaign and the subsequent one of Sextius into one sentence), and by Ammianus, XV, 12, 5, seems erroneous in view of the previous campaign of Opimius. The word, however, may be original with Livy and mean that Flaccus was the first of a group of commanders who fought in Gaul during the next few years. Cf. the curious statement in Plutarch, *Gaius*, 15, 1: (The partisans of Fulvius, on the day when he and Gaius were killed, armed themselves near his house with the spoils) ἀ Γαλάτας νενικηκώς ὅτε ὑπάτευν, εὐλόηφει. For the triumph, cf. Velleius, II, 6, 4, Plutarch, *Gaius*, 18, 1, *Acta Triumph.* 631 = 123 (*C. I. L.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 1, p. 176).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. T. R. Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (London, 1890), pp. 626-27, especially n. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Fast. cons.* 630 = 124 (*C.I.L.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 1, p. 150), Livy, *epit.* LXI (the use of *colonia* to describe Aquae Sextiae is incorrect), Strabo, IV, 1, 5 (who properly calls it a *φρουρά* *Ῥωμαίων*, a permanent garrison) Velleius, I, 15, 4 (who may be using the same source, probably Posidonius, as that of Strabo; he does not belong in the Livian tradition: his *Sallues* is a transliteration of the Greek name and is not the same as the Latin form, *Salluvii*, found in Livy and the *Acta*). Diodorus, *epit.* XXXIV, 23 (Dindorf, Paris [Didot], 1885), tells of an understanding between Sextius and Craton, an Avernian who was pro-Roman. (Diodorus' *epit.* I, 10, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 78

undoubtedly one of the motives for the establishment of a garrison. It was to protect Roman and not merely Greek interests in Gaul, and to guard the road to Spain. Later, other centers, Narbo and Forum Domitii, were organized along the western segment of this important route.<sup>11</sup>

At about the same time as the campaign of Sextius occurred the occupation of the Balearic islands (infested with pirates now that the Carthaginians no longer controlled them) by Q. Caecilius Metellus, consul in 123.<sup>12</sup>

Although the Gauls had been defeated on the field of battle, they were by no means subjugated. The situation was growing rapidly worse for Rome despite her seeming success. It is very doubtful whether the Romans even at this time appreciated the power of the Arverni, the tribe that had assumed some measure of leadership over a large part of Gaul and had probably instigated the earlier clashes between the Gauls and Greeks. The single tribe in Gaul that had ties of friendship with Rome was the Aedui,<sup>13</sup> and, when they appealed to Rome in a border dispute with the Allobroges, Rome again had recourse to arms. She wanted not merely to assist her ally but to recover king Tutomotulus and the other Salluvian nobles who had taken refuge with the Allobroges, for, as long as these leaders were at large, they constituted a serious menace to the Romans.<sup>14</sup> By

Ahenobarbus, combining their names to yield Sextius Domitius Calvinus. Cassiodorus, *Chron.* A. U. C. 632 = 122 (*Monumenta Germ. Hist., Auctores Antiq.*, XI [Berlin, 1894], p. 131) mentions the founding of Aquae. For Sextius' triumph, cf. *Acta Triumph.* 632 = 122. The literary sources name only the Salluvii; the *Acta* give the same three tribes, viz., Ligurians, Vocontii, and Salluvii, which Flaccus had defeated.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. notes 27 (Forum Domitii) and 33 (Narbo) *infra*.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Acta Triumph.* 633 = 121 (where he is given the *cognomen* Balaricus); Livy, *epit.* LX (*sub fin.*); Strabo, III, 5, 1. He founded cities and colonized them from Spain. Münzer, *R.-H.*, s. v. "Q. Caecilius Metellus Balaricus" (82), col. 1207, says that the campaign lasted two years; probably so, since Livy calls Metellus consul and the *Acta* call him proconsul.

<sup>13</sup> They had long been on terms of unofficial friendship with Rome (Caesar tactfully dignified the status as one of *necessitudo*). In the time of Caesar, and probably earlier, they had official *amicitia* with Rome; Caesar, *B. G.*, I, 43, 6-7, V, 54, 4, Livy, *epit.* LXI (*sociorum* has been restored).

<sup>14</sup> Livy, *epit.* LXI, Appian, *Celt.*, 12 (cf. note 15 *infra*).

now the battles between Roman and Gallic armies had grown to major proportions. A third campaign requiring the services of two generals became necessary before the Romans could complete their undertaking.<sup>15</sup> Of the sources given in the foregoing note, the following are the most important:

1. *The Acta Triumphorum* A. U. C. 634 (= 120 B. C.).

Q. FABIVS. Q. AEMILIANI. F. Q. N. AN. DC[XXXIII]  
 MAXIMVS. PROCOS. DE. ALLOBRO[gibus]  
 ET. REGE. ARVERNORVM. BETVLTQ. X. K[--- month?]  
 CN. DOMITIVS. CN. F. CN. N. AHENOBARB. A[n. DCXXXIII]  
 PROCOS. DE. GALLEIS. ARVERNEIS. XVI. K[--- month?]

2. Livy, *epitome lib.* LXI.

Cn. Domitius proconsul adversus Allobrogas ad oppidum Vindalium feliciter pugnavit. quibus bellum inferendi causa fuit, quod Tutomotulum, Salluviorum regem, fugientem recepissent et omni ope iuvisent quodque Aeduum agros, [sociorum] populi Romani, vastavissent. [There follows a notice of the death of Gaius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus, probably early in 121.] Q. Fabius Maximus consul, Pauli nepos, adversus Allobrogas et Bituitum, Arvernorum regem, feliciter pugnavit. ex Bituiti exercitu occisa milia centum viginti; ipse cum ad satisfaciendum senatui Romam profectus esset, Albam custodiendus datus est, quia contra pacem videbatur, ut in Galliam remitteretur. decretum quoque est, ut Congonnetiacus, filius eius, comprehensus Romam mitteretur. Allobroges in deditionem accepti.

3. Strabo, IV, 1, 11.

μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Δρουεντία καὶ τοῦ Ἰσαρος καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ ῥέουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπεων ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥοδανόν, δύο μὲν οἱ περιρρέοντες πόλιν Καουάρων κοινῷ ρεΐθρῳ συμβάλλοντες εἰς τὸν Ῥοδανόν, τρίτος δὲ Σούλγας ὁ κατὰ Οὐνδαλον πόλιν μισγόμενος τῷ Ῥοδανῷ, ὅπου Γναῖος Ἀγνόβαρβος μεγάλη μάχῃ πολλὰς ἐτρέψατο Κελτῶν μυριάδας. εἰς δὲ ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ πόλεις καὶ Ἀδενιῶν καὶ Ἀρανσίῶν καὶ Ἀερία, κτλ. . . . καθ' ὃ

<sup>15</sup> The accounts, all of which are cited below, survive only in epitomes or as casual references; the triumphs were recorded in an order the reverse of that in which they had been earned. *Acta Triumph.* 634 = 120 (for the consulship of Domitius and Fabius, cf. *Fast. Cons.* 633 = 121) and *Fast. Antistates* [Mancini in *Notizie degli Scrittori Latini* (1891) 1, 1, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000].

δὲ συμπίπτουσιν ὁ Ἰσαρ ποταμὸς καὶ ὁ Ῥοδανὸς καὶ τὸ Κέμμενον ὄρος, Κόιντος Φάβιος Μάξιμος Αἰμιλιανὸς οὐχ ὅλαις τρισὶ μυριάσιν ἑκοσὶ μυριάδας Κελτῶν κατέκοψε, καὶ ἔστησε τρόπαιον αὐτόθι λευκοῦ λίθου καὶ νεὼς δύο, τὸν μὲν Ἄρεως τὸν δ' Ἡρακλέους.

When the Allobroges refused to deliver the Salluvian nobles to the Romans, C. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had been consul in 122, was sent to Gaul the following year as proconsul to succeed Sextius.<sup>16</sup> Because Domitius feared that, if the Allobroges secured aid from the Arverni, the combined force would be stronger than his own army, he determined to meet the enemy as soon as possible rather than await him in the vicinity of Aquae Sextiae. Bituitus, king of the Arverni, one of the many able patriots whom the Romans were destined to meet in Gaul, endeavored, while collecting an army from his client-tribes, to delay the advance of Domitius by sending him an embassy to discuss the situation and possibly to offer attractive bribes.<sup>17</sup> The Roman, however, was not deceived. He brought his army as far up the Rhone as the Sorgue, *ad oppidum Vindalium*, before he met the Allobroges and perhaps an advance contingent of the Arverni. Here the battle was fought, probably in the late spring.<sup>18</sup> The several elephants which accompanied the Roman

<sup>16</sup> The majority of the scholars (Lebègue, Maurin, Mommsen, Herzog, Klebs, Münzer, cited in n. 1 *supra*) believe that Domitius went to Gaul as consul (122); the only basis for this assertion is an inaccurate statement in Suetonius, *Nero*, 2 (cf. Münzer, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus" [21], col. 1325, *init.*). Yet the *Acta*, Livy, and the other sources call him proconsul. If Sextius remained in Gaul two seasons (123-22; cf. n. 10 *supra*, *sub fin.*), Domitius probably succeeded him in March, 121.

<sup>17</sup> Appian, *Celt.*, 12. Bituitus could well afford to offer bribes, for his wealth was remarkable; Strabo, IV, 2, 3 (*fin.*), Florus, I, 37, 5.

<sup>18</sup> Livy and Orosius mention the town of Vindalium (Florus has the name but thought it was that of a river). Strabo's account (from Artemidorus of Ephesus, *ca.* 100 B. C.), quoted above in the text, says that the Soulgas, one of the more northern streams (between the Druentia and the Isara), flows into the Rhone *κατὰ Οὐνδαλον*. The Soulgas is probably the modern Sorgue which, along with other streams, enters the Rhone just north of Avignon (cf. the modern towns nearby of fle-sur-Sorgue and Védène). Livy, XXI, 31, 4, though the text is corrupt, probably had Sorgas or Sorgia; cf. Walters and Conway *ad loc.* (Oxf. Class. Text, 1928). It would seem that Livy and possibly Polybius, III, 49, 6 (A [11th cent.] and R [later codd.] have *σκαπας*, generally read as *Ἰσάρας*; could it equal *Σώρκας* or *Σώργας*, from *σκαπας* [*σκαπας*]



Roman commanders, not knowing precisely where the Arverni would cross the Rhone, had not united their forces, each retaining his own *imperium*, and that Domitius was guarding the southern crossings, e. g., at Avennio and Tarusco, while Fabius had marched northward. This division of the armies was a manoeuvre that the sources failed to appreciate and may help to explain why they confused the order in which the battles were fought, the commanders who fought them, and the enemy defeated in each case. The host of Bituitus, ready at last, crossed the Rhone, perhaps at Valentia. Whatever the situation was just prior to the second battle, the sources yield some information on the engagement itself. It was fought between the Arverni under their king Bituitus, whose forces were doubtless augmented by the remnant of the Allobrogian army, and a Roman army led by Fabius, at the confluence of the Isara and the Rhone.<sup>22</sup> Pliny dates the battle August 8 (121). Most of the modern scholars maintain that Fabius and Domitius fought the battle together.<sup>23</sup>

Sextiae) is about 400 Roman miles or about a month's march (June). Fabius then marched up along the Rhone (July) and met the Arverni (August 8; cf. *infra*). How large was his army? Strabo says 30,000. This figure may be correct, for it makes 5 legions (of 6,000 each) or 6 legions (of 5,200 each, not full strength) according to the military organization of the 2nd cent.; cf. Schulten, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Legio," cols. 1197-98. As to Fabius' illness, Appian (*Celt.*, 2) says he was suffering from a wound, Pliny says he had the quartan fever (which left him in the excitement of the battle).

<sup>22</sup> Orosius and Florus say the battle was fought beside the Rhone; when the Arverni are defeated, they flee across the river (westward). The fact that one of the two bridges broke down created a panic and helped to increase the total of Gauls who perished. Strabo (quoted *supra* in the text) is explicit; the Isar of the sources undoubtedly is equivalent to the modern Isère (and not the Euygues [or Aigues, cf. Jullian, *op. cit.*, p. 17, n. 4] of Last, *op. cit.*, p. 111, n. 5). As to the figures: Strabo says 30,000 Romans cut to pieces (*κατέκοψεν*), 200,000 Gauls; Orosius states that, out of Bituitus' army of 180,000 men, 150,000 were killed; Livy gives 120,000; Pliny, 130,000. The totals, 180,000-200,000 Gauls and 120,000-150,000 killed, are tolerably consistent considering the difficulty of obtaining the information.

<sup>23</sup> They have doubtless based their conclusions on the fact that several of the sources for the sake of brevity name the two generals together (or Fabius alone). Livy, Strabo, and the *Acta* prove fully that two battles were fought in two different places at different times. Of the modern scholars, Carcopino, *op. cit.*, especially favors this "pro-Domitius" tradition, crediting him with both victories; cf. n. 29 *infra*.

Mommson and, following him, Herzog and Klebs (cf. note 1, *supra*) have even reversed the order of the battles found in Livy to agree with the order given in the *Acta Triumphorum* and in Strabo, IV, 2, 3. (The latter, however, does not reverse the order of the other literary sources, but, by listing the exploits of the Romans in Gaul from the more recent times to the more remote [Caesar, Fabius, Domitius], implies that Fabius fought *after* Domitius.) It is quite possible to explain the (apparent) reversed order of the triumphs in the *Acta* and to reconcile this material with that given in the literary sources.

Domitius originally had been sent out as proconsul to organize southern Gaul as a province. He had defeated the Allobroges, and a second general, Fabius, had defeated the Arverni further to the north. Both commanders then set about commemorating their respective victories, the importance of which is indicated by the fact that they erected monuments on the battle-sites, stone towers with trophies according to Florus; according to Strabo, Fabius not only raised a large stone trophy but in addition built two temples, one to Mars, the other to Hercules. The triumphs, held separately at Rome the following year, likewise impressed the sources with their magnificence.<sup>24</sup>

The fate of Bituitus after his disastrous defeat is not certain. He escaped capture on the field of battle and subsequently appeared in Rome (so Livy, quoted above, implies; Eutropius and Valerius Maximus say that he was captured by Domitius and sent to Rome as a prisoner). The Senate feared to allow him to return to Gaul and put him (as well as his son and heir, Congonnetiacus) in prison at Alba Longa. Probably, however, he did appear in the triumph of Fabius: Florus pictures the Gallic chieftain in all his splendor, *nil tam conspicuum in triumpho quam rex ipse Bituitus discoloribus in armis argenteoque carpento, qualis pugnauerat*.

The construction of elaborate trophies and temples (indeed, one ancient source declares that Fabius founded a town, called Fabia <sup>25</sup>) undoubtedly consumed the remainder of 121. Furthermore, since each commander is called proconsul in the *Acta*, there is good reason to believe that both remained in Gaul until

<sup>a</sup> Polychrome, aged Sunday 3. c. 900. Name: N. J. No. 1; color: red.



120. Fabius returned home and held his triumph first (the dates of the triumphs are unfortunately lacking). He is credited in the *Acta* with having defeated the Allobroges (because, according to Valerius Maximus, they had been urged by Bituitus to surrender to Domitius' successor) and king Bituitus himself. Thus, by a strange turn of fortune, Fabius was given the *cognomen* Allobrogicus, although Domitius, and not he, had defeated that tribe.<sup>26</sup>

Domitius stayed on somewhat longer in Gaul. He may have captured Bituitus and sent him to Rome, as we noted previously, to appear in Fabius' triumph; he probably founded Forum Domitii, or at least renamed the old Celtic market-town there; he began the construction of the road that later bore his name; and otherwise "pacified" southern Gaul for Roman interests.<sup>27</sup> He appears to have satisfied his desire for *gloria*, for which the Domitii had always been notorious, by riding through his province on an elephant, followed by a crowd (*turba*) of soldiers.<sup>28</sup> To commemorate and perhaps exaggerate the exploits of Domitius in Gaul, his son, one of the founders of Narbo in 118, minted coins showing on the obverse a Gallic chieftain, thereby suggesting perhaps that the elder Domitius had defeated not only the tribes dominated by the Arverni but also the Arverni themselves and their king Bituitus.<sup>29</sup>

His task of organizing the province completed, Domitius

<sup>26</sup> The *cognomen* Allobrogicus does not appear in the *Acta* nor is it mentioned by any writer until the Empire: Valerius Maximus, III, 5, 2 and VI, 9, 4, Velleius, II, 10, 3 and 39, 1, Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIII, 141, etc. Mommsen suggests, probably rightly, that the name was not official and was a retrojection from Imperial times, just as the name Persicus was given to the earlier Fabii (*Röm. Forschungen* [Berlin 1864], p. 52, n. 80).

<sup>27</sup> For the *via Domitia*, cf. Strabo, IV, 1, 3, Cicero, *Pro Font.*, 18 (who indicates that it was still unfinished some 45 years later), and possibly Polybius, III, 39, 7-9. For Forum Domitii, cf. Devic and Vaisseté, *Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, I [Toulouse 1872], p. 8, and Ihm, *R.-E.*, s. v. Carcopino, *op. cit.*, p. 277, gives in some detail the work done by Domitius in Gaul.

<sup>28</sup> Suetonius, *Nero*, 2, 1-2: . . . elephanto per provinciam vectus est turba militum quasi inter sollemnia triumphii prosequente. in hunc dixit Licinius Crassus orator non esse mirandum, quod aeneam barbam haberet, cui os ferreum, cor plumbeum esset.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Mattingly in *J. R. S.*, XII (1922), pp. 230-33 and Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Rep. in the Brit. Mus.*, I (London 1910), pp. 184-87, and plates there noted.

returned home to hold his triumph *de Galleis Arverneis*. This phrase is significant. That portion of southern Gaul which later was to be the province of Gallia Narbonensis was dominated by the powerful Arverni under Luerius and Bituitus, his son and successor.<sup>30</sup> The phrase in the *Acta*, therefore, means that Domitius held a triumph over the tribes of southern Gaul lying within the bounds of the new province, while Fabius triumphed over Bituitus and his Arverni.<sup>31</sup>

After the final defeat of the two most powerful nations in Gaul and the breakup of the Arvernian empire, the Romans met with no opposition for the next two decades. The territory of the Allobroges was surrendered to Rome (Livy says, *Allobroges in deditionem accepti*), but the Arverni, as we saw above (note 31), were left unmolested. The Romans continued to use Aquae Sextiae as their military base. It was left for Marius to secure southern Gaul forever and for Julius Caesar to extend the *imperium Romanum* clear to the English Channel. For the present, the victories of 121 were sufficient. Before Domitius relinquished his *imperium*, all the land from the Pyrenees to the Cévennes and Alps (except some portions of the coast held by Massilia) was actually or nominally under Rome. To the north were several tribes, some of which, like the Aedui and Sequani, were friendly with Rome. The others, at least for the time being, had no mind to dispute the newcomer, especially since he did not invade their lands.<sup>32</sup> Thus within the space of three years Roman policy in Gaul had altered completely. No longer were

<sup>30</sup> Strabo, IV, 2, 3, says that the empire (*ἀρχή*) of the Arverni extended from Narbo and the territory of Massilia, and that they exercised sovereignty over all the tribes as far as the Pyrenees, the Ocean, and the Rhone. For the most part, this is precisely the territory which formed the Roman province of Narbonensis. Quite reasonably, then, Domitius held a triumph over the Arverni, since he broke up their whole empire in southern Gaul.

<sup>31</sup> Caesar, in his negotiations with Ariovistus (*B. G.*, I, 45, 2), recalls that the Arverni and Ruteni had been conquered by Fabius, and that *they had not been included within the Province* nor made stipendiary tribes (some of the Ruteni were within the limits of the Province; Caesar, *ibid.*, VII, 74, calls them *Ruteni provinciales*). Cf. also Suetonius, *Vero*, 2 (quoted in n. 28 *supra*): *Domitius rode per provinciam* or *per clientem*.

<sup>32</sup> For the probable status of the Gallic tribes in 120 cf. Julian, *op.*

Massilia or the Arverni in undisputed control of the commerce of the Rhone valley. Roman business men, represented by the *equites*, had received a twofold impetus, the one from Spain now that the road thither had been rendered safe, the other from Gaul. It was inevitable that with the influx of merchants and settlers the military station at Aquae Sextiae should prove inadequate as a center especially for those engaged in business in western Gaul. The establishment of a *colonia* that would dominate the trade between Spain, western Gaul, and Italy was deemed by the *equites* a step most advantageous to the promotion of Roman business interests. This colony, Narbo, the first permanent colony outside of Italy and the single Roman seaport in Gaul, was founded amid senatorial opposition in 118, and from that time on the Gauls were exploited alike by merchants and soldiers.<sup>33</sup> Nor could Massilia long maintain her dominant position before the ever widening interests of Rome.

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<sup>33</sup> For the founding of Narbo, cf. Eusebius, *Chronica*, p. 131 (Schöne), Ol. 165.3 = 118 B. C., Cicero, *Pro Cluent.*, 140, Velleius, I, 15, 5, Eutropius, IV, 23, Valerius Maximus, V, 10, 3, etc.; cf. Last, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-13, and Carcopino, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-79.

## THE DYING WORLD OF LUCRETII.

Nowhere does the poet Lucretius speak in more solemn tones than in those passages where he announces the end of the world. On that subject he promises (V, 110-112) "to utter oracles in a more holy manner and with much surer reasoning than the Pythian priestess, who speaks from the tripod and laurel of Apollo." The subject is repeatedly introduced and expanded to considerable length. In this paper an effort is made to compare the teaching of Epicurus and Lucretius on the end of the world and to show the relation of Lucretius' views to his general outlook on history.<sup>1</sup>

The Epicurean poet begins, of necessity, with the accepted principles of his school. Epicurus, like the earlier atomists, had taught that our visible world of earth and sky is only one of many, composed of atoms, and destined to dissolution.<sup>2</sup> Democritus had taught that some worlds are growing, some in their prime, and some decaying; that decay comes when a world can no longer absorb more atoms from without; and that destruction may result from collisions, when one world grows so large as to overcome a smaller one.<sup>3</sup> Epicurus denied that one world could grow so large as to collide with another<sup>4</sup> but argued that worlds grow by gradual additions from without, which also maintain their stability for a period,<sup>5</sup> and finally perish, like

<sup>1</sup> The extensive literature on the sources of Lucretius sheds little light on this question. Debate has been chiefly concerned with the extent of indebtedness to Epicurus and later Epicureans, especially for scientific data. John B. Stearns, *C. J.*, XXXI (1936), pp. 347 f., notes 23-28, mentions borrowings from non-Epicurean sources. Lucretius' aim was to follow in the footsteps of his master, hence one cannot expect to find any clear contradiction or dogmatic addition to the orthodox teaching. Lucretius' notion of the dying world has been noticed by J. Masson, *Lucretius, Epicurean and Poet* (London, 1907), I, pp. 1-3, by C. Martha, *Le Poème de Lucrèce* (4th ed., Paris, no date), pp. 323 f., and others, but no comparison is made between his views and those of Epicurus, or the bearing of this topic on Lucretius' view of history.

<sup>2</sup> Diogenes Laertius, IX, 31, 42; X, 73.

<sup>3</sup> H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* (Berlin, 1929), p. 565, lines 11-14; p. 331, lines 21-23.

<sup>4</sup> Diogenes Laertius, X, 90.

<sup>5</sup> *Idem*, X, 89.

a plant or animal.<sup>6</sup> He taught that the worlds are infinite in number, some coming into being at every moment, and others perishing.<sup>7</sup> The testimonia to Epicurus' teaching on this point are rather numerous but reveal little beyond what has just been stated.<sup>8</sup> Most notable, in comparison with Lucretius, is the absence of reference to the present state of the world. It is true that most of Epicurus' writings have been lost, but this notion of the growth and decay of worlds was notorious and often referred to. Hence there is a fair presumption that, if he had taught that our world was nearing its end, Cicero and others would refer to the fact.

Furthermore, we have the testimony of Lactantius<sup>9</sup> that Epicurus gave no account of the causes that would lead to the end of the world, or the time when it would occur:

Unus igitur Epicurus auctore Democrito veridicus in hac re fuit, qui ait et ortum aliquando et aliquando esse perituum. Nec tamen rationem reddere ullam potuit aut quibus de causis tantum hoc opus aut quo tempore resolvatur.

It is likely that this statement is derived, at least in part, from Cicero. He and Lucretius were Lactantius' chief sources for his knowledge of Epicurean teaching,<sup>10</sup> and nothing like the above is found in Lucretius. The statement that Epicurus followed Democritus in predicting the end of the world is twice found in Cicero's extant works.<sup>11</sup> The added declaration that no explanation was given about the time or cause of the world's dissolution may also have been found in one of his lost works.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Aëtius, *Placita*, II, 4, 10.

<sup>7</sup> Cicero, *N. D.*, I, 67; *De Fin.*, I, 21.

<sup>8</sup> Usener, *Epicurea* (Leipzig, 1887), frags. 300-305.

<sup>9</sup> *Inst.*, VII, 1, 10; Usener, frag. 304 (cf. frag. 382).

<sup>10</sup> Usener, *op. cit.*, p. lxxv, note 2. Cicero was Lactantius' chief authority in the whole field of philosophy (cf. Brandt's "Index Auctorum" in *C. S. E. L.*, XXVII, pp. 245-251).

<sup>11</sup> *De Fin.*, I, 21; *N. D.*, I, 73.

<sup>12</sup> No less than twenty-eight fragments of Cicero's lost philosophical works are preserved by Lactantius (cf. Brandt's "Index Auctorum"). In *Acad.*, II, 118 f. Cicero compares the cosmology of the other schools and mentions the Stoic anticipation of a general conflagration. In some similar passage he may well have referred to Epicurus' reticence on the subject. It seems less likely that Lactantius invented the statement.

When one turns to the treatment of the subject in Lucretius, much is found which merely confirms and explains the teaching of Epicurus. In the latter part of his second book the poet discusses the infinite number of worlds and the stages of their history. Like any other growing body, the world in its early period takes in more atoms than it gives off, until sea and land and sky reach their full size. But when old age comes they waste away, like any body which is unable to absorb more food. Made thin by loss of atoms, all bodies finally yield to blows from without and perish—

sic igitur magni quoque circum moenia mundi  
expugnata dabunt labem putrisque ruinas.<sup>13</sup>

At this point Lucretius introduces a new thought—that our world is already broken and enfeebled with age. The extent of its decline, he thinks, is shown by the tiny worms which the earth now brings forth when softened and impregnated by the rain, whereas in her prime she was able to bear the largest of beasts and the race of men. Then she freely produced luxuriant crops for man, while now the grudging fields scarcely supply food for those who till them. So the aged plowman often sighs that his labor has been in vain, compares the present time with the past, and envies the lot of his father. The vine-grower remarks that an earlier generation fared well on much smaller plots of ground than his own, and fails to understand that all things are wasting away little by little, and now, worn by old age, are drawing near the end.<sup>14</sup>

Such gloomy remarks might perhaps be as easily ascribed to a Greek farmer of Epicurus' time as to any contemporary of Lucretius.<sup>15</sup> But for two reasons it seems unlikely that the Roman poet derives his notion from Epicurus. First, the

<sup>13</sup> Lucretius, II, 1105-1149. Compare Diogenes Laertius, X, 89, and the notes on the passage in C. Bailey, *Epicurus, the Extant Remains* (Oxford, 1926), p. 284.

<sup>14</sup> Lucretius, II, 1150-1174.

<sup>15</sup> A. Sorlin Dorigny in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, IV, p. 900, notes this passage to Epicurus, attributing it to the degeneration of the earth; "le monde, en effet, perd ses forces et se dégrade pendant la description de la décadence de l'humanité pendant la période de l'âge."—

announcement of an imminent end<sup>16</sup> could not well be repeated from a writer two centuries old. The complaint of the aged farmer is based on a deterioration of the soil observed in his own time, for his father was better off. He supposes that the earlier generation was blessed for its piety, whereas, Lucretius argues, the true conclusion is that the world is growing old and coming to its end. If that argument had been made by Epicurus it would have lost its force in the lapse of time, and Lucretius would rather have found it necessary, in reiterating the prediction, to explain the cause of the delay. Second, the whole passage is in a tone which is opposed to the cheerfulness of Epicurus. He had assured Menoeceus that philosophy and happiness were accessible to everyone at every time of life, since whatever is natural is easily procured, and only the worthless is hard to get. The one who follows the precepts of wisdom lives undisturbed, as a god among men.<sup>17</sup> The figure of the struggling farmer does not fit in well with Epicurus' pleasant picture of self-sufficiency (*ἀντάρκεια*) for all. His plight is rather a refutation of the reiterated statement that what is necessary is easy to supply.

It thus seems probable that the notion of imminence was added by Lucretius to the Epicurean doctrine of the end of the world.<sup>18</sup> The Roman poet also fills in the gap at the second point where his master is accused of reticence, in describing the manner of the world's dissolution. Three possible modes are suggested—earthquake, fire, and water.

The earthquake seems a natural conjecture based on the state of the aging world, which becomes thin from loss of atoms until it yields to blows from without (II, 1139-1143). Memmius is warned that he may see the great earthquakes begin, when

<sup>16</sup> It must be admitted that there is a vagueness in the notion of imminence. Epicurus and Lucretius both taught that the world would perish, and neither fixed a time for the end. But Lucretius announced its approach and warns the reader that it may come in his own day. A difference in the emphasis of such a point may show a great difference in the outlook of two men.

<sup>17</sup> Diogenes Laertius, X, 122, 130, 132. Epicurus defended the possibility of happiness even in extreme cases (*idem*, X, 118).

<sup>18</sup> It may be objected that the idea may be borrowed from some later Epicurean, but the style of the passages seems to indicate an original treatment of the subject.

earth and sea and sky will be shaken together, and all things will collapse in thunderous crash (V, 91-109). This is a natural development of the teaching of Epicurus, although the idea of imminence and the vivid picture of the earthquake are rather to be thought of as peculiar to the poet.

But there are two further possibilities of destruction: fire and flood (V, 380-415). Lucretius remarks that one can see the great members of the world (earth, air, fire, and water<sup>19</sup>) engaged in a civil war which may come to an end either when the sun evaporates all moisture and consumes all things or when the water washes away all things. The stories of Phaëthon and Deucalion tell of such occasions, though in the unscientific manner of the early Greek poets.<sup>20</sup>

This argument seems alien to the thought of Epicurus. The notion of strife between the elements was common to Empedocles and the Stoics.<sup>21</sup> The latter taught that a victory of fire would lead to the *ἐκπύρωσις* or general conflagration.<sup>22</sup> In the interval between successive conflagrations there was a similar destruction by water, the *κατακλυσμός*.<sup>23</sup> From the Chaldeans the Stoics borrowed the idea of the Great Year, whose winter solstice was marked by the flood, and summer solstice by the conflagration.<sup>24</sup> In some of the Stoic texts the destruction is only partial and leaves the earth cleansed for a new era,<sup>25</sup> while in others a complete destruction of the universe takes place.<sup>26</sup> The notion of a total dissolution in fire was much better established than that of a similar dissolution in water. On these common Stoic ideas the passage of Lucretius is based, and to them it owes certain incoherencies. The total destruction by fire is twice mentioned without its proper antithesis,<sup>27</sup> and there is confusion between

<sup>19</sup> The *maxima mundi membra* are enumerated earlier (V, 235-247).

<sup>20</sup> Compare the note by C. Giussani, *T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura libri sex: Libro V* (2nd ed., Torino, 1929), pp. 41 f.

<sup>21</sup> J. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1905-1924), II, p. 202, frag. 696.

<sup>22</sup> *Idem*, II, p. 185, frag. 600; Cicero, *N. D.*, II, 118.

<sup>23</sup> Von Arnim, *op. cit.*, II, p. 186, frag. 608.

<sup>24</sup> Seneca, *Q. N.*, III, 29, quoting Berossus; Cicero, *Rep.*, VI, 23.

<sup>25</sup> Seneca, *Q. N.*, III, 30; von Arnim, *op. cit.*, II, p. 337, frag. 1171.

<sup>26</sup> J. von Arnim, *op. cit.*, II, p. 337, frag. 1171.

<sup>27</sup> Lucretius, V, 382-383, 410. In the first passage the clause *et cum sit* is not balanced by the expected antithesis and the item of line 411 does not lead to any proper balance for the preceding line.



the idea of partial destruction (familiar to all in the stories of Phaëthon and Deucalion) and the possibility of complete destruction, which the poet is seeking to prove. Neither in Epicurus nor elsewhere in Lucretius does one find such a strife of elements. Indeed, the Empedoclean "elements" are rejected as soft and mutable, constantly changing their nature, as the atoms change their positions and motions.<sup>28</sup> Such kaleidoscopic forms are hardly suited to the long struggle which may at last bring the world to its end.

The use of mythology in this passage is also foreign to the style of Epicurus.<sup>29</sup> He reviled Homer and his "silly tales," along with all the rest of the myths found in the poets.<sup>30</sup> Lucretius, on the other hand, had the greatest respect for Homer (III, 1037 f.) and often uses the myths as illustrations, while regularly warning the reader that they are not to be taken as true.<sup>31</sup> His method partly resembles that of the Stoics, for they, too, declared that the stories were false but used them to illustrate their own doctrines.<sup>32</sup> Cicero's Epicurean spokesman is doubtless faithful to the traditions of his school when he denounces even this use of mythology.<sup>33</sup>

It thus appears that both in suggesting an end due to the strife of the elements, and in the argument from mythology, Lucretius is adding to the teaching of his master. But the additions are presented merely as possibilities and illustrations, not as positive assertions which could be condemned as heresy. As Epicurus had offered a variety of explanations for one phenomenon,<sup>34</sup> so his disciple offers his three explanations of the end

<sup>28</sup> Lucretius, I, 753-829. The Stoic ecpyrosis seems also to have been attacked by the Epicureans; cf. the papyrus fragment described by W. Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemos* (= C. Wessely, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, VI), p. 113, note 512.

<sup>29</sup> One can hardly find a name from mythology in the fragments of Epicurus. Usener, frag. 346a (= Diodorus Siculus, XVII, 7, 4) relates a legend about the fires of the sun gathering on Mount Ida and is assigned to Epicurus only because Lucretius, V, 663 ff., refers to the story. Lucretius begins with the phrase *fama est*, which does not suggest a quotation from Epicurus.

<sup>30</sup> Usener, frags. 228, 229.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Lucretius, I, 1-49; II, 600-640; III, 978-1023; V, 22-51.

<sup>32</sup> Cicero, *N. D.*, II, 63-70.

<sup>33</sup> *Idem*, I, 41 f.

<sup>34</sup> Diogenes Laertius, X, 86 f.

of the world, and the reader is left to choose among them according to his fancy.

There is a tragic irony in the figure of the peasant who cannot read the signs of the times or foresee the doom toward which all things move. A similar irony appears in the long sketch of human society which concludes the fifth book (V, 925-1457). Man is there said to have lived at first in a state like that of the beasts, surrounded by every discomfort and danger. Then little by little he discovered language, fire, family life, civil government, metals, agriculture, music, literature, and the arts. The last ten lines of the book sum all this up in language which, divorced from its context, has been taken to set forth the modern idea of progress.<sup>35</sup> But the five hundred lines which portray the history of civilization may better be taken to show that through all the changes of human experience there is no real progress, that is, no increase of happiness. Each new discovery, each supposed improvement, is attended by its own evils, and their demonstration convinces the reader that the change was vain.<sup>36</sup>

This theme first appears in lines 988-1010: gruesome as was the plight of savages devoured by beasts in the woods, at least they were not led beneath the standards of war to be slain by thousands in a single day; nor did the greed for wealth entice men in ships to be dashed on rocks by the storm. Then hunger

<sup>35</sup> Tenney Frank, *Life and Literature in the Roman Republic* (Berkeley, 1930), pp. 236-242, finds in Lucretius "promises of eternal progress." He cites Lucretius, V, 332-337 as a full commitment to the modern theory. Lucretius there points to progress in the arts as still going on, but there is no prediction as to the future. He is arguing against those who maintain the eternity of the world and cites recent and contemporary progress to show that the world had a beginning at no remote time. The poet's conclusion (V, 351-415) is that the world is perishable and may soon come to its end.

Dean W. R. Inge, *Outspoken Essays, Second Series* (London, 1923), p. 159 cites V, 1452-1455 and says that we owe to Lucretius "the blessed word Progress in its modern sense." While he also, p. 165, quotes Lucretius V, 93-96, on the ultimate fate of the world, he does not call attention to the passages in which the imminence of the end is stated.

<sup>36</sup> The famous poem of Book V and VI is often taken to show that the world and all its phenomena are the result of natural law, operating without the aid of gods.

gave the weakened limbs to death, now it is excess which overwhelms them. Then the unwary filled their cup with poison, but now they are more clever and give it to others! The invention of language, fire, cities, and property led to the evils of greed and ambition (V, 1113-1135). The discovery of metals led to the love of gold and the use of new instruments of war (V, 1275-1349). Then came weaving, agriculture, music, song, and dance, with further refinements and comforts, but no cessation in envy, struggle, and bloodshed (V, 1430-1435):

Ergo hominum genus incassum frustraue laborat  
semper et <in> curis consumit inanibus aevom,  
nimirum quia non cognovit quae sit habendi  
finis et omnino quoad crescat vera voluptas.  
idque minutatim vitam provexit in altum  
et belli magnos commovit funditus aestus.

In these lines we have Lucretius' verdict on the question of progress: all the long effort of mankind has been in vain, from ignorance of the fact that pleasure is not increased by inventions and wealth; and this ignorance has gradually borne human life out into the deep sea, and has stirred up from the depths the great billows of war.

Such seems to be the obvious meaning of the passage, but Giussani<sup>37</sup> has suggested another interpretation for line 1434, taking the phrase *in altum* to refer to the progress of civilization. Bailey's translation<sup>38</sup> evidently follows Giussani: "And this, little by little, has advanced life to its high plane." The phrase *vitam provexit* is unique and may be interpreted either by analogy with the usage "*naves in altum provectae*" or "*ecquo te tua virtus provexisset.*"<sup>39</sup> May there not then be a double meaning by which the height of progress is also a sea of peril for the ship of life? The tone of tragic irony is notable in any case and is thus much strengthened.

The poet was well aware of the storm of war which was about

<sup>37</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 167.

<sup>38</sup> C. Bailey, *Lucretius on the Nature of Things* (Oxford, 1929), p. 233.

<sup>39</sup> Caesar, *B. G.*, IV, 28; Cicero, *Phil.*, XIII, 24. Lucretius elsewhere (IV, 194; VI, 1026) uses the verb *provehere* only in its literal sense, "to carry forward." The figurative use of the substantive *altum* (as in Cicero, *Verr.*, III, 98) seems not to be found elsewhere in Lucretius but cannot for that reason be excluded here.

to break upon the Roman world. His dread of the *fera moenera mililii* prompts his petition to Venus in the first book, that she may tame the war god and grant peace to men. Throughout his account of history Lucretius is much preoccupied with the horror of war. His youth had seen the fearful days of Marius and Sulla, and, though for a time thereafter Italy enjoyed respite from bloodshed, the formation of the first triumvirate clearly marked the opening of a new revolution. While Lucretius was writing there were disorders in the streets of Rome, and the rivalry of the leaders constantly threatened to loose the inevitable war. The historical situation explains the mention of the storm of war as the climax of human effort and folly. In the closing lines of the book (V, 1456 f.) the climax is reëmphasized by the position of the word *cacumen*:

namque aliud ex alio clarescere corde videbant,  
artibus ad summum donec venere cacumen.

Man has now reached the pinnacle of science, art, and luxury. What more was to be expected, if not the catastrophe of the drama?

It must be admitted that this is only one side of the poet's outlook. In bright contrast with this sombre picture stands out the great achievement of history, Epicurus' discovery of the true philosophy. He is represented as a victor who has slain the dragon of superstition and has thereby raised us up to heaven (I, 62-79). His teaching brings sweet joys to men throughout the world (V, 20 f.). The discovery is recent and is now for the first time set forth in Latin (V, 335-337). But Lucretius does not go on to predict the conversion of the masses or the beginning of a new age of happiness. On the contrary, the wise are described as a chosen few, who climb to heights whence they can look down on the misery of the rest (II, 1-16). Epicurean teaching was a bitter medicine from which the crowd shrank, requiring the honey of poetry to tempt the reader, who was still likely to lay the book aside before he understood the whole doctrine (IV, 1-25). Of the Romans who professed the Epicurean creed, few, if any, would conform to Lucretius' ideal of the wise man.<sup>40</sup> Most of the people whose names we know were involved in politics, and

<sup>40</sup> W. W. Fowler, *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero* (London, 1912), pp. 130-131, 133-134, 136-137, 139-140, 142-143, 145-146, 148-149, 151-152, 154-155, 157-158, 160-161, 163-164, 166-167, 169-170, 172-173, 175-176, 178-179, 181-182, 184-185, 187-188, 190-191, 193-194, 196-197, 199-200, 202-203, 205-206, 208-209, 211-212, 214-215, 217-218, 220-221, 223-224, 226-227, 229-230, 232-233, 235-236, 238-239, 241-242, 244-245, 247-248, 250-251, 253-254, 256-257, 259-260, 262-263, 265-266, 268-269, 271-272, 274-275, 277-278, 280-281, 283-284, 286-287, 289-290, 292-293, 295-296, 298-299, 301-302, 304-305, 307-308, 310-311, 313-314, 316-317, 319-320, 322-323, 325-326, 328-329, 331-332, 334-335, 337-338, 340-341, 343-344, 346-347, 349-350, 352-353, 355-356, 358-359, 361-362, 364-365, 367-368, 370-371, 373-374, 376-377, 379-380, 382-383, 385-386, 388-389, 391-392, 394-395, 397-398, 400-401, 403-404, 406-407, 409-410, 412-413, 415-416, 418-419, 421-422, 424-425, 427-428, 430-431, 433-434, 436-437, 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772-773, 775-776, 778-779, 781-782, 784-785, 787-788, 790-791, 793-794, 796-797, 799-800, 802-803, 805-806, 808-809, 811-812, 814-815, 817-818, 820-821, 823-824, 826-827, 829-830, 832-833, 835-836, 838-839, 841-842, 844-845, 847-848, 850-851, 853-854, 856-857, 859-860, 862-863, 865-866, 868-869, 871-872, 874-875, 877-878, 880-881, 883-884, 886-887, 889-890, 892-893, 895-896, 898-899, 901-902, 904-905, 907-908, 910-911, 913-914, 916-917, 919-920, 922-923, 925-926, 928-929, 931-932, 934-935, 937-938, 940-941, 943-944, 946-947, 949-950, 952-953, 955-956, 958-959, 961-962, 964-965, 967-968, 970-971, 973-974, 976-977, 979-980, 982-983, 985-986, 988-989, 991-992, 994-995, 997-998, 1000-1001, 1003-1004, 1006-1007, 1009-1010, 1012-1013, 1015-1016, 1018-1019, 1021-1022, 1024-1025, 1027-1028, 1030-1031, 1033-1034, 1036-1037, 1039-1040, 1042-1043, 1045-1046, 1048-1049, 1051-1052, 1054-1055, 1057-1058, 1060-1061, 1063-1064, 1066-1067, 1069-1070, 1072-1073, 1075-1076, 1078-1079, 1081-1082, 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3264-3265, 3267-3268, 3270-3271, 3273-3274, 3276-3277, 3279-3280, 3282-3283, 3285-3286, 3288-3289, 3291-3292, 3294-3295, 3297-3298, 3300-3301, 3303-3304, 3306-3307, 3309-3310, 3312-3313, 3315-3316, 3318-3319, 3321-3322, 3324-3325, 3327-3328, 3330-3331, 3333-3334, 3336-3337, 3339-3340, 3342-3343, 3345-3346, 3348-3349, 3351-3352, 3354-3355, 3357-3358, 3360-3361, 3363-3364, 3366-3367, 3369-3370, 3372-3373, 3375-3376, 3378-3379, 3381-3382, 3384-3385, 3387-3388, 3390-3391, 3393-3394, 3396-3397, 3399-3400, 3402-3403, 3405-3406, 3408-3409, 3411-3412, 3414-3415, 3417-3418, 3420-3421, 3423-3424, 3426-3427, 3429-3430, 3432-3433, 343

some were notorious epicures, who brought the name of their school into contempt. Lucretius has nothing but scorn for such men (III, 912-918), and the reader is left with the impression that he was detached and lonely.

There is no rational connection between Lucretius' outlook on human affairs and the doctrine that the structure of the universe was about to collapse. But it has been remarked <sup>41</sup> that at every crisis of Roman history there were learned predictions of the end of the world. Likewise in modern times each great war stirs many Christians to predict the return of the Lord.

As to the time of the end, Lucretius could not well be dogmatic beyond his master. Later generations of men might follow (V, 1197), or Memmius himself might see the dread event (V, 104 f.). The prayer that guiding Fortune might postpone the day (V, 107) corresponds to the prayer that Venus might avert the impending civil war. The danger in each case was felt to be real, and the prayer only serves to make it more vivid. On his own principles Lucretius should no more have dreaded the end of the world than death, which he declares is nothing to us. And indeed, his attitude seems rather to be one of fascination than of dread. As a detached spectator of the world's tragedy <sup>42</sup> he found a beauty in death as well as in life. What therefore could be more fascinating than the end of all? The ambition which drives men to seek new honors and pleasures is vain—"eadem sunt omnia semper." Equally vain is all the progress of history. Death, then, is Nature's proper decree for man and for the universe.

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<sup>41</sup> J. Carcopino, *Virgile et le Mystère de la IV<sup>e</sup> Eglogue* (Paris, 1930), pp. 143 f.

<sup>42</sup> Compare G. F. Else, "Lucretius and the Aesthetic Attitude," in *H. S. C. P.*, XLI (1930), pp. 163-166.

MOMMSEN'S *PRIDIANUM*: *B. G. U.*, 696.

This papyrus was first published and commented on by Mommsen in *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, VII (1892), since which time the text has often been reprinted<sup>1</sup> and very frequently cited by students of Roman military affairs. Since the original publication, however, no other commentary, so far as the present writer knows, has appeared. This is surprising, because both Mommsen's text and his interpretation left room for improvement, especially in view of the increased material, resulting from later finds and publications of Latin papyri, which has since become available for comparison. This paper is accordingly an effort to supplement, and where necessary to correct, Mommsen's treatment.<sup>2</sup>

The best procedure appears to be to print the entire text once more and to comment first on the new readings, then on the meaning of the document as a whole. Mommsen's numbering of the lines has been retained in order to facilitate comparison.

Col. i

PRIDIANUM COH(ORTIS) I AUG(USTAE) PR(AETORIAE)  
LUS(ITANORUM) EQ(UITATAE)

A.D. 156      MENSIS AUGUSTI, SILVANO ET AUGURINO CO(N)-  
S(ULIBUS),

QUAE HIBERNATUR CONTRAPOLLO-  
NOSPOLI MAIORE THEBAIDIS EX VIII

A.D. 131      5 IDUS IULIAS, PONTIANO ET RUFIN[O] CO(N)S(ULIBUS).

<sup>1</sup> *B. G. U.*, 696; Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, VIII, pp. 553-66; *Palaeographical Society Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions*, Series II, vol. II (London, 1889-94), no. 165; C. Wessely, *Schrifttafeln zur älteren lateinischen Palaeographie* (Leipzig, 1898), no. 6; J. Mallon, R. Marichal, Ch. Perrat, *L'Écriture Latine de la Capitale Romaine à la Minuscule* (Paris, 1939), no. 24 (not complete). A portion of the papyrus is also reproduced in H. Delitsch, *Geschichte d. abendländischen Schreibrschriften* (Leipzig, 1928), pl. I. Mommsen's commentary is cited from the *Gesammelte Schriften* as the latest edition of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> This article is a product of studies in Roman military accounts and was begun in 1932 at the suggestion of Professor M. I. Rostovtzeff at the University of Chicago. A concept of the work, which was in its early stages, was accepted by Yale University in 1934. The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Professor Rostovtzeff for encouragement and guidance in the study.

- PRAEFECTUS M(ARCUS) IULIUS M(ARCI) F(ILII) TRIBU  
 QUIR(INA) SILVANUS, DOMO THUBURSI-  
 CA, MILITARE COEPIT EX IX KAL(ENDAS) MA-  
 IAS, COMMODO ET LATERANO CO(N)S(ULIBUS),  
 A.D. 154  
 10 LOCO ALLI PUDENTILLI.  
 PRIDIE KAL(ENDAS) SEPTEMBRES.  
 SUMMA MIL(ITUM) [PE]R(FECTA) KAL DV  
 15 IANUARIAS, IN IS (CENTURIONES) VI, DEC(URIONES) III,  
 EQ(UITES) CXIV, DROM(EDARII) XVIII,  
 PEDITES CCCLXIII;  
 ET POST KAL(ENDAS) IANUARIAS ACCESSER(UNT):  
 20 FACTUS EX PAGANO A SEMPRO- (CENTURIO) I  
 NIO LIBERALE, PRAEF(ECTO) AEGUPT(I),  
 silvano et augurino co(n)s(ulibus),  
 sextus sempronius candidus ex v kal(endas)  
 maias;  
 25 RELECTUS AB ALAE I THRAC(UM) DEC(URIO) I  
 MAURETANIAE AD VIRCAM CHOR-  
 TIS,  
 A.D. 134 vibio varo co(n)s(ulibus),  
 a(ulus) flavius vespasianus ex vi nonas  
 30 martias;  
 TIRONES PROBATI VOLUN- VIII  
 TARI A SEMPRONIO LIBERALAE,  
 PRAEF(ECTO) AEG(UPTI), IN IS EQ(UES) I, DROM(E-  
 DARIUS) I:  
 in (centuria) herculani, silvano et augurino co(n)s(ulibus),  
 35 philon isio[n]is ex [... n]onas maias;  
 a[p]ollos...ia.minus ex idibus s(upra)s(cript)is  
 [i]n (centuria) marci, eodem co(n)s(ule),  
 anubas am[m]on e]x .i nonas  
 s(upra)s(cript)as;  
 40 in (centuria) gaiani, [eodem] co(n)s(ule),  
 c(aius) sigillius val[en]s[us]  
 in (centuria) semproniani, eodem [co(n)s(ule)],  
 ammonius[us]

L. 10) Mommsen: *aeli pudentilli*

L. 14) M: *summa ad [pr] = kal*; *L'Écriture Latine: summa ad pr. kal*

L. 25) M: *ala EI*

L. 35) M: *[ap]olloni[us] .. is ex .. nonas*; *L'Écriture Latine: apollonius... is ex .. nonas*

L. 36) M: *a[po]llo...min...idibus...*; *L'Écriture Latine: a[p]ollos iu...min...ex idibus ... is*

L. 37) M, *Eph. Ep.*: *marsici*; *Ges. Schr.*: *marci*; *L'Écriture Latine: marsici*

L. 39) Mommsen offers no reading

## Col. ii

- A.D. 155 in (centuria) ga<ia>n[i, severo et sabiniano co(n)s(ulibus),]  
c(a)ius iulius[ --- ex --- kal(endas)]  
ian[uaris;]  
silvano et a[ugurino co(n)s(ulibus),]  
5 heraclammon q[ --- ex ..]  
nonas m[  
in turma artemidor[i, eodem co(n)s(ule),]  
eq(ues) hermacisapyn. [ --- ex-----]  
apriles;  
10 in turma salviani, eodē[m co(n)s(ule),]  
dro(medarius) cronius barbasatis ex xvi[  
kal(endas) maias;  
ACCEPTI EX LEG(IONE) II TR(AIANA) FORT[II]  
DATI AB EODEM PRÆFECT[O]  
15 AEGUPTI,  
A.D. 151 in (centuria) lappi, condiano et maximo co(n)s(ulibus),  
valerius tertius ex viii kal(endas)  
apriles;  
A.D. 148 in (centuria) candidi, torquato et iuliano co(n)s(ulibus),  
20 horatius herennianus ex iv idus  
novembres;  
TRANSLATUS EX COH(ORTE) I FL(AVIA) CIL[ICUM]  
A.D. 136 in (centuria) candidi, comm[odo] et pompeiano co(n)s(ulibus),  
maevius margellus [ex -----]  
25 ITEM TRANSLAT[II] EX  
A.D. 141 in (centuria) lappi, severo [et { stloga (?)  
or 155 c(a)ius longinus apollo[ --- ex -----] sabiniano (?) co(n)s(ulibus),]  
idus feb[ruarias;]  
in (centuria) sempronian[ini ex -----]  
A.D. 136 commodo et { [pompeiano (?)  
or 154 [laterano (?) co(n)s(ulibus),]  
31 eros e[  
ITEM FACTI [EQUITES  
in turma arte[midori ex -----]  
severo e[t { stloga (?)  
sabiniano (?) co(n)s(ulibus);]  
35 ision petsireo. [  
in turma s[alviani (?) ex -----]  
A.D. 152 glabr[ione et homullo co(n)s(ulibus);]

L. 1) M: gai[ani; L'écriture Latine: ga[iani

L. 5) M: heraclammon us[

L. 8) M: hermacisapyni; Pal. Soc.: i[hermacisapyni; L'écriture Latine: hermacisapyni

L. 11) M: longinus apollo; L'écriture Latine: longinus apollo

L. 11) M: longinus apollo; L'écriture Latine: longinus apollo



The general purport of this text as a detailed list of accessions to the *cohors I Augusta Lusitanorum* during a given period of time is obvious.<sup>3</sup> All the entries have the same form. First comes a heading indicating the source from which the individuals concerned reached the *cohors I Lusitanorum*—i, 31, *tirones*; ii, 13-15, *accepti ex leg. II Traiana*, etc. Then there is a statement of the century or *turma* to which each was assigned, the year of his enlistment, his name, and the day and month of his enlistment. The order seems to have differed in ii, 29-38, in that the day and month precede the year; but that is not significant. Before proceeding with the interpretation of the text as a whole, however, it will be useful to clear up the points in which the readings adopted above differ from those previously published.

Col. i, 10: Mommsen reads *aeli pudentilli* and says (p. 559) that the man is otherwise unknown. The facsimiles show, however, that the second letter of the *nomen gentilicium* has exactly the form of the third. Hence *alli* is the correct reading; and a *Q. Allius Q. f. Col(lina) Pudentillus, augur curiae xxiii*, and *minister Larum Aug.* is known from a Sardinian inscription.<sup>4</sup> It cannot be proved that this is the same man as the former prefect of the *coh. I Lusitanorum*; but, in view of the rarity of this combination of names, the identification of the one with the other seems quite possible.

Col. i, 14: Mommsen reads *summa ad [pr] x kal*, with the suggestion that the small *x* was a mark of punctuation (p. 556); but the latinity of such an expression as *ad pridie kalendas* is dubious; and his *x* is unquestionably the remains of an *F* or *E* (cf. *F(ilius)*, i, 6; *FACTUS*, i, 20; *PRAEF*, i, 21; *FACTI*, ii, 32; for *E*, *PRAEFECT*, ii, 14). Moreover, the traces of the next two letters after *summa* appear very difficult to reconcile with *AD*, though they suit *M* very well. Doubt is thrown on the restoration proposed here by the accusative *ianuarias*, in l. 15; but in view of the scribe's mistakes elsewhere<sup>5</sup> it is easy to believe that he either omitted *PR* before *KAL* or wrote *ianuarias* instead of *ianuariis*. In support of the interpretation that *kal ianuariis* was meant compare i, 19: *et post kal ianuarias accesser(unt)*.

<sup>3</sup> Col. i, l. 19: *post kal(endas) ianuarias accesser(unt)*.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. L.*, X, 7953 = *I. L. S.*, 6766.

<sup>5</sup> i, 2, *AUGUSTI*; 25, *ALAE*; 26-27, *CHORTIS*; 32, *LIBERALAE*; ii, 25, *maevius*; regularly *eodem* instead of *isdem* *cos*.

I know of no exact parallel for *summa militum perfecta*; but the sense is satisfactory, denoting the sum total, as opposed to the analysis which follows, of the strength of the cohort on the date named; and one may compare *reliqui numero puro* and *summa vera* in Hunt's *pridianum*<sup>6</sup> as well as the abbreviations *n p mil cal* and *n p* which precede the totals in the *acta diurna* of the *coh. XX Palmyrenorum* at Dura.<sup>7</sup> These last, in their context, can readily be expanded as *n(umerus) p(erfectus) mil(itum) cal(igatorum)* and *n(umero) p(erfecto)*.

Col. i, 20: Mommsen understood the line between *SEMPRO* and the numeral *I* simply as a mark to separate them (p. 556). Note, however, that the next accession, in l. 25, is a decurion, followed in ll. i, 31-ii, 12 by a group of *tirones*. The list of new men is therefore arranged in descending order of rank; and comparison of this sign in l. 20 with the symbols for *centuria* in i, 37 and 40, and ii, 30, leaves no doubt that Sextus Sempronius Candidus was in fact made a centurion and is possibly the same person as the Candidus who is found in ii, 19 and 23. At any rate the discovery that he was a centurion makes it necessary to give up Mommsen's description of him as a *tiro lectus* (p. 562) and to find a new explanation of *ex pagano*, since it is obvious that the term as used here means more than simply "private citizen" (p. 563). For this I can suggest no better explanation than that which arises from Premierstein's discussion of the phrase *pagane cultus* which is applied in *P. Lat. Gen.*, 1 to a soldier in active service. Premierstein's opinion is that the soldier was assigned to secret police duty as a "plain-clothes man";<sup>8</sup> so one may suppose that the present centurion entered the army from the secret service of the civil police. It is certain that this was his first enlistment, for the date, which was a necessary part of every soldier's identification, is that of the year in which the papyrus itself was written.

Col. i, 25: Mommsen read *ala EI* and corrected to *ala II*, a corps which in 156 was stationed in Mauretania (p. 557). Cicho-

<sup>6</sup> A. S. Hunt, "A Register of a Cohort in Moesia," *Raccolta di Scritti in Onore di Giacomo Lumbroso* (Milan, 1925); *New Palaeographical Society*, Series II, vol. II, plate 186, ll. 50 and 71. I hope soon to publish a new edition of my edition of this papyrus.

<sup>7</sup> Unpublished, but see notes 10 and 11 below.

<sup>8</sup> Premierstein, "Die Buchführung einer ägyptischen Legionsabteilung," *Klio*, III (1903), p. 41 and foot.

rius, however, prefers *alae I*, which was then in Egypt;<sup>9</sup> and the facsimile appears to support him. The substitution of *ae* for *a* is paralleled in *I. L. S.*, 2531 and 2966. *reiectus* and *ad vircam chortis* led Mommsen to regard this transfer as a reduction to a less desirable type of service by way of punishment, although he himself remarks *Reiectus quod item fit decurio . . . mirum est*. This is not in itself impossible; but he is certainly wrong in supposing that *ad vir<g>am c<o>hortis* perhaps meant that Vespasianus was beaten as well, for it would have been impossible for him to exercise any authority thereafter over the men in his *turma*. *virga* here must be the equivalent of *vitis*, the vine-staff which was the centurion's badge of office and which, as the symbol of his own power to inflict corporal punishment, must also have belonged to a decurion, whose rank was the equivalent of the centurion's. As for *reiectus*, it is true that *reicere* does at times signify removal with disgrace;<sup>10</sup> but it can also serve as a synonym for *remittere*.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, Domaszewski asserts that in the case of centurions in the legions every transfer from one legion to another indicates a promotion,<sup>12</sup> a principle which may very well apply in the present case also. A more satisfactory hypothesis, accordingly, especially in view of Vespasianus' twenty-two years of service, seems to be that Vespasianus had previously served in the *coh. I Lusitanorum*, was then transferred to the *ala I Thracum*, perhaps after service in other corps, and is now being returned, with a promotion to the decurionate, to this cohort.<sup>13</sup> At all events, Domaszewski's statement, based on Mommsen's interpretation of this papyrus, that a *decurio cohortis* was beneath a *decurio alae* in rank,<sup>14</sup> and Lesquier's adoption of Mommsen's opinion,<sup>15</sup> must be treated with caution.

Col. i, 35: The first name of the *tiro* is almost certainly

<sup>9</sup> *R.-E.*, s. v. "Ala," col. 1264. Cichorius' reading *mauretanae* is, however, mistaken. The papyrus certainly has *mauretaniae*; but cf. *I. L. S.*, III, ii, p. 819, for the insertion of *i* incorrectly in terminations of words and see note 5 *supra*.

<sup>10</sup> *Dig.*, XL, 12, 29; XLVIII, 16, 6, 6.

<sup>11</sup> *Dig.*, I, 16, 11; *Cod. Just.*, XII, 59 (60), 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Rangordnung d. röm. Heeres*, p. 94.

<sup>13</sup> I am indebted to Professor Rostovtzeff for most of the foregoing discussion of *reiectus*.

<sup>14</sup> *Rangordnung*, p. 57.

<sup>15</sup> *L'armée romaine*, p. 228.

*philon*. The second name begins and ends with *is*; but the four letters in the middle do not combine to form an intelligible name.

Col. i, 36: The first name is *apollos*. For the ligature of *ia* in the second compare ii, 16, *condiano*. The reading *s(upra)-s(cript)* occasions difficulties, for abbreviation by contraction, as in the second element of the word, is usually supposed to have been introduced into secular documents at a much later date than this. Van Hoesen's earliest example of contraction in the Latin papyri is from a Vatican papyrus of A. D. 444.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, the reading offered here appears unavoidable. A month-name or its equivalent must be found at this point; and, as the reproduction in *L'Écriture Latine* plainly shows, only four (or at most, five) letters followed *idibus*, and the group begins and ends with *s*.

Col. i, 37: The name of the centurion appears to be *marci*, though a spot of ink visible between the *r* and *c* may be the remains of another letter.

Col. i, 38: There is room only for *ammon* as the second name.

Col. ii, 1: The letter after *a* seems to be *n*, and is almost certainly not *i*, though the centurion is presumably the same as in col. i, 40.

Col. ii, 4: The repetition of the names of the consuls instead of *eodem cos* as in col. i, 37 and 42 and ii, 10, shows that the entry in col. ii, 1-3 is to be dated in the preceding year, before the Kalends of January.

Col. ii, 8: The characters at the beginning of the line are plainly *eq*. For the form of the *e* compare those in *herennius*, ii, 20; the second *e* in *severo*, ii, 34; and the first in *petsireo*, ii, 35. For the *q* compare *torquato* in ii, 19. This reading is further confirmed by the assignment of the *tiro* to a *turma* instead of a century. Since he is distinguished as an *eq(ues)*, the *dromedarius* of col. i, 33 must be the *tiro* of col. ii, 10-12, who is also assigned to a *turma*.

Col. ii, 11: *dro* is unusual as an abbreviation for *dromedarius*; but no other reading seems possible. *cronius* is a common Graeco-Egyptian name.

<sup>16</sup> H. B. Van Hoesen, *Roman Cursive Writing* (Princeton, 1915), pp. 260-61. The Chester Beatty papyrus, however, proves that abbreviation by contraction was practiced in the first or second century A. D. in Greek Christian texts, and in a manner which indicates that the practice was already common and understood even earlier. See *Aegyptus*, XLII (1933), pp. 9-10; *Annuaire des Papyrus*, XL (1933), p. 123.

Col. ii, 25 and 34: The restoration of *stloga* as one of the consuls (A. D. 141) cannot be regarded as certain. M. Iunius Sabinianus was consul with L. Iulius Severus in A. D. 155, so that *sabimiano* is equally a possibility.

Col. ii, 30: Similarly, *pompeiano*, consul in A. D. 136, is possible in place of *laterano*, A. D. 154. Compare col. ii, l. 23.

Col. ii, 32: The restoration *FACTI* [*EQUITES*] was proposed by Cumont from a comparison with his Dura parchment VI, l. 7;<sup>17</sup> and his suggestion is confirmed by the fact that the next two entries assign the men to *turmae* instead of centuries.

Col. ii, 35: The first name is *ision*, common in Egypt.

It is now time to consider the document as a whole. First of all, the two styles of writing obviously can hardly represent entries made by two different scribes, as Mommsen asserts (pp. 559 and 566), for he himself admits that it was written *uno tenore* (pp. 558-59). This being the case, it is absurd to suppose that any scribe could prepare in advance a frame-work of headings so skilfully that entries made subsequently by another person and in a different style of writing would always fill the spaces exactly, as in this papyrus. The plain explanation is that a single scribe wrote the whole piece, simply using capitals to distinguish the various headings under which the names were entered.

It must also be pointed out that this papyrus is not conclusive proof, as Mommsen thought (pp. 560-61), that a *cohors quingenaria equitata* had four decurions, for it must be remembered that the end of the document, in which all deductions from the strength of the cohort were detailed,<sup>18</sup> is lost. On the showing of the present text alone, now that Sempronius Candidus is discovered to be a centurion, one would have to assume that a *cohors quingenaria* had seven centurions, which is known not to have been the case. On the other hand, it is not safe to assume from the addition of Vespasianus that four is the total normal number of decurions, for the *pridianum* of the preceding December, as the totals quoted in col. i, 15 indicate, would have shown only three. Caution is further enjoined by the figures preserved in the *acta diurna* of the *coh. XX Palmyrenorum* at Dura. This

<sup>17</sup> F. Cumont, *Monuments Piot*, XXVI (1923), p. 40; *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (Paris, 1926), pp. 314-17 and plate 107.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Hunt's *pridianum*.

was a *cohors miliaria equitata* and should accordingly have had double the number of decurions found in a *cohors quingenaria*; but in one of the Dura papyri the totals are eight centurions and five decurions,<sup>19</sup> and in another there are six centurions and four decurions.<sup>20</sup> These two papyri are not of course the same type of document as the *pridianum*, since they record the current status of the cohort day by day rather than a periodical comprehensive summary of its entire strength; but at least they support the view that the evidence of the *pridianum* on this question is not final.

The most important matter, however, is of course to determine the nature and purpose of such a text as this, a *pridianum*. On this point Mommsen's opinion seems to be that three *pridiana* were drawn up yearly, and that this was done in connection with the payment of the soldiers' three *stipendia* in order to determine the exact number of men in each unit at the time of the payment. The present text, he says, was written in May; but he is not consistent with himself in his remarks regarding either the time or the object of this *pridianum*.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, he seems to have overlooked or to have been led by his theory to misinterpret some lines of the text itself. Consequently, no attempt will be made to correct his view in detail; but the whole question will be discussed from the beginning.

First of all, the hypothesis that three *pridiana* were composed

<sup>19</sup> Dura papyrus 3, time of Severus Alexander; unpublished, but see M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Münchener Beiträge*, XIX (1934), pp. 369-70; E. T. Silk and C. B. Welles, *D. Rep.*, V, p. 296.

<sup>20</sup> Dura papyrus 9, A. D. 239; unpublished.

<sup>21</sup> P. 558: Vocabulum illud [pridianum] . . . significat opinor matriculam cohortis stipendii solvendi causa quinto quoque mense ita per-scriptam ut demerentur dimissi mortuive, adderentur adlecti. Ita singulis annis matriculae ternae fiebant, appellatae ut videtur *pridianum mensis Aprilis*, *pridianum mensis Augusti*, *pridianum mensis Decembris*.

P. 558: Quadrimestre tempus . . . pendet omnino a stipendio militari . . . ter in anno numerato, scilicet k. Ian. et k. Mai. et k. Sept.

P. 558: Indicem militum sic ut ad numerum accesserunt institutum matriculam [Vegetius] appellat . . . Eius matriculae tamquam supplementum est index is quem tenemus, scilicet proficiscens a statu cohortis k. Ian. a. 156, sed respiciens item ad eum qui fuit k. Sept. anni . . .

P. 558: Indicem capitulum e . . . tenemus, quodque, sic ut milites singuli in numerum referebantur, sed uno tenore mense . . .

annually is mistaken. Mommsen does not mention the date in col. i, 13: *pridie kal(endas) septembres*. As the spacing of the lines on the papyrus shows, this date is not to be taken with the preceding lines regarding the two prefects but begins a new section and is in fact the date of the whole document. But if the date of this *pridianum* is *pridie kal(endas) septembres*, then it is the *pridianum mensis augusti*; and Mommsen's wholly unnatural assumption that *pridianum . . . mensis augusti* and *silvano et augurino consulibus* in col. i, 1-2 are not to be taken together (p. 558) is shown to be without foundation. On the other hand, the totals brought forward are described as the *summa militum . . . kal ianuarias* (i, 14-15); and the record of accessions begins *et post kal ianuarias accesserunt* (i, 19). But no account of accessions or losses could reasonably be based on any totals but those of the last preceding account, though by Mommsen's system a *pridianum* for April should have intervened between the present one and that for the previous December. Finally, conclusive evidence that there was no *pridianum* for the term ending April 30 (*pridie kal maias*) is furnished by the dates of enlistment, all earlier than the Kalends of May,<sup>22</sup> of three of the *tirones* listed in the present text; for, if such a *pridianum* had existed, these names would have been entered in it and not in the present one. The only dates for *pridiana* are therefore *pridie kalendas ianuarias*<sup>23</sup> and *pridie kalendas septembres*.

This means, of course, that the *pridianum* had nothing directly to do with the payment of the soldiers' *stipendia*. I have argued elsewhere that *stipendia* were actually paid on *vii idus ianuarias*, *vi idus maias*, and *vii idus septembres*;<sup>24</sup> but, whatever the exact dates of the payments may have been, this conclusion regarding *pridiana* is supported by the content of the one published by Hunt. Mommsen had guessed that *pridiana* would record losses from the unit concerned as well as accessions to it; but he

<sup>22</sup> Col. ii, 2-3 [—kal] *ianuarias*; 9:—aprilis; 11-12, *ex avi[—] kal maias*. The first of these *tirones* evidently reached the cohort too late to appear in the December *pridianum*. Cf. the dates in *P. Oxy.*, 1022.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. again Hunt's *pridianum*, col. i, 26 [*summa militum*] *p(ridie) k ianuarias*; col. i, 29: [.CESSERUN]T [P]OST K IANUARIAS.

<sup>24</sup> R. O. Fink, A. S. Hoey, and W. F. Snyder, "The *Feriale Duranum*," *Yale Classical Studies*, VII (1940), commentary on col. I, 7-9.

envisaged only permanent losses.<sup>25</sup> A large proportion of Hunt's *pridianum*, however, details simply absences, men unfit for duty because of illness, and the like—matters of no importance at all so far as payment of a *stipendium* is concerned.

The real reason, however, for composing *pridiana* for December and August but not for April is, I think, easy to find. The Roman year ended on December 31; and just as with us this date would have been the normal time for taking inventories and making reports. In Egypt, however, the year ended on August 29.<sup>26</sup> For that province, accordingly, a second accounting was necessary; and this, in the army, was naturally approximated to the end of the Roman month. It is possible that this second *pridianum* was intended only for the use of the provincial administration; but in any case I do not believe that *pridiana* were prepared more than once a year, that is, *pridie kalendas ianuarias*, in any province but Egypt. A *pridianum* was not, as Mommsen calls it, a *matricula* in any proper sense of the word, nor a supplement to one, but an independent document submitted yearly (in Egypt twice yearly) to the provincial military headquarters or perhaps even to Rome, for the purpose of reporting losses, accessions, and the distribution of its forces for each unit of the army.

Recognition that the *pridianum* was normally compiled *pridie kalendas ianuarias* also makes the derivation of the term more comprehensible, for the Kalends of January were of course the Kalends *par excellence*,<sup>27</sup> thus rendering December 31 an outstanding *pridie*.

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<sup>25</sup> P. 558: . . . ita perscriptam ut demerentur dimissi mortuive, adderentur adlecti.

<sup>26</sup> Mitteis-Wilcken, *Grundzüge u. Chrest. d. Papyruskunde*, I, i, pp. iv-lvi.

<sup>27</sup> The designation of the Kalends of January in the life of the army can be traced to the *Legio Decurionum* (Vat. Catalogue No. 10, 11, 12), commentary on col. I, 1.



## BRIEF NOTES ON MICHIGAN OSTRACA.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. *O. Mich.*, I, 539.

The editor's reading of this ostrakon is based on the assumption that a substantial portion is lost on the left side. In its published form the text appears to be a receipt issued to someone who has provided three donkeys for the transport of grain from Karanis to a canal port.<sup>2</sup>

A close study of an excellent photograph<sup>3</sup> has revealed that the ostrakon is complete. With respect to the object of transportation it belongs to a type not known apart from the Karanis ostraca. The new text runs as follows:

Λιβιανῆς κριθ(ῆς)  
δνόματος  
Σαραβούτος  
δνογ ξγα  
[...] Φαρμ(οὔθι) [...] <sup>4</sup>

References to "Livian" barley are rare. So far as I know, the phrase has occurred only in three similar transport receipts in the Michigan collection: *O. Mich.*, I, 387, 413, and 428. All of these texts were written in the late third century A. D., and to the same period belongs a fifth example which has turned up

<sup>1</sup> *O. Mich.*, I = Leiv Amundsen, *Greek Ostraca in the University of Michigan Collection*, Part I (*University of Michigan Studies*, Humanistic Series, XXXIV [Ann Arbor, 1935]).

<sup>2</sup> This would be the first stage on the journey to Alexandria. Cf. N. Hohlwein, *Le Blé d'Égypte (Études de Papyrologie, IV)*, pp. 100 f.; L. Amundsen, *O. Oslo*, pp. 54-59.

<sup>3</sup> The ostraca published by Amundsen, with the exception of Nos. 1-97, have been returned to the Egyptian Museum at Cairo, but the University of Michigan possesses a complete set of photographs from the skilled hand of G. R. Swain. For purposes of reading these are often superior to the originals. In justice to Amundsen it must be said that he had no photographs of 286 of the 699 ostraca which he published. After his departure from Egypt in 1929, as he remarks in his preface (p. x), he was forced to rely on his first readings and on tracings from the originals for subsequent work on these texts.

<sup>4</sup> There is space for the year before Φαρμ(οὔθι) and for the day after it, but nothing can be discerned on the photograph. Amundsen's transcript shows that the original was not more helpful.

among the unpublished ostraca in the Michigan collection. Unfortunately, it is very fragmentary and preserves little more than the significant word  $\Lambda\iota\beta\iota\alpha\nu\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ .

Inv. 9446  
 $\Lambda\iota\beta\iota\alpha\nu\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$  [ $\kappa\rho\iota\theta\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$   
 $\text{Καρανίδο[}\varsigma$   
 $\psi \cdot [\dots] \cdot [$   
 -----

## 2. *O. Mich.*, I, 356.

This text, which Amundsen has rightly assigned to the late third or early fourth century A. D., is a list of five persons who transported wood to a  $\mu\omicron\nu\tilde{\eta}$ .<sup>5</sup> The names begin in line 3, where Amundsen has read  $\kappa\epsilon\phi(\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\omega\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma)$   $\Sigma\alpha\rho\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\text{Κομαρίον } a$ . In explanation of  $\text{Κομαρίον}$  he suggests that it may be for the genitive  $\text{Κομαρίον(ος)}$ , or perhaps  $\text{Κομαρί(ονος)}$  followed by  $\delta\nu(\text{ος})$ . A fresh examination, however, has brought to light the diminutive  $\gamma\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ , "load," which is distinctly rare before the Byzantine period.<sup>6</sup> In line 7 Amundsen has read  $\text{Ἀκντᾶς Ἀπολλωνίου}$ , but the ostrakon has  $\Sigma\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\varsigma$   $\text{Ἀπολλωνίου}$ , who is mentioned also in two other lists.<sup>7</sup> In line 6 Amundsen's  $\text{Οὐαλᾶς}$  is in reality  $\text{Οὐάλες}$ , a variant of  $\text{Οὐάλης}$ , which is a Greek spelling of Valens;<sup>8</sup> the same person recurs as  $\text{Οὐάλες}$  in another list.<sup>9</sup>

For the sake of clarity I give the full text of the ostrakon with the corrections furnished by the revision.

<sup>5</sup> An illuminating discussion of  $\mu\omicron\nu\tilde{\eta}$  may be found in L. Amundsen, *O. Oslo*, pp. 60-63.

<sup>6</sup> It is cited by Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, new ed., and Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griech. Papyrusurkunden*, from one source only, *P. Flor.*, II, 274, 5, 11 (III cent. A. D.). It is used with increasing frequency in late Greek (*Sammelbuch*, III, 7168, 8; *P. Oxy.*, XVI, 1858, 6, which reveals the transition to its use in modern Greek to mean "beast of burden" as well as "load"; Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, s. v.; Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, s. v.) and has survived into modern Greek in the form  $\gamma\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota$  (Pernot, *Lexique grec moderne français*, s. v.).

<sup>7</sup> *O. Mich.*, I, 354, 4 and 592, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Bernhard Meinersmann, *Die latcin. Wörter u. Namen in d. griech. Papyri (Studien z. Epigr. u. Papyrusk.)*, I, Schrift 1 [Leipzig, 1927], p. 88.

<sup>9</sup> *O. Mich.*, I, 614, 8.

οἱ ἀπελθότες <sup>10</sup> ὑπὸ ξύλου  
 εἰς τὴν μονήν·  
 κεφ(αλαιωτῆς) Σαρᾶς γομάριον <sup>11</sup> α  
 5. Ὀρίων Λεονίδου α/  
 Λεονίδης Παπέει α  
 Οὐάλες Σαραπίονος α  
 Σώτας Ἀπολλωνίου α  
 δι(ἀ) Ἰσιδώρου  
 π]εδιοφύλαξ.<sup>12</sup>

3. *O. Mich.*, I, 559.

This text is a receipt issued in the late third century A. D. to a person who had provided three donkeys for the government transport of grain. In line 1 the editor has mistaken *Μαρωνίς* for a supposed *Καράνις*, and in line 5 he has read the strange Ἀχνου( ), which also appears with a query in his index of personal names. This difficulty is now eliminated by the revised text which has resulted from an examination of a photograph.

Μαρωνίς Πα-  
 λήμονος, ὄνοι  
 τρεῖς, γ(ίνονται) γ,  
 δι(ἀ) Κολλούθου  
 ὄνηλ(άτου), ἀχύρου.

The association of chaff with donkeys in the receipts is rare; measurement by load (γόμος), basket, or pound is usual. A still unpublished ostrakon in the Michigan collection, however, provides a pertinent parallel. It also comes from Karanis and bears a text of the late third century A. D.

Inv. 9837.

Δογγεῖνα  
 ὄνους δύο εἰς ᾤ-  
 χυρον.

4. *O. Mich.*, I, 90.

This text is a communication from the secretary of the village of Ibion Eikosipentarouron to a certain Agathis. Written in a

<sup>10</sup> Read ἀπελθόντες (Amundsen).

<sup>11</sup> γομάριον: γ corrected from α.

<sup>12</sup> Read πεδιοφύλακος (Amundsen). On the function of the πεδιοφύλαξ see G. Rosenberger, *P. bibl. univ. Giss.*, VI, 53, and especially the note to line 6 and the references there given.

hand of the late third or second century B. C. and dated in the 26th year, it is probably not later than the reign of Euergetes II. Amundsen, with commendable caution, assigns it tentatively to the reign of Philometor.<sup>13</sup> The message consists of a single sentence: *πάτησον τὴν Ζηνοδώρου ὑπώραν μετὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας γνώμης.*

The word *ὑπώρα* is not found in our lexicons, and the editor has resorted necessarily to conjecture. In a note Amundsen suggests that *ὑπώραν* may have been written for *ὑπώρειαν*, which might be taken to refer to a plot of ground at the base of a hill or, with Egyptian conditions in mind, at the edge of the desert, and it is under *ὑπώρεια* that Amundsen has entered the word in his index. Without his commentary it is impossible to know how he would relate *πάτησον* to *ὑπώραν* = *ὑπώρειαν*, unless the clue is to be sought in *καταπάτησις*, "inspection."

As it happens, *ὑπώρα* has been the subject of a brilliant investigation by Jernstedt,<sup>14</sup> and it will suffice to summarize his findings. Only one example has occurred in the papyri. In *P. Oxy.*, II, 298, a letter of the first century A. D., the writer imparts the information that *οὐπω πολλὰ ὑπώρα ἐγένετο ἐν Μέμφι ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος* (38 f.), "there has not been much fruit at Memphis up to the present." The editors of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus assumed the equivalence of *ὑπώρα* with *ὀπώρα*,<sup>15</sup> and their judgment is vindicated by numerous occurrences of the spelling with *υ* in Coptic sources where its meaning gives no trouble. On the Greek side, *ὑπώρα* reappears as *ὑπώρα* in Cappadocia in the eleventh century and may be recovered from the phrase *ὅτι 'πώρα 'μαι* at Rhodes in the fourteenth. Jernstedt cites the neuter variant, *ὑπωρον*, twice from a late Greek version of the Alexander romance and once from a late history of Athens. Of considerable interest are the Jewish Aramaic transliterations, and they also appear to reflect *ὑπώρα* or *ὑπωρον*. Finally, the modern dialect of Epirus presents the forms *οἰπωρο* and *οἰπουρο*, which derive from *ὑπωρο* and *ὑπουρο*.

The Michigan ostrakon is some two centuries older than the Oxyrhynchus papyrus and thus provides the earliest example of *ὑπώρα*. Throughout its long history *ὑπώρα* is simply another

<sup>13</sup> "Probably Aug. 13, 155 B. C.," and again "156/55 B. C.? Aug. 13."

<sup>14</sup> *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, LXIV (1907), pp. 22-153.

<sup>15</sup> The equivalence is accepted without comment by Boer Olson, who reprinted the text in his *Papyrusbriefe aus der griechischen Römerzeit* (Copenhagen, 1925) as No. 15.

form of *δώρα*, which is sometimes written *δώρα*. In all its forms the word designates fruit in general, and on occasion a specific fruit. In the Michigan ostrakon very good sense is obtained if *ὑπώρα* is taken to mean grapes,<sup>16</sup> since *πατεῖν* is a natural term for treading grapes in preparation for the making of wine.<sup>17</sup>

The situation reflected by the ostrakon is clear. In accord with Ptolemaic practice,<sup>18</sup> Zenodorus was not permitted to turn his grapes into wine until certain requirements were fulfilled. Before the grapes were gathered, it was necessary for the cultivator to invite the tax farmer to inspect his vineyard and to examine the wine presses, which must be sealed against illicit activity. When the vintage was completed, the cultivator was obliged again to summon the tax farmer, and the latter's presence at the making of the wine was mandatory. The *oikonomos* and his secretary, or their agent, had also to be present at the operation as witnesses for the crown, and were responsible for testing and sealing the jars to be used for storing the wine.<sup>19</sup>

In the text preserved by the Michigan ostrakon, Agathis may well be the tax farmer, and Orsenouphis, the secretary of Ibion Eikosipentarouron, will then be acting for the *oikonomos*. In this capacity he ascertains that Zenodorus has complied with the regulations that cover procedure through the harvest, and notifies Agathis that Zenodorus is officially authorized to tread his grapes. The imperative *πάτησον*, addressed to Agathis, is readily explained by the fact that the tax farmer is a necessary party to

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Hesychius s. v. *δώρα*: τὸ θέρος, καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον, κυρίως δὲ ἡ σταφυλή, καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροδρύων. In *P. Oxy.*, IV, 729 (137 A.D.), a lease of a vineyard, is the stipulation: *ὅν δὲ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ Σαραπίων ὀπωροφύλακα φυλάσσειν* > τῷ τῆς ὀπώρας καιρῷ φύλακα πέμψει (11).

<sup>17</sup> Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, new ed., s. v. *πατέω* II. Cf. Clotilde Ricci, *La coltura della vite e la fabbricazione del vino nell'Egitto greco-romano* (*Studi della scuola papirologica*, IV, part I [Milan, 1924]), p. 54; Michael Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenist. Aegypten* (*Münchener Beitr. z. Papyrusf. u. antiken Rechtsg.*, VII [Munich, 1925]), p. 282; Raymond Billiard, *La Vigne dans l'Antiquité* (Lyon, 1913), p. 440.

<sup>18</sup> G. M. Harper, Jr., "Tax Contractors and their Relation to Tax Collection in Ptolemaic Egypt," *Aegyptus*, XIV (1934), pp. 56 f.

<sup>19</sup> B. P. Grenfell and J. P. Mahaffy, *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford, 1896), pp. 96 f.

the affair in hand and may be thought of as directing and being responsible for the proceedings.<sup>20</sup> It was very much to the advantage of the tax farmer that the yield be as large as possible. The message sent to Agathis may therefore be rendered "Tread the grapes of Zenodorus with my approval," or, more freely, "You have my consent to tread the grapes of Zenodorus."

On the other hand, it is conceivable that Agathis may be the agent or tenant of Zenodorus, and the permission from Orsenouphis to "Tread the grapes of Zenodorus" may be given to him in that capacity.

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<sup>20</sup> If I have proposed the correct background for the interpretation of the ostrakon, the aorist may be viewed as causative. It must be a 'causal', however, that this will be a logical and not a grammatical category and will exist only as an inference from the context as interpreted. (Cf. Kühner-Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griech. Sprache*, 11. Aufl., I Bd., pp. 59 f.)

## A NEW EPIGRAM BY DAMAGETUS.

A new collection of the Greek inscriptions in verse is long overdue. The present writer hopes to publish the first part of such a collection in a reasonably short time. One of his main aims will be to fix the place of each epigram in the history or—one may say—in the system of the genre. Consequently there will usually be no reason to bring out separate studies of individual pieces, however beautiful, in advance of the complete edition. But the following inscription from Thyrraeum in Acarnania is an exception in every sense.

Τὸμ Μούσαις, ὧ ξείνε, τετιμένον ἐνθάδε κρύπτει  
 Τιμόκριτογ κόλπῳ κυδιάνειρα κόνις.  
 Αἰτωλῶν γὰρ παισὶ πάτρας ὑπερ εἰς ἔριν ἐλθὼν  
 ὠγαθὸς ἢ νικᾶν ἤθελε ἢ τεθνάναι.  
 πίπτει δ' ἐμ προμάχοισι λιπὼν πατρὶ μύριον ἄλγος·  
 ἀλλὰ τὰ παιδείας οὐκ ἀπέκρυπτε καλὰ,  
 Τυρταίου δὲ Λάκαιναν ἐνὶ στέρνοισι φυλάσσων  
 ῥῆσιν τὰν ἀρετὰν εἴλετο πρόσθε βίον.

This inscription has been published by the Berlin epigraphist Günther Klaffenbach in his "Bericht über eine epigraphische Reise durch Mittelgriechenland und die ionischen Inseln" (*Sitzungsb. der Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1935, p. 719) with a few important remarks. The stone, a cubical block, is lost so that, for the text, we depend on the copy of the local schoolmaster. Exact as this apparently is, one would be glad to get at the original, if only to inspect the shape of the letters.

The editor cautiously proposes a dating in the third century B. C. In particular he points to the attack of the Aetolians on Thyrraeum in 220 reported by Polybius (IV, 6, 2; 25, 3). This conjecture will become almost certain in the course of our investigation.

The editor stresses one bold expression in the middle of the plain style of the poem: κυδιάνειρα κόνις. In Homer this epithet qualifies μάχη or ἀγορή in the sense of δοξάζουσα τοὺς ἄνδρας.<sup>1</sup> But here it means rather δοξαζομένη ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν "glorified by men"

<sup>1</sup> So the Periphrasis of the *Iliad* in *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri* (Berlin, 1825). Hesychius: κυδιάνειρα: μεγάλους καὶ ἐνδόξους τοὺς ἄνδρας ποιοῦσα.

though, of course, the two meanings are not strictly separated. For the second use Liddell and Scott give a single citation which will set us on the right track: *κυδιάνειρα πατρίς* is used of Sparta by the epigrammatist Damagetus, *Anthologia Planudea*, I, 1. The similarity of the two expressions and the identity of their metrical position—both in the second half of the first pentameter—are striking. Furthermore, examination of the other nine or ten epigrams which in the *Anthologia Palatina* and the *Planudea* bear the name of Damagetus will show definite relations both linguistic and historical to the new inscription.

The time of Damagetus has long since been fixed at 220 B. C. and the following years.<sup>2</sup> *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 438 memorializes the death of an Achaean Machatas killed in a battle against the Aetolians:

δριμὺν ἐπ' Αἰτωλοῖς ἀντιφέρων πόλεμον.

The battle has been located in the War of the Allies, 220-217 B. C.<sup>3</sup> It is a part of the events related by Polybius, IV, 6, 16-19. The defense of Ambracia mentioned in another epigram of Damagetus, *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 231, cannot by itself be dated with the same certainty. But the report of Polybius, IV, 61 makes it easy to connect it with the events just mentioned. Philip V of Macedonia in 219 led an expeditionary force into the territory of Ambracia (εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀμβρακιωτῶν χώραν) of which the Aetolians had taken possession and which the Epirotes claimed as their own. In *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 541 Damagetus celebrates one Chaeronides of Elis killed in a battle at the Achaean Trench (περὶ τάφρον Ἀχαιΐδα), which battle, though unknown, may easily fit into the same group of events. *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 432 is written in honor of a Spartan killed in a battle over Thyrea against the Argives. The epigram alone leaves the time uncertain; the sympathies of the poet are decidedly in favor of Sparta.

In the political struggles and troubles about 220 B. C. Damage-

<sup>2</sup> Fr. Jacobs, "Catalogus poetarum epigrammaticorum," *Anthologia Graeca*, XIII, p. 880. G. Knaack in F. Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, II, p. 547. R. Reitzenstein in *ibid.* IV, col. 2097. (Cf. the pertinent annotations in *Anthologia Graeca* III, 1, 1-10.)

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, III, 2, § 120; *C. A. M.*, v, 11, pp.



tus seems to hold a definite position: he is hostile to the Aetolian League, his sympathies are with the Achæan League, Sparta, and Ambracia. The author of the new epigram is anti-Aetolian, his sympathies are with the Acarnanian League and with Sparta.

Now let us proceed with the stylistic comparison. Damagetus, VII, 541 begins:

Ἔσσης ἐν προμάχοις, Χαιρωνίδη, ὧδ' ἀγορεύσας·  
ἢ μόρον ἢ νίκαν, Ζεῦ, πολέμοιο δίδου

where the pentameter marked by the sharp antithesis recalls the second pentameter of the new epigram, the beginning of the hexameter resembles πίπτει δ' ἐμ προμάχοισι v. 5, and ξείνην . . . κόνιν (instead of γῆν) in v. 6 matches κυδιάνεира κόνις (= γῆ), κόνις coming both here and there at the end of a pentameter. Cf. also ὀθνεῖην . . . κόνιν in Damagetus, VII, 497.

Damagetus, VII, 231 has in the first distich more than one resemblance. The first hexameter:

ὧδ' ὑπὲρ Ἀμβρακίας . . . ἀσπίδ' αἶρας

agrees with the second hexameter of the new poem:

. . . πάτρας ὑπὲρ εἰς ἔριν ἐλθών,

and the first pentameter:

τεθνάμεν ἢ φεύγειν εἴλετ' Ἀρισταγόρας

with

. . . ἢ νικᾶν ἤθελε ἢ τεθνάναι

of the second pentameter, while εἴλετο occurs in the same metrical place of the last pentameter.

One may finally compare the beginning of Damagetus, VII, 432

ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὸν ἀρήιον ὕμνιν ὁ τύμβος  
Γύλλιν ὑπὲρ Θυρέας οὗτος ἔχει φθίμενον.

The new epigram starts with a parallel structure: the direct address ὦ ξεῖνε, the attributive τὸν Μούσαις . . . τετιμένον, and the name Τιμόκριτον at the beginning of the pentameter. The second distich contains in both cases the occasion when Timocratus or Gyllis fell and, in the pentameter, the maxim by which they lived: here

τεθναῖην Σπάρτας ἄξια μυσάμενος,

there

ὡγαθὸς ἢ νικᾶν ἤθελε ἢ τεθνάναι.

This last parallel leads to a third trait which, besides the identity of the historical situation and the stylistic similarities, links the poems of Damagetus with the new epigram. Its most striking feature is the fervor for Tyrtaeus; but, even before this enthusiasm is expressed, the poetry shows a Tyrtaean cast. Verses 3 and 4 mirror a verse like Tyrtaeus, 6, 2: *ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ἧ πατρίδι μαρνόμενον*, and v. 5 recalls still more definitely the famous *ἐν προμάχοισι πεσόντα* of Tyrtaeus, 6, 1 which recurs a second and a third time in what is left of the Spartan poet (7, 30; 9, 23: *ἐν προμάχοισι πεσών*). Now a similar *ἔστης ἐν προμάχοις, Χαιρωνίδη*, occurring in Damagetus, VII, 541 has a still greater resemblance to the command of Tyrtaeus, 8, 4 *ἴθδς δ' ἐν προμάχοις ἀσπίδ' ἀνὴρ ἔχέτω*. In other words: You stood in front, Chaeronides, following the advice of Tyrtaeus. The strong Doric character prevailing in the epitymbia of Damagetus has been emphasized by Reitzenstein. But Doric is not enough. Such devices as (VII, 231)

Δωρικὸς ἀνὴρ  
πατρίδος, οὐχ ἤβας ὀλλυμένας ἀλέγει

and (VII, 432),

*τεθναίην Σπάρτας ἄξια μῆσαμενος*

have a Tyrtaean character and may have had verbal prototypes in lost Tyrtaean poems.<sup>4</sup> Even among those preserved the jubilant

*Σπάρτα μοι Σπάρτα κυδιάνειρα πατρίς*

which Damagetus (*Anth. Plan.*, I, 1) puts into the mouth of a Spartan wrestler has a parallel in the Eunomia:

*οἷσι μέλει Σπάρτης ἡμερόεσσα πόλις.*

The history of the Tyrtaean tradition and its educational force has been traced by W. Jaeger<sup>5</sup> down to the fourth century and to Athens. The new epigram from Thyreum and the poems by Damagetus which we could connect with it allow us to extend this line of influence in time and space. The historical importance of this poetry is that it shows the spiritual nourishment by which the people of the Greek Leagues in the last

<sup>4</sup> Herbert B. Hoffleit reminds me that *τεθναίην* has the same metrical pattern as *ἐν προμάχοις*, I, 2 and Theognis, 313. It is likely that it once had a parallel in the lost poems of Tyrtaeus.

<sup>5</sup> *Die griechische Literatur und der griechische Geist*, 1932, pp. 113 ff. Cf. *idem*, *Paideia*, I, pp. 113 ff. Jaeger, of course, has the importance of the Tyrtaean tradition in the history of the Greek mind in mind. Cf. *idem*, *Die griechische Literatur und der griechische Geist*, 1932, pp. 113 ff.

decades of Hellenic freedom lived. The words τὸν Μούσαις, ὃ ξῆνε, τιτιμένον do not necessarily imply that the man in question had been a poet himself any more than do the words ἦν δ' ὄνηρ Μουσῶν ἱκανὴ μερίς in VII, 355. The words τὰ παιδείας οὐκ ἀπέκρυπτε καλὰ have a similar implication. And it may be permitted to think of Damagetus as a man who not only praised the fallen as having obeyed Tyrtæus but was eager to implant Tyrtæan poetry and spirit in the youth of Sparta, Achæa, and Acarnania. As a poet he had a tone of his own; for Meleager he was the "black violet" in the wreath of epigrammatists (*Anth. Pal.*, IV, 1, 22).

This may be the first time—it will not be the last—that the author of an epigram on stone can be identified.<sup>6</sup> It might seem more prudent to assign the new poem to "the circle of Damagetus" rather than to the master himself, and nobody can be prevented from doing so. May it be remembered, though, that the history of art once invented an anonymous Amico di Sandro, attributing to him a number of paintings from the work of Sandro Botticelli. Now the Amico has disappeared, and the Maestro holds the field.

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AT LOS ANGELES.

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<sup>6</sup> G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus collecta*, tentatively assigned his number 790 to Alcaeus of Messene ("haud circa probabilitatem conicias"). The epigram from Thermus, *I. G.*, IX, 1<sup>2</sup>, 1, 51, and the two Delphian epigrams in honor of Xanthippus of Elatea, *S. I. G.*<sup>2</sup>, 361, have been attributed by A. Wilhelm to the well known epigrammatist Poseidippus on the sole argument that the Aetolians conferred the proxeny Ποσειδίππῳ τῷ ἐπιγραμματεῖ Πελλαίῳ in the decree *I. G.*, IX, 1<sup>2</sup>, 1, 17, line 24. I should be eager to know a fragment which Klaffenbach, *loc. cit.*, p. 717 describes as follows: "aus (dem antiken) Agrinion das Fragment offenbar einer Grabstele mit den Resten eines Gedichtes, das sich auf einen Πανταλέων und Kämpfe um Oiniadai zu beziehen scheint, die der Schrift nach die des ausgehenden 3. Jahrh. v. Chr. sein müssen (Sommer 219 oder Spätherbst 212)." Several Hellenistic epigrams of four distichs from Thyreum have been published: *I. G.*, IX, 1, 489; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXV (1900), p. 113 (and XXVII [1902], p. 349); XXVII (1902), p. 339, No. 21. The last one attributed to the second century B. C. has a few traits in common with the new poem. It begins:

Καὶ λόγον αὐξήσαντα καὶ ἐν λιγυράχεσι Μούσαις  
κεκριμένον κρύπτει Σώπολιν ἄδε κόνις.

The style of Damagetus must have maintained itself in the local sepulchral poetry.

## THE AUTHOR OF THE ΠΕΡΙ ΨΟΥΣ.

Mr. Walter Allen, Jr., concludes a recent article<sup>1</sup> with the suggestion that a much needed reëxamination of the value of the *περί ψους* could very well start from the points discussed in his paper. Without disputing the need for further study of the treatise, I should like to enter upon a friendly controversy as to the nature of the evidence and the way in which it has been used in a few places in this article.

Allen's study seeks to demonstrate the following points: in a client-patron relationship, Terentianus was the patron and Longinus was his client.<sup>2</sup> Terentianus was a far more important personage than Longinus.<sup>3</sup> Longinus' statement that he is a Greek is likely to mean little more than that he spoke Greek as his preferred tongue.<sup>4</sup> The question of the social position of Longinus is acute; if he was a Greek it would not be high, if he was an oriental it would be even lower.<sup>5</sup> Since we can guess at the circumstances under which the treatise was written and since it is a work more concerned with rhetoric than with literary criticism we must revise our estimate of the value of the work.<sup>6</sup>

As evidence for the first point, on page 53 he states, ". . . the use of *φίλος* and *φίλαρε* would indicate that Terentianus was the patron and Longinus the client, since *φίλος* seems to be, in the Greek of the Roman period, the common form of address to denote this arrangement, just as *amicus* does in Latin." In a footnote the author summarizes his own earlier articles on this subject, "The only fact which need be noted here is that the adjectives *amicus* and *φίλος* are applied by either party to the other party to the arrangement." If this is so, only personal preference would seem to be responsible for the rejection of the equally logical conclusion that Longinus was the patron and Terentianus the client.

A somewhat similar instance of the nature of his argument is provided by the discussion of the term *κράτιστε* on pages 54 and

<sup>1</sup> "The Terentianus of the *περί ψους*," *A. J. P.*, LXII (1941), pp. 51-64.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53-56.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60-63.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

55. The caution with which it is suggested that *κράτιστε* may imply senatorial rank is admirable, and a good deal of evidence is collected for the use of the term. Since it is applied to "the equestrian prefects of Egypt," and "the low-born Felix," it is of limited value as evidence of high rank. Its use in a literary epistle of Dionysius of Halicarnassus to describe his friend Ammaeus would suggest the need for an even more cautious statement.<sup>7</sup> Roberts,<sup>8</sup> on the same pages of an article cited on page 58 (reference in note 33), remarks that the Ammaeus addressed as *κράτιστε* is probably not of Roman descent. Since the writer assumes on page 63 that he has demonstrated the superior importance of Terentianus, it is necessary for the reader to realize the tenuous nature of the evidence of the word *κράτιστε* which Allen cites on page 56 as the basis for his belief.

Although the reference on page 56 to "the Latinisms which authorities claim to have discovered in his Greek" is not supported by further specific argument, on the following page this statement occurs: "Nevertheless it seems possible to explain Longinus' Latinisms only by his residence in Rome. Even with such circumstances it is difficult to comprehend a man who spoke Greek as a native language and yet permitted Latinisms to creep into his writings." In substantiating these "Latinisms" the first reference to Roberts and the reference to Ellis are irrelevant, yet the claim of one page becomes the fact of the next. The other remark here suggests that it would also be difficult to comprehend a man like Milton who spoke English as

<sup>7</sup> The Epaphroditus addressed by Josephus as *κράτιστε* (*Contra Apion*, I, 1 and *Vita*, c. 76 *sub fin.*) is probably a grammarian and writer on Homer according to H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus*, I (London, Heinemann, 1926), p. xi.

<sup>8</sup> On page 51 the following statement occurs, "The man addressed, who is otherwise unknown and who has even been regarded as possibly the invention of the author of the work, is generally called Postumius Terentianus." This is documented by a reference to Roberts, *Longinus on the Sublime*<sup>2</sup> (Cambridge University Press, 1907), p. 22. Roberts' statement is as follows: "Some may feel inclined to regard the Terentianus of the treatise as an entirely fictitious person, the offspring of the literary convention which conducted such discussions in the form of dialogue or epistle. But so extreme a view, though it might be put forward, could hardly be successfully defended." The restatement seems to change Roberts' hypothetical mode of expression into a scholar's solution of a problem.

a native language and yet permitted Latinisms to creep into his writings. The important point is not the presence or absence of Latinisms in the style of Longinus, but how widely and deeply he knew Greek literature. For this we have the treatise as evidence.

The remaining problems are even more important. The effort to lead the reader from the statement (page 57), "The author tells us distinctly that he is a Greek," to the statement of the following page, "Certainly the evidence indicates that we have no right to regard Longinus, . . . as a real Greek in nationality," is an interesting example of the argument from probability. The force of "the evidence" is negligible since the reason Longinus refers to his race in chapter 12 is that he is hesitant about rendering a judgment of style except in works written in his own language. Incidentally Demosthenes is referred to in the same chapter as *ἡμέτερος*. In any case, what really matters is not where the author was born but whether his knowledge of Greek was such as to make his interpretations and judgments of Greek style and literature significant. The same type of argument is involved on page 59: "Granting Longinus' residence in Rome, the question of social position becomes acute." This seems to represent an unsatisfactory approach to the document. Naturally it is desirable to know what we can of the lives of men who are in any way of human importance. Nevertheless, though knowledge of the economic and social status of an unidentified author may contribute slightly to our understanding of social and economic history, in the field of literature an understanding of what the author thought and said, as we have it preserved, is more important than any effort to reconstruct probable details of his personal life.

Finally it is hard to see that anything has been gained by insisting (page 63) that, "we have a work which is more concerned with rhetoric than with literary criticism," if we are to have no clear definition of terms. Aside from what might be a pejorative tone, the reference (page 60) to "pure and undiluted literary criticism" is not illuminating. In the absence of definition it is impossible to determine whether the statement, "Quintilian serves as clear evidence that Longinus intended his entire work as a *rhetorical* treatise," is meant to suggest a depreciatory use of the term rhetoric or to indicate that what is meant by

rhetoric is the *ψυχαγωγία* of Plato's *Phaedrus* 271D and the Peripatetic theory of the affinity of the high style and poetry. Obviously there is much that is specifically practical in the *περὶ ὕψους* but the notion that "rhetoric" and "literary criticism" are mutually exclusive and antipathetic terms as descriptions of this and other comparable ancient works is not in accord with the actual material we possess.

Until these few points I have mentioned can be cleared up, I am doubtful of the results to be gained from the use of this paper as a basis for reconsideration of the *περὶ ὕψους*. The nature of the supposed client-patron relationship is not demonstrated; if Longinus were shown to be a client of Terentianus it would not affect the actual quality of his literary judgments; the practical rhetorical purpose of the treatise in no way invalidates the literary criticism therein. The pyramiding of hypotheses as to the probable social and economic status of the author will not provide as reliable a basis for interpretation as the study of the actual document.

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## THE ETYMOLOGY AND MEANING OF ΓΛΩΣΣΑΡΓΟΣ AND ΣΤΟΜΑΡΓΟΣ.

In the course of an investigation of compound words in Aeschylus, a peculiar folk etymology has come to light which has long gained credence and is accepted even in the new Liddell and Scott. The word *στόμαργος* (first occurring in Aeschylus, *Septem*, 447) "noisily-prating, loud-mouthed" seems to be modelled directly upon an earlier coinage of Pindar, *γλώσσαργος* (Frag. incert. loc. 125 [Bowra] from *Pap. Oxy.*, III, 408b; cited as *Parth. Fr.* 13b 67 in Liddell and Scott), of the same type and meaning. Aeschylus merely substituted *στόμα* for *γλώσσα* as the first compound member.<sup>1</sup> The second member, *-αργος*, fell victim, however, to folk etymology, which explained it in *γλώσσαργος* as *ἄλγος* with dissimilation of λ; and in *στόμαργος* as a direct transfer of the second member from the Pindaric compound.

According to this theory, then, traceable to Pollux (II, 101) and possibly originated by the late grammarians, *γλώσσαργος* was a dissimilated form of *γλώσσαλγος*, compounded of *γλώσσα* and *ἄλγος* "pain," and meaning specifically "talking till one's tongue aches" (Liddell and Scott).<sup>2</sup> The *-αλγος* form of the compound is the ordinary one in late Greek (Pollux, II, 108; VI, 119; Demophilus, *Sent.*, 7; Josephus, *A. J.*, XVIII, 6, 7). The derivative *γλωσσαλγία*, originating with Euripides (*Medea*, 525, *Andr.*, 689), is found also in late Greek. The word *στομαλγία*, a medical term meaning "mouth-disease" (*τὸ δὲ ἐν στόματι νόσημα*) is also said to mean "garrulity" (*ἡ φλναρία*) in Pollux, II, 101. To prove the point Pollux cites denominative verbs *στομαλγεῖν* and *γλωσσαλγεῖν* the sole meaning of which is "to have a sore mouth,"

<sup>1</sup> Aeschylus' practice of borrowing *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* and rare words from his predecessors, Pindar especially, and modifying them slightly to become his own coinages is well established: cf. *δέφυλκκος* (Frag. 363) with *γλυκύπικρος* (Sappho, 40); *ἀληθόμαντις* (*Agam.*, 1241) with *ψευδόμαντις* (Herodotus, etc.); *εἰσόπιν* (*Suppl.*, 617) and *ἐξόπιν* (*Agam.*, 115) with *κατόπιν* (Theognis, etc.). With Pindar cf. *ὀρθομάντεια* (*Agam.*, 1215), a derivative of *ὀρθόμαντις* (*Nem.*, 1, 61); *ὀρθοδίκαιος* (*Eum.*, 994) with *ὀρθοδίκας* (*Pyth.*, 11, 9), etc.

<sup>2</sup> Liddell and Scott (8th ed.), after Pott, *Etym. Forsch.*, II, p. 98, claim that the forms in *-αργ-* are Attic for *-αλγ-*!



apparently late medical terms.<sup>3</sup> It is worthy of note that γλώσσαλγος nowhere means "having a sore tongue," and no form \*στόμαλγος occurs.

Aside from the semantic crudity of this etymology, one would be surprised if Pindar in coining such a word as γλώσσαργος would employ the device of dissimilation; in so doing he might have been altogether misunderstood. It would be even more surprising that Aeschylus—if indeed he would choose a word of such homely etymology (which he certainly would have recognized, had Pindar so intended) as a basis for coining a similar one—did not observe that in στόμαργος there was no occasion for dissimilation. Indeed dissimilation would utterly obscure the meaning of his word, for he could hardly expect his hearers to call to mind a word somewhere in the poems of Pindar as the key to understanding his point.

But there are linguistic objections to the etymology even more compelling. A compound of an s-stem, such as ἄλγος, ought to show the s-stem adjectival suffix -ης: cf. ἀναλγής, θυμαλγής, ὀσφυαλγής, and many others. In fact, no compounds of ἄλγος in classical Greek have the -ος, -ον termination.<sup>4</sup> The words \*γλωσσαλγής and \*στομαλγής, lost late analogic compounds derived from ἄλγος<sup>5</sup> and having no connection with γλώσσαργος and στόμαργος, must have existed as sources of the verbs γλωσσαλγέω and στομαλγέω. Note that no -αργ- forms of these verbs are to be found. When Pollux (in II, 101 mentioned above) comments that στομαλγία "mouth disease" may also connote "garrulity,"

<sup>3</sup> στομαλγία, στομαλγείν· ἡλκῶσθαι τὸ στόμα. γλωσσαλγία, γλωσσαλγείν· λέγεται γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ γλῶτταν ἐλκῶν, Pollux, IV, 185. The citation of στομαλγία with στομαλγείν and γλωσσαλγία with γλωσσαλγείν (both verbs ἅπαξ λεγόμενα) in an attempt to connect them with the adjectives στόμαργος and γλώσσαργος leads Liddell and Scott into the curious error of translating γλωσσαλγέω "talk till one's tongue aches," while Pollux expressly states the meaning to be "have a sore mouth." But in citing στομαλγέω from the same passage Liddell and Scott give the correct meaning as cited by Pollux.

<sup>4</sup> κεφαλαλγός, cited in point (as κεφάλαλγος!) by Liddell and Scott (8th ed.), is merely a comparatively rare f.l. occurring in a few MSS for κεφαλαλγής, the correct and well attested form. φέραλγος, a compound of a different type, occurs only in Nicetas Eugenianus (6, 215), a twelfth century Byzantine poet, who has doubtless coined a false form.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. κεφαλαλγ-έω and -ία beside κεφαλαλγής (Hippocrates, etc.); ὀσφυαλγ-έω and -ία beside ὀσφυαλγής.

he is erroneously confusing the two distinct groups of words; nowhere else is *στόμαργος*, -ία written with -λ-. He was perhaps led into the confusion by the existence of the variants *γλώσσαργος*-*γλώσσαλγος* and the identity of *γλωσσαλγία* and *στομαργία* in meaning.

The first occurrence of -λ- in any of these compounds is found in Euripides, who twice uses the derivative *γλωσσαλγία* "wordiness," first in the *Medea* (τὴν σὴν στόμαργον, ὦ γύναι, *γλωσσαλγίαν*, *Medea*, 525); then in the *Andromache* (*γλωσσαλγία* contrasted with *προμηθία*, 689). It is probably these passages, the first of which is reminiscent of Aeschylus, which afford the starting point of the subsequent misinterpretations. Because of the proximity of *στόμαργος* in the *Medea* passage Euripides was led to accomplish the fatal assimilation of -ρ- to -λ- in *γλωσσαλγία*, to avoid immediate repetition of the second member. Once born, this form he again wrote in the *Andromache*. Philo (IV, p. 246, 13 [Cohn])<sup>6</sup> and Plutarch (*Moralia* 510a) followed suit. These are the only occurrences, since the *γλωσσαλγία* of Pollux has another source.<sup>7</sup> Once given the form with -λ-, the analogic proportion \**γλωσσαργία*: *γλωσσαλγία* :: *γλώσσαργος* : x gives us the later *γλώσσαλγος*.

<sup>6</sup> *γλωσσαλγία* in Philo, IV, p. 246, 13-14 (Cohn) smacks strongly of this assimilation in the phrase *γλωσσαλγία καὶ ἀχάλινον στόμα*, with which compare V, p. 13, 12 (Cohn) *στομαργία . . . καὶ ἀχάλινω γλώσσει*, in which Philo for the purpose of variety reverses the members of what is apparently a cliché with him. If he associated the two words so closely, he must have recognized the identity of the second members of the two compounds. Accordingly, then, we should expect -αλγία in both if the derivation were from ἄλγος: in *γλωσσαλγία* as the original undisimilated form (how strange after so many centuries if dissimilation had been supposed in the parent adjective *γλώσσαργος*!), and in \**στομαλγία*, first because we should expect the exact transfer of the second member of *γλωσσαλγία*, second since there is no occasion here for dissimilation. To regard *γλωσσαλγία* as assimilation settles the whole enigma.

<sup>7</sup> *γλωτταργία* in Lucian, *Lexiphanes*, 19 has a different origin and meaning (ζά-εργία). Lycinus has just asked Sopolis the physician to cure Lexiphanes of his Malapropian wordiness: Μὴ ἐμέ, Σώπολι, ἀλλὰ τεύτοσι Λυκίον, ὃς περιφανῶς μακκοῦ καὶ ἀνδρας πτόρενωμένους ὀλισθογνωμονεῖν οἶεται καὶ κατὰ τὸν Μησάρχου τὸν Σάμιον σιωπὴν καὶ γλωτταργίαν ἀντιπαραστήσειν. The original derivation of an Attic word into an compound is not surprising, but the word γλωτταργία is not a native word in the sense of the dialogue. Obviously the underlying meaning of the pun is made by

What then is the source of our words γλώσσαργος and στόμαργος with their noun derivatives? They are simply compounds of γλῶσσα and στόμα with the adjective ἀργός "bright > clear (> loud)" to mean "having a loud tongue" or "mouth." From an Indo-European point of view this semantic development of ἀργός as "loud" is nothing unusual but is another case of the well-known relation of "sight-sound" meanings inherent in IE words of brightness: cf. the IE root \*bhā- at the base of both φαίνω and φημί. λαμπρός offers a close parallel, frequent in the meanings "loud, clear"; ὑπέρλαμπρον Demosthenes, 313, 22, "very loudly" (in Aristophanes, *Nub.*, 571 meaning "very bright") and φαεινός Pindar, *Pyth.*, 4, 505 are cases in point. The Latin cognate of ἀργός, argutus, has both meanings, "bright, clear" and "clear sounding, *prating*."

The compound of noun + adjective is admittedly rare. Aeschylus, however, affords us other examples. λίπαργος (occurring first in *Frag.* 304, 5), "with white coat," is a compound of ἀργός in its "sight" meaning, of the very same type. Perhaps these compounds are modelled on the analogy of the Homeric Πόδαργος, the name of a horse, a compound of πούς and ἀργός (reversed order compounds as *proper names* are not infrequent); and of ποδώκης, a crystallization of the common Homeric phrase τοὺς πόδας ὠκύς, in which the first member may be said to stand in the relation of accusative of specification. Aeschylean examples showing other case relations are δορίμαργος (*Septem*, 687) and νυκτίσεμνος (*Eum.*, 108), whose first members stand in a dative relation; both these words are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα—perhaps an indication that the poet liked the type.

Since the compound-type of noun + adjective is rare, we perhaps have another reason why the compounds γλώσσαργος and στόμαργος were confused by the late grammarians, who were led into the unconscious error of attempting to simplify a rare type to the common pattern of noun + noun, and hit upon ἄλγος as affording a possible interpretation.

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## FROM ASIA MINOR TO INDIA.

The tetradrachm of the "tyrant" Heraus, which was recently acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and discussed by R. B. Whitehead in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1940, pp. 120 f. and plate VIII, 11,<sup>1</sup> is a restrike, as has already been noticed by him. It has now been possible for me to discover which type of coin was used. The new Obv. of the Cambridge piece cannot conceal remains of ΞΑΝΔΡΟ down on the right, and, in addition, on the left of the king's head an upright Β, and more likely a Φ than a monogram below this letter. Accordingly it is certain that a posthumous Alexander tetradrachm of spread fabric and thin flan of the type minted in Asia Minor during the second century B. C. came into the hands of the mint-masters of Heraus. The remains on the left of the restrike make it likely that the original coin formed part of the issue of Phaselis in Lycia which had dates of a local era over a Φ on the left of the Rev.<sup>2</sup>

It should be noted that Rostovtzeff<sup>3</sup> has recently proved that the output of this and the other posthumous Alexander mints of Asia Minor in the second century B. C. was widely used in the eastern provinces of the Seleucid Empire. It is, therefore, not surprising that they came from western Iran over the frontiers of the state of Heraus in northwestern India. Many pieces from the mint of this ruler, who was, perhaps, also known to Chinese sources,<sup>4</sup> have been found in Afghanistan and western Turkestan, thus indicating either close political or commercial relations of Heraus with the countries north of the Hindu-Kush on the main trade route between Hellenistic Asia Minor and China.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Thirty-Second Annual Report* (1940), p. 1 with plate.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. T. Newell in *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler* (1939), p. 292 and pl. X, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, "Some Remarks on the Monetary and Commercial Policy of the Seleucids and Attalids," in *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler*, pp. 277 f., and *idem*, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (1941), pp. 655 f., 1480 f.

<sup>4</sup> W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (1938), pp. 342, 505 f.

## REVIEWS.

AUGUSTO ROSTAGNI. La letteratura di Roma repubblicana ed Augustea. Bologna, 1939. Pp. 514. (*Istituto di studi Romani: Storia di Roma*, XXIV.)

A German reviewer of this book, writing in *Gnomon*, begins his article with a flourish of trumpets. "After the victory of Vittorio Veneto," he declares, "the Italian people with the Fascist revolution stepped once more into the van of European culture, and under the guidance of a Roman Führer broke a coalition of fifty-two states and founded an Empire." It is that spirit which is producing the enormous *History of Rome* of which Mr. Rostagni's work is volume 24. The aim of the series is frankly to glorify Italy and its capital Rome, *l'Urbe*, and to justify the policy of the Fascist party by identifying its ideals with the best and greatest of ancient, mediaeval, and renaissance Rome. It is therefore scarcely possible for it to be a critical history in the real sense of the word. It is not intended to tell the whole truth, but to arouse feelings of admiration. The valuable, but disruptive, force of aesthetic and spiritual doubt is carefully excluded from it; and, since the lesson it wishes to convey must be assimilated more by the emotions than by the mind, and more by a disciplined mass of students than by an intellectual élite, it is simplified to the point where its effect is not incisive, but massive. The Party does not want criticism; the Party wants obedience.

These considerations did not occur to me until I was half-way through Rostagni's book and was attempting to find reasons for my disappointment. I do not know whether he is an ardent Fascist or not, and if his book were good I should not much care. I found a good deal to admire in his *Arte Poetica*, which was written for a very different purpose, and on a very different method. In this work I found little to admire except the systematic bibliographies, and, every now and then, a penetrating summary of one argument or collection of facts. For the rest, the chief themes of the book were in my judgment false, the separate chapters were usually inadequate, and there were numbers of remarkable misinterpretations and errors of emphasis.

The principal theses of the author are (1) that Roman literature is just as genuinely original as Greek literature, on which it is falsely considered to be dependent; and (2) that it is not an imitation of Greek literature, but rather that it continues and transcends Greek literature and marks a definite and important advance upon it. Rostagni makes these points again and again, sometimes separately and sometimes in conjunction. Obviously he wants his readers to believe them, and it concerns us to examine the proofs he advances.

In the first place, he asserts that it is a relic of antiquated romantic notions to call Greek culture original, in contrast to Latin culture. The primacy of Greece, her unique position as creatrix of European art, science, and philosophy, was "a privilege of precedence and of lucky coincidences that can never recur" (pp. 6-7). I take that to

mean, first, that Greece invented so many eternal art-forms and asked so many fundamental questions merely because she happened to start before the Romans; and, second, that the richness of her cultural life was due merely to the haphazard combination of different productive elements in one unexpectedly fertile amalgam—the Dorian lyric and the Attic iamb in tragedy, perhaps, or the sensible autochthonous Athenians with their eager questing Ionian kinsmen in the sixth century. But both of these ideas are examples of the familiar effort, not to explain genius, but to explain it away. The “privilege of precedence” is almost complete nonsense. On Rostagni’s own theory (pp. 52 f.) the Italians had been in possession of some primitive dramatic forms of their own for centuries before Livius Andronicus introduced a play on the Greek model. Why did they not, then, create an art-form as beautiful and rich as Greek tragedy? They were not debarred from it by Greek “precedence,” as one mathematician is debarred from claiming a theorem previously published by another. It was simply that they could not. When they did make a Roman tragic drama, it was the *praetexta*—simply a Greek form taken over entire, with contemporary or historical Romans instead of mythical Greeks, and often with the splendid tragic lyrics replaced by parades and processions. As for “lucky coincidences,” *fortunate combinazioni*, it is a slander on genius to call it luck. Doubtless it was lucky for the world when a young Polish gentleman with strong national sentiments, exquisite taste, and nimble fingers coincided with the romantic movement and post-Napoleonic Paris and a score of harmonic innovations. But Frédéric Chopin’s music was more than luck: it was effort and perception and suffering; it was genius. And so was the Greek achievement.

Rostagni adds another reason for disbelieving in the comparative originality of Hellenic culture. A hundred and fifty years ago (he says), before Greek prehistory was explored, the current romantic notion was that the culture of Greece was native to the soil and had sprung from it spontaneously; whereas now we know that Greece “profited largely from the influence of very ancient civilisations which had flourished among various eastern peoples” (p. 7). Now, this is a striking misinterpretation of the facts. It is true that we have now come to realise the debt of Greek culture to previous civilisations, some of which belonged to the Near East. But the relation between the thoughts and skills which they gave Greece and the work which Greece achieved with their help is hugely different from the corresponding relation between Greek influence and Roman culture—so different that it is fatally misleading to compare them. It is possible to understand Greece without knowing anything of her predecessors. It is impossible to understand Rome without knowing Greece.

Next comes a larger and more complex argument. Rostagni asserts that the vulgar error of believing Roman literature to be essentially dependent on Greek influence is caused by the fact that “it was not suddenly in the third century, ‘in obviously direct relation with the Greek model.’” This statement is a little surprising, especially in view of the fact that modern scholars rather severely judge the “Latin as Greek” theory. But in reality, despite that

"obviously direct relation," the efflorescence was not caused by sudden contact with Greek stimuli. "There was a new factor which stimulated spiritual and intellectual vigour. It was not Hellenic influence, not the 'schooling' of the Greeks, but the political progress of Italy achieved through the virtue of Rome" (p. 8).

He expands this argument into three interlocking proofs. First: the impact of Greek influence was not sudden. The "greater penetration of Hellenism" about 250-200 B. C. "was the result of gradual and harmonious fusion, and kept along the line of the principles marked by authentic Roman tradition" (p. 101). Second: the Greek influence was subordinate in importance to the political position of Rome. Rome imposed upon Italy "unity of language, literature, and spirit. . . . If the Romans had been absorbed, penetrated, and conquered—as we are told they were—by Hellenism, how could they possibly have kept their language, which is the greatest sign of spiritual independence?" (pp. 8-10). Third: the "political unification of Italy" allowed the several peoples of the peninsula to make contact with one another and broke down the barriers of the provinces, thus revealing a vaster horizon to all the Italians (p. 9). Let us examine these heads separately.

(I) Rostagni gives no real evidence to prove that the fusion was gradual and harmonious. He cannot. Of course Greek influence had been infiltrating into Italy for centuries before it suddenly revealed itself in its full direct blaze to the astonished eyes of the Romans. But practically all the evidence, and almost unanimous confirmation from Roman scholars themselves, goes to show that Rome's first immediate contact with Greek culture in the third century was an abrupt spiritual revolution.

Poenico bello secundo Musa pinnato gradu  
intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram

sang, with more truth than poetry, Porcius Licinus; and Horace said the same thing more gracefully and more emphatically in *Ep.*, II, 1, 156 f.:

Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artis  
intulit agresti Latio.

The capture of Greece introduced uncivilised Rome to culture. (Horace and Porcius Licinus cannot be described as modern scholars, so that Rostagni's *moderni filologi*, p. 7, needs some qualification. But, modern or ancient, he will have none of them: Horace's epigram, he says, "inspired by the tastes and preconceptions of the Augustan age, is fundamentally erroneous and unjust.") It is needless to heap up evidence that Rome was at that time uncivilised. Polybius saw Roman soldiers playing checkers with priceless pictures squared off for cloths (Polybius XXXIX, 2, 2). L. Mummius—nearly a century after Livius' first play—contracted with the ship-pers of his Corinthian loot to replace any damaged masterpiece with a new one (Velleius Patereulus, I, 13, 4). In 167, L. Anicius brought the best actors and musicians from Greece to give a show at his Illyrian triumph. As soon as the musicians began to play, he sent a licitor to tell them to "make a fight of it," ἀγωνίζεσθαι, so that

they had to change the concert into a sort of free-for-all scrimmage (Polybius XXX, 22). The incessant opposition of the Roman officials to the very existence of a theatre and actors, to the teaching of Greek philosophers, and to the training offered by Greek orators, is well known, though Rostagni mentions it only cursorily. *Poeticae artis honos non erat*, said Cato approvingly, contrasting the Hellenised present with the good old days in which Romans were Romans. These instances, and many others, are enough to show that the Romans were bewildered when they came into direct contact with Greek culture, that they felt it *strange*, that the contact was the very opposite of gradual and harmonious and traditional fusion.

(II) If Rome was penetrated and dominated by Hellenism, how could she keep her language? Because a language is never imposed on a nation except by superior numbers or, sometimes, by political domination. The Jews abandoned Hebrew when outnumbered by their neighbors. The Normans abandoned French when outnumbered by their subjects. The Gauls, the Carthaginians, the Oscans, the Iberians abandoned their language when politically dominated by Rome—and even then, as we know from anecdotes and relics, not entirely. The Japanese never abandoned their language although they were culturally dominated by China for many centuries. The unhappy inhabitants of what had been the fairest part of Italy were brutally dominated, and in many cases (e. g. Tarentum) either killed or enslaved; this powerful argument gradually “barbarised” them (Hahn, *Rom und Romanismus*, pp. 19 f.). It is surprising that they managed to retain even the small proportion of their language and culture which did survive. But no one has ever claimed that Rome was so deeply influenced by Greece as to think of changing the official language of her laws, her senate, her army, and her common people. To say that she managed not to do so is to break down an open door.

(III) What Rome achieved in the third century was not the “unification of Italy.” Still less did she “make all welcome and all equal under her guidance” (p. 9). That is either an elementary blunder or a deliberate misstatement. The Italians were not given equal rights with the Romans, or with one another, and they were not unified—unless Rostagni defines unity as subjection to a single oppressor. For generations yet to come they harboured their *perpetuum in Romanos odium* (Livy, III, 4, 2; VII, 30, 7; XXXI, 7, 12, etc.) and thought of their unifiers as *raptores libertatis, lupos* (Velleius Patereulus, II, 27, 2). They were conquered and dominated by Rome, and it was Roman domination, not Italian unity and progress, which was the occasion for the appearance of early Latin literature.

And, although Latin literature was written by men from all over Italy, it was written at and for Rome, exclusively. The *Odusia* was created by an ex-slave from unhappy Tarentum for a Roman classroom. The *Bellum Poenicum* dwelt on the foundation and destiny of the one dominant city; its empty fragments show that it was written for a school, not with the intention of Italy and the destinies of posterity before the eyes of all the Italian peoples, but with Rome's duel against Carthage, punctuated by event, like this:



transiit Melitam  
 Romanus exercitus, insulam integram urit  
 populatur uastat, rem hostium concinnat. (fr. 37.)

All the tragedies were either about Greek myths or about the glories of Rome's history and Rome's present—*Romulus*, *Clastidium*, *Sabinae*, and so forth. Naevius, the truest Roman of them all, is sometimes credited with a more broadly Italian view; but the joke about *Praenestini et Lanuini hospites* in his *Ariolus* does not go beyond the frontiers of Latium; and his *Tarentilla* was probably a *Ταπάρτιν* in the original. Early Latin literature was never Pan-Italic as early Greek literature was Panhellenic. What truth there is in this argument of Rostagni's is a far less elevated truth than he would have us believe. It is that Rome had, after a series of successful wars, become rich and powerful and had leisure to take in any culture which was offered her. She therefore attracted authors and artists and teachers from all over Italy and Greece—men who saw a chance to make money (like Plautus) or prestige (like Livius, president of the *collegium scribarum*, and Ennius, whom the Roman officials deigned to make a Roman citizen in his poverty-stricken old age). The wise, as Simonides said, must sit at the doors of the rich. *Unificazione politica*, meaningless at that time in the legal sense, is equally meaningless in the spiritual sense. Roman domination, not Italian unity, created the new poetry: in the sense that it offered rewards for its creation by men who were mostly neither Romans nor even free-born Italians.

In his final argument, Rostagni goes straight to the point. The Romans copied every literary form except satire and farce from the Greek. They borrowed every metre and even the quantitative system in verse and prose from the Greeks. For many centuries they modelled all their prose and verse on Greek types. They took nine-tenths of their subjects from Greece, subjects ranging from Aeneas to Priapus, from Jason to Chremes, from Epicureanism to Stoicism. How then can Roman literature be called original?

He replies that these borrowings are superficial, not essential. Despite "the appearance of imitation" (p. 101), the Roman spirit proceeded along its own path. The plots and the forms which were borrowed were "nothing but material and external things (*materialità ed esteriorità*) and did not influence the deep literary and artistic spirit" of Roman literature. I find it quite impossible to believe this *principio evidente, fondamentale e inderogabile* (p. 12), all the less since little attempt is made to prove it. When Ennius and Varius and Seneca all write of Thyestes, when Rome's first historians actually write in Greek, when every Roman poet boasts of equalling Homer or Hesiod or Alcaeus or Callimachus, when Roman literature is full of direct translations and thinly-veiled adaptations from Greek, that connexion cannot be called material and external. Such dependence on foreign models was not shown by Rome in any field except philosophy, science, and the arts. Compared with Roman law, compared with Roman strategy, compared with Roman government, Roman literature is very, very far from being fundamentally independent, *essenzialmente autonoma*.

No one, of course, would claim that Latin literature is simply a

mirror-image of Greek. Although much of what the Romans borrowed was essential, they contributed much that was vital to their finished product. Rostagni, however, spoils the force of much of his argument in this direction by his abuse of scholars who have endeavoured to distinguish Latin contributions from Greek borrowings within one author or one genus. He is sometimes drawn to extend this abuse to all who have dared to criticise the merits of any Latin poet. Here are two typical passages:

Most Terentian criticism is still engaged in foolish discussion of the same old gabble—about the possibility of denying Terence the paternity of his own comedies, about his plagiarisms, and about other such questions—or else it is occupied in debating, with equal stupidity, the problem of his Greek models: a problem which, instead of being confined to its proper limits, those of scholarly research, is rather applied to aesthetic ends, namely to the purpose of determining the originality and the artistic merits of the poet (p. 420).

Aesthetic critics have spent much effort on the *Aeneid*, but it has been mostly misdirected: it has applied to Vergil's work the standard of what are supposed to be the laws of heroic poetry, and has therefore brought out all kinds of imperfections and weakness, faults in the development of the action, in the characters of the chief personages—Aeneas especially—and so forth. These judgments, or rather prejudices, though depending on intellectual attitudes which belong to other ages than ours, are not wholly abandoned today, and appear in the majority of monographs and commentaries (p. 440).

This petulant attitude to the work of generations of scholars, along with the rather juvenile belief that we now live in a better age (*antiche dicerie, pensiero proprio d'altri tempi*, etc.), could be justified only by a much greater apparatus of scholarship than Rostagni displays and in its present context awakens distrust rather than agreement. I am willing to be convinced, but not to be shouted at.

Not, then, in detail, but in bulk, Rostagni tells us what is truly original in Latin literature. He gives four answers.

He says, first, that many things which were originally Greek entered Italy from the eighth century onwards, and were acclimatised in Italy for so long that they can fairly be called Italian. Such, for example, were many myths and legends (some of which came through Etruscan channels). Such were literary types like the mimes of Sophron—which are usually considered part of the Dorian farce tradition—and the phlyakes of Rhinthon. In one paragraph Rostagni actually implies that the rhetoric of Gorgias and other Sicilians directly influenced Roman oratory, and that it can be called truly Italian rather than Greek because it was created in Italy.

Caratteri propri e autonomi appaiono in particolare nelle creazioni letterarie greche che entrano in Italia, e che si acclimatano, e che, per ragioni di abitudine, più che di realtà, si considerano italiane, che non della greca. . . . Il medesimo si può ripetere a proposito della prosa, della poesia, della filosofia, della scienza, della storia.

Leontini e degli altri maestri sicelioti, che ha affinità con la retorica a cui *in ogni epoca* appaiono molto inclini i Romani (pp. 29-30).

This kind of argument appears to me to confuse the issue. The Italians preferred, as he says, the myths of Aeneas and Odysseus to others, and "acclimatised" them quite early; but they were none the less Greek myths. Gorgias influenced the Roman orators (although not directly!); but he was none the less a part of the main stream of Greek literature, as Plato well knew. A model, a myth, is none the less Greek if the hinterland of Magna Graecia likes it and borrows it.

He goes on to add that a great deal of truly Italian literature survives in Roman work which was produced after direct contact with Hellenism. For example, Plautus was much influenced by the Atellan farce. The *Bellum Poenicum* of Naevius was "a sort of *carmen conviviale*" (p. 77)—i. e., it was, although more elaborate, recognisably akin to the *clarorum uirorum laudes atque uirtutes* which Cato (Cicero, *Brutus*, 75) recorded as having been sung at banquets many generations before his time. Such was the *carmen Priami*, whose first line, a Saturnian, survives. Rostagni even knows what these pre-Livian lays were like. Their special, non-Greek characteristic was that they intermingled the world of contemporary history with the world of myth (p. 50). That may be so. We have no evidence whatever to prove it, and Rostagni advances none. As a matter of fact, the scanty fragments of Naevius' poem would show that it contained few *clarorum uirorum laudes*, few ἀπιορτεῖαι. It looks much more like a versified chronicle, like the purely annalistic portions of Livy. He further conjectures that some of these *carmina* were dramatic in form, and that the *carmen Nelei* of which one iambic line still survives was one of them. How a dramatic poem was recited at banquets he does not explain. All he says is:

It is difficult to determine with absolute certainty whether among the anonymous *carmina* . . . there were any which—although in epic-lyric, that is to say substantially narrative, form—were presented in a dramatic form (!). But it is very probable; and it can be asserted with every likelihood for one of them, the *carmen Nelei*. In that work the iambic metre characteristic of dramatic poetry is already flourishing, and its connexions with Sophocles' tragedy *Tyro* are clear (p. 52).

The assumption that the *carmen Nelei* was a quasi-dramatic poem composed before Livius Andronicus, *qui ausus est primus argumento fabulam serere*, is made without any suggestion of proof and supported only by "the light of intrinsic probability" (p. 411). By the light of cold fact, the only statement about its date makes it contemporary with Livius' *Odusia* (Charisius, *G.L.K.*, I, 84, 9, reading *aeque prisco*); and, if it was a tragedy, the intrinsic probability is that it was composed after Livius' first plays, by some other member of the guild of poets and actors over which he presided. Rostagni's airy hypotheses are interesting to read, but they become a little tiresome when so little proof and so little argument is offered to ballast them.

Thirdly, Rostagni asserts that when the Romans began to write heroic poetry (both epic, p. 50, and tragic, p. 78), they gave it an "absolutely distinctive general character," which "sharply distinguishes Roman poetry from Greek" (p. 50). This was the device of associating the world of heroic myth and the world of recent or contemporary history in one poetic universe: as in the eighth book of the *Aeneid*. We can discard this argument at once. Throughout his triumphal odes, Pindar magnificently connects the heroes of his own day with their half-divine ancestors, and illuminates contemporary history by blending it with the tremendous background of the sagas. "Seine Helden sind gegenwärtig lebende und ringende Menschen. Er stellt sie in die Welt des Mythos hinein. Das bedeutet für Pindar: er stellt sie in eine Welt idealer Vorbilder, deren Glanz auf sie überstrahlt" (Jaeger, *Paideia*, p. 285). Nor was Pindar the only Greek to write like this. In *The Frogs* the god Dionysus is a perfectly contemporaneous Athenian, who has sailed in the fleet and is full of the jokes and gossip of 405 B. C. Perhaps the noblest of such assimilations is *The Eumenides*, at the end of which the Athenians of the fifth century could see their own jury-system inaugurated by their ancestors, guided by their own patroness. It is highly probable that the lost epic poets who lauded Alexander connected his deeds with those of his heroic prototypes—he himself loved to mythicise his character, his birth, and his adventures. Certainly Lycophron's *Alexandra* is nothing more nor less than a tremendous poetic panorama beginning in the myth, and ending, with no loss of continuity, in the immediate present: exactly as Ennius' *Annales* did.<sup>1</sup> And that very important poet Choirilos of Samos introduced some elements of saga into his epic on the Persian war (cf. frag. 5, Kinkel); Bethe in *R.-E.*, III, col. 2360 cleverly compares that act to the association of the battle of Marathon and the sack of Troy in the Painted Porch at Athens.

So, when Rostagni says that this device is "absolutely distinctive" of Roman poetry, he is mistaken. What truth there is in his assertion will, unfortunately, not increase our admiration for Roman poetry. It is that the Romans went far further than the Greeks in using the device: in fact, too far. Aeschylus knew well enough not to show Athena encouraging Themistocles in *The Persians*. Apollonius knew well enough not to write of the victories of Ptolemy, assisted by Ares and Hera. The Greeks had taste. But the Romans were able without a qualm to portray Anubis fighting Neptune, Venus, and Minerva at the battle of Actium (*Aen.*, VIII, 698), to tell how Pallas saved Hannibal from a duel with Scipio by carrying him off in a cloud (Silius, *Pun.*, IX, 484) and how Megaera tried to shatter the peace of the world by encouraging the ambition of her nursling Rufinus (Claudian, *in Ruf.*, I, 74 f.); they were able to describe, in one and the same poem, the transformation of Arachne to a spider and the transformation of Julius Caesar to a comet (Ovid, *Met.*, VI, 190 f. XV, 813 f.); they did not shrink from explaining how Pan

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jaeger, *op. cit.* p. 285. It is true that the *Annales* were in no way heroic, but it is not so true that they are more probably to be compared with Hellenistic poems like Rhinias' *Alceste* than with the *Aeneid*.

had pursued a lovely and obdurate nymph through the park of a Roman millionaire (Statius, *Silv.*, II, 3); and thus they started a vicious habit which persisted until at least the eighteenth century. If Rostagni's argument that this device is both truly Roman and truly admirable were accepted, it would mean that we ought to prefer the *Bellum civile* of Petronius to that of Lucan, and to contemplate with pleasure the spectacle of Nero dressed as Apollo and Commodus in the garb of Hercules. It was an exaggeration to which the Romans were always liable. "Abiit ad deos Hercules; . . . licuit esse otioso Themistoeli, licuit Epaminondae, licuit (ne et uetera et externa quaeram) mihi," says Cicero in the *Tusculans*, without guessing how vain and foolish it sounds. Certainly it is not a thing to be admired; for it was only in its tastelessness that it was typically Roman.

Lastly, Rostagni declares that when the Romans took over those purely "external and material" things, the genera, the myths, and the styles, they infused into them a new spirit, which was truly Roman, and which was more advanced than the Greek spirit ever was. Graeco-Roman literature, he tells us, was a continuous development culminating in Latin prose and poetry—a development which was one phase of a huge spiritual process that actually found its climax in Christianity. Greek poetry was essentially focussed on the external and the objective world; it did not reason but merely looked upon the spectacle of life. It was the triumph of matter, not of spirit. But, with continued progress, the human spirit became reflective and turned from the Object to the Subject. Greek poetry failed to make this new step; but Roman poetry succeeded—partly because it came later in the process, partly because it had the energies which Greek poetry lacked. The Romans did not, it is true, create a mythology equal to that of the Greeks; but they created a far greater wealth of psychical themes, and were far better at putting their own personalities into their poetry. Therefore, concludes Rostagni (pp. 15-17), they are rightly called not imitators, but continuators of the Greek poets.

Now, is this true? Did the Romans really succeed in reflective poetry when the Greeks had failed in it? Of course they did not. The whole body of Roman epic is very far indeed from being more reflective than Greek epic. In drama there is no comparison—are we to pit Euripides against Seneca, or Plautus against Menander or Aristophanes? The Roman elegists are not more thoughtful than the Greek—even Propertius' fourth book compares poorly with Theognis and Solon for genuine depth of reflection. Not even the Roman satirists thought more deeply than their real prototypes, the Old Comedians and the philosophical poets like Crates and Cercidas. It can be agreed that the Romans often put more of their own personalities into their poetry than the Greeks, although the disappearance of the Alexandrian elegists and the Lesbian lyricists deprives us of some vital evidence. But it is not possible to assert that, *for that reason*, Roman literature represents a higher stage in the process of the soul. A later stage, doubtless. Baudelaire is later than Ronsard, and more subjective. Leopardi is later than Dante, and more subjective. But neither of the two epigoni represents a higher stage in the journey of the spirit. I am not saying this merely for the sake

of argument. Despite all the energy which Rome deployed in the extension and stabilisation of the Empire, it is almost impossible not to feel a spirit of exhaustion and despair in all Roman poetry after Lucilius and all Roman prose after Cicero. The profound and settled melancholy of Vergil—a melancholy which is betrayed not only in his pathetic letter to Augustus, not only in his wish to destroy the unfinished *Aeneid*, but in the gloom and suffering of the entire poem, culminating in the pathos and frustration of the Marcellus episode—reappears in Livy's preface and Horace's Roman odes: and it is justified by the increasing hollowness of Silver Age literature, and only emphasised by the dark violent gloom of Tacitus and Juvenal, before the long silence at last sets in. The development which begins with Homer and ends with Juvenal and Claudian, which begins with Herodotus and ends with Apuleius, cannot be described as an upward march of the human soul; and it is only catchpenny rhetoric, not scholarly devotion to the truth, which could imply that it was, or that its later stages continued and transcended its glorious beginnings and its splendid maturity.

But all this is a useless task, and the Romans themselves would have agreed that it was: the Greeks even more so. Rostagni starts from the thesis that, if Roman literature is not original, then Roman civilisation is less great than we had supposed; and that to prove Roman literature to be more highly advanced than Greek is to exalt and vindicate the name of Rome (p. 1).

In the first place, this totally neglects the classical theory of imitation, the doctrine on which both Greeks and Romans worked. The ancients were proud to copy, in the hope that they might equal, their mighty predecessors. They believed in change and in completion, but little in progress. All that the most boastful Roman poet ever wanted to achieve was to equal Hesiod, to be the Umbrian Callimachus, to be Homer reincarnated, to fit Aeolian song to Italian rhythms, and so on. Nor was this imitation confined, as Rostagni says, to external and material things: there is a good chapter, showing how deep it went, in Kroll's *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur* (VII, especially pp. 159 f.). If he had wished to convince his readers, he ought to have demonstrated in detail exactly how much Terence, for instance, altered and enlarged Menandrian comedy (instead of merely saying that Terence "created something more largely human and universal" than Menander), and what was truly Roman and Ciceronian in Cicero's contribution to Graeco-Roman oratory. This, save for a page or two, he does not do; and he pours scorn on those who have tried to do it in detail.

Again, his attitude neglects what the Romans and the Greeks themselves thought. Hardly any Roman ever ventured to assert that Roman authors were superior to those of Greece. No Greek ever considered them anything but vastly inferior. Comparison of Greece and Rome, often with special emphasis on literature, was a very common subject for critics and philosophers from about 150 B. C. until about 100 A. D.<sup>2</sup> There is a well-known example in Quint.

<sup>2</sup> Wendling, *Hermes*, XXVIII (1893), pp. 357 ff.; Roedke, *Hermes*, XLII (1907), pp. 222 ff.; Bähr, *Neue Jahrb. Phil. Class.* (1907), p. 218.

tilian, X; Cicero begins the *Tusculans* with another; and traces of many such debates appear in Gellius. Nearly all conclude in favour of the Greeks. Quintilian grants the Romans superiority in nothing but satire (for which there is no exact Greek equivalent), and equality only in elegy, history, and—for Cicero's sake—oratory. Cicero indeed claims that the Romans improved what they borrowed from the Greeks; but, except for his own case, he finds it rather hard to prove; and it is obvious that he is really vaunting his own oratory and his own philosophy. Both the manner and the matter of the *Tusculans*, in which he makes this boast, are borrowed from Greek philosophy; and it is difficult to assert that he has improved them.

The Greeks never felt that the Romans were "continuing" their work on a higher plane. It was neither political prejudice nor national vanity which made them regard the Romans as well-organised barbarians. The contemptuous silence with which they treat nearly all Roman literature<sup>3</sup> is an aesthetic and spiritual fact which Rostagni ought to have taken into account if he would have us believe that it actually improved and transcended the work of the Greeks. No account of Roman culture is complete if it passes over the derision and hatred which that culture provoked throughout the civilised world.<sup>4</sup> Part of it was historical and philosophical theorising: as when Dionysius describes Roman customs as imitations of Greek (II, 8 and 12, V, 73, etc.). Part of it was the natural loathing of the conquered for the conqueror—*paene iustum odium, nostri imperi*, says Cicero, *De Prou. Cons.*, 6. Part of it was a reflex of Roman arrogance (Pliny describes his fellow-countrymen as *deorum quaedam immortalium generi humano portio*, *N. H.*, XXXVI, 15, 118), Roman brutality, and Roman contempt for the "greedy Greeky."<sup>5</sup> *Graecia facundum sed male forte genus*, says Ovid (*Fasti*, III, 102), and the same scorn is expressed or implied in many frank utterances of Roman poets and statesmen. But most of it was the very real and just feeling that Greece had nothing to learn from Rome, except the use of that power which was symbolised in her very name, and the political discipline which was at once its precondition and its product. The rest was tongue-tied barbarism, imitative poetry, parroted philosophy, second-hand science, vulgar, pompous, infertile art.

If then few Romans and fewer Greeks believed that Roman culture and in particular Roman literature transcended the achievement of Greece, it was Rostagni's duty to prove that point in detail for each period, each genre, and each author; or else to mark the exceptions to his main thesis and to explain them separately. Apart from the general arguments which I have examined above, and a cursory paragraph or two at the end of each chapter, he does not do so.

<sup>3</sup> Hahn, *Rom und Romanismus*, p. 198.

<sup>4</sup> Peter, *Die geschichtliche Litteratur über die Kaiserzeit*, I, p. 26; Jüthner, *Hellenen und Barbaren*, VII (*Erbe der Alten*, 1923); Fuchs, *Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom*; Schnayder, "De Infenso Alienigenarum in Romanos Anima," *Eos*, XXX (1927), pp. 113 ff., and *Quibus Conuiciis Alienigenae Romanos Carperint* (Cracow, 1928); Mahaffy, *Greek World under Roman Sway*, especially pp. 134, 145, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Colin, *Rome et la Grèce*, especially pp. 668 f.

But the general thesis is false. It is not true that a culture which does not possess a great and essentially original literature is therefore not great. The greatest Athenian poet said that his plays were only slices from Homer's banquets; but Athenian culture was not inferior to Homeric culture for all that. The culture of the Incas was undoubtedly a very great one, but it seems to have had no valuable literature at all. Egyptian culture is not only great but awe-inspiring: its tremendous architecture and statuary are artistically more important than anything of the same kind in the world; but it had no great literature—nothing but songs, hymns, folk-tales, religious manuals. Mediaeval western literature is, with few exceptions, negligible; but mediaeval culture was a great spiritual creation. In the most solemn passage of the *Aeneid*, Anchises asserts that others may well be better artists, scientists, and orators than the Romans. They must concentrate their energies on another duty: it is their mission to rule the world. And Vergil well knew his nation's most serious task: he symbolises it in a contrast at the end of the *Georgics*. Octavian, he says, victoriously

uolentis  
per populos dat iura uiamque adfectat Olympo.  
illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat  
Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis oti.

That is, the highest effort of the Roman spirit was displayed in winning wars and imposing a lasting and orderly peace—not in writing poetry, however great it might be. Rome's mission was to consolidate the rule of political stability and universal law which the Greeks had never been able to achieve, and to disseminate a civilisation formed of the best Greek art, science, and philosophy, through political and social patterns drawn from the best in her own folkways. She had to civilise the barbarian West and stabilise the inconstant East. Her greatest men, therefore, were not her historians, poets, and artists; but her lawyers, soldiers, and statesmen. The road, planned by a governor and built by the legions, is the Roman equivalent of the Gothic cathedral, the Egyptian sun-temple, the Chinese philosophical treatise, and the Greek tragedy. *Tu, Romane, memento.*

Every scholar knows that, and most take it for granted. If Rosstagni, who says he is convinced of the opposite, had proved it carefully and minutely, his work would have merited a great deal more consideration. On the contrary. His introduction and his prefatory chapters to each section are full of his peculiar theory of Roman originality and Roman transcendence, while the separate chapters on individual authors are for the most part quietly traditional. I found them no more than adequate, although the bibliographical and critical appendices were unexpectedly full. For a book of 514 pages, costing 55 lire, they might have been much richer. The first appendix, *Receuil des citations*, about 2200 words, a short appendix on the chronology of his life, and a table of the editions of his five editions and thirteen essays or monographs. *Index* of the book, about 1000 words. *Index* of the book, about half as many bibliographical citations. Schanz-Hosius have 2000 citations, and 1000 words.



course, a gigantic bibliography. On Horace, Rostagni has about 8500 words (footnotes included), and a good page and a half of bibliography, expanded in a five-page critical appendix bringing out most of the chief Horatian problems. Wight Duff has 13,500 words (excluding his footnotes and his translation of *Sat.*, I, 9) covering a rather larger field than Rostagni. Schanz-Hosius have about 8200 words (excluding enormous footnotes and a paragraph on Horace since the Renaissance) and a bibliography covering eight pages of close print. Comparative lengths would have been irrelevant if Rostagni had loaded every rift with ore; but he has not. Article after article is limited to simple superficial narratives of the poet's life and superficial descriptions of the poet's works ("the *Amores* are mostly on erotic subjects, though Corinna is a fictitious character . . . the *Ars amatoria*, his masterpiece, is a parody of a didactic poem . . . the *Metamorphoses* are a huge web of reminiscences from Greek and Roman authors . . .") which scarcely ever rise to a real intensity of critical appreciation or historical perception. We look in vain for separate discussions of such important topics as the *praetexta*, the Roman attitude to history, the development of oratory, or the changes in the Latin language throughout this period.

Rostagni's book must therefore be judged a very mediocre literary history which is vitiated by its forced connexion with a false theory: like the living men whom Mezentius tied to corpses, *sanie taboque fluentis complexu in misero*. It is, also, the first frankly Fascist work of scholarship I have seen, and it arouses great misgivings in me for the future. If hundreds and thousands of young Italians are to be taught that Roman literature was *essenzialmente autonoma* and transcended the literature of Greece; if millions of young Germans are taught that the author of *Die Lorelei* is unknown, and that the greatest figures in Greek and Roman history were demonstrably Nordic in blood and therefore German folk-comrades, then within two generations Central Europe will have passed into a new Dark Age, full of all the particularism and obscurantism of the last. Does Rostagni realise what he is doing? And if he does, can he help it? I hesitate to suggest whether his intellect is weak, or his will, or both. Anyhow, his *Letteratura di Roma repubblicana ed Augustea* has increased my distaste for Italian propaganda and vastly decreased my respect for Italian scholarship. That is to say, it is a monument, not to the strength, but to the weakness of the new Empire.

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ROY J. DEFERRARI, SISTER M. INVOLATA BARRY, MARTIN R. P. MAGUIRE. *A Concordance of Ovid*. Washington, The Catholic University of America Press, 1939. Pp. ix + 2220. \$20.00.

ROY J. DEFERRARI, SISTER MARIA WALBURG FANNING, SISTER ANNE STANISLAUS SULLIVAN. *A Concordance of Lucan*. Washington, The Catholic University of America Press, 1940. Pp. vii + 602. \$6.00.

The useful index prepared by Daniel Crispin for his Delphin edition (Lyon, 1689), often reprinted and best known, doubtless, through its incorporation in the fourth volume of Peter Burmann's *Ovid* (Amsterdam, 1727),<sup>1</sup> after serving thousands of scholars during the past two hundred and fifty years, has now been definitively supplanted by a work complete and therefore far more extensive, namely, a concordance-index with some 252,000 entries as against a scant 105,000 in the Burmann reprint.

Except for an occasional ἀπαξ εἰρημένον, of course, every word that I have compared adds something, as in the following sample cases (where D stands for the earlier work, and W for the later): *vulpes* (2 D: 3 W); *fossa* (10 D: 11 W); *clementia* (9 D: 11 W); *verbum* (374 D: 437 W); *Aiax* (9 D: 22 W); *pro*, the interjection (5 D: 7 W); *pro*, the preposition (27 D: 282 W); *ob* (1 D: 8 W); and besides, the Washington list includes the hundreds and even thousands of instances of such words as *et*, *iam*, *-que*, *sed*, which Burmann's reprint either omitted entirely, or for which the merest handful of occurrences was offered;<sup>2</sup> because Dr. Deferrari and his colleagues have wisely given us a concordance for the more, and an index for the less, colorful portions of the vocabulary.

The printing (by the off-set method) seems to have been done accurately, and a series of brief random samplings, in order to test both accuracy and completeness, has disclosed not a single consequential error of any kind. The basic texts employed are the latest Teubner printings, as listed on p. viii, where, by a slight error in condensation, Friedrich Vollmer's text of the *Nux* is apparently ascribed to 1911 instead of 1923.

One or two matters of technique suggest brief comment. The spellings have been standardized so consistently that, although the text, for example, prints only *vulpes*, the concordance classifies under *vulpes* (without cross-reference). Whether or not that is the most convenient method to follow might be debated. On the other hand, all will be glad, I believe, to see the paradigm-order of arrangement for inflected words, instead of the strictly alphabetical, which latter produces some scattering, and a good many bizarre collocations. Interesting, at least, is the system of listing all the occurrences in a single work of all the inflections of a particular word, and these in

<sup>1</sup> Unhappily, however, although expanded in some respects, it was distinctly contracted in others and thus rendered on the whole less valuable. See R. S. Radford, "The Crispin Index to Ovid," *C. P.*, XXII (1927), pp. 80-4.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, for *ergo* Burmann gives not a single example, and Crispin himself only 91, while the present work lists 102.

strict numerical sequence, before passing on to the occurrences in another work. Thus, all the thirty-three occurrences of *opto* in the *Metamorphoses*, in the order of occurrence (*optas*, *optaris*, *opta*, *opto*, *optatos*, *opto*, *optasse*, *optare*, etc.) are listed before going on to the *Fasti* and the other works. This procedure clearly has saved a great deal of time in collecting and classifying the original materials, and it is a convenience, no doubt, for one who wishes to study exclusively the vocabulary and usage of each separate work. But it complicates matters considerably for those who are concerned with merely a single form, like *optasse*, for in that case the entire article must be looked over; and it will also increase the labor of those who wish to use a word-list in order to find the source of a passage, or to learn whether a particular author ever used some particular word-form or phrase. Thus, in an index classified according to word-forms, even such a colorless expression as *pater arma ferebat* (*Ep.*, 8, 89) can be quickly caught by looking at the relatively few instances of a single form, and still more quickly by comparing the passages in which *pater* occurs with those that have *arma* in the accusative, actually looking at merely the one (or at most two or three) in which this particular combination occurs; whereas in the present work one must glance over the four solid pages each of either *pater* or *arma*, even if one avoids the eleven pages of *fero*. Or, again, in an actual attempt, for some other purpose, to locate the pseudo-Ovidian *abeunt studia in mores*, the exact location (*Ep. Sapph.*, 83) of which I had forgotten, it took one minute and forty-five seconds to find the source in the Washington index and but forty seconds to locate it in the Delphin edition, starting to count from the moment at which I took up each of the two books. Which method of arrangement is really the more serviceable to the larger number of scholars is for them to decide; in my own case I should doubt whether once in a hundred times that I use an index I am concerned with the collected usage of one single work at a time. Yet this particular experience may not be also universal or even preponderant, and, until scholars have expressed themselves clearly on the point, we should be only grateful for the consistent application of this method of classification in a work which is certain to be widely used and so will necessarily bring the matter sharply to attention.

Once more, the order in which the works are cited is scarcely defensible from the point of view of rapid use. Something could be said for observing the same order as that in the several volumes of the particular edition followed; still more for a chronological arrangement; and most of all, perhaps, for a strictly alphabetical order, although the editors have badly managed their business in this respect. But none of these has been adopted. Instead the most famous poem has been put first, followed by a second-rate work closely related to it in subject matter, and then the rest follow in the traditional order, which is only roughly chronological, for the *Epistulae ex Ponto* are actually later than the *Tristia*, yet cited before them, while the *Ibis* was written before most of the *Tristia*, though cited after them, and the *Fragments* are mostly from works anterior to the exile, although none but a pedant would object to letting these come last.

The decision to omit all variant readings of any kind whatsoever suppresses, of course, a considerable amount of pertinent informa-

tion. That is not so important when a particular conjecture is accepted against all the MSS and the implied or recorded objections of other scholars, for in any case the user of the index ought to consult regularly the apparatus of the best available *editio maior*. Far more serious is the failure to notify the user that in other instances as well either excellent or unanimous MS authority exists for the same word or phrase, or else a competent modern scholar has proposed the same thing; because here the user is quite helpless, since he cannot improvise such information on the spur of the moment.

For example: Ehwald reads *Actaeis* at *Met.*, I, 313, with practically all the MSS and Bernardini, who absurdly insists that the egregious blunder was made by Ovid himself, a contention which is about as plausible as to suppose that James Russell Lowell would have been likely to confuse the English Channel with the Irish Sea. Del Rio, however, long ago saw that *Oetaeis* must have been meant, and this reading has been approved by Giering, Lemaire, Riese, Merkel, Magnus, Slater, Lafaye, Stange, H. J. Müller, F. J. Miller, even Ehwald himself, in his right mind (1903), and I know not how many competent scholars besides. Now the student looking up *Actaeus* has only himself to blame if he disregards the evidence in the *apparatus criticus*; but the one who examines this concordance of Ovid for *Oeta-Oete* and *Oetaeus* has no possible chance of learning the facts about his usage from a word-list which omits highly pertinent information of this kind.

But this type of criticism is merely regret that a work so very good is not also a little better still, and that is too much like beclouding gratitude with ungraciousness. Drs. Deferrari, Barry, and Maguire have produced an excellent work, indispensable to all students of Ovid.

Little more need be said about the Lucan Concordance. It is accurately reproduced by the off-set method<sup>3</sup> and follows much the same plan as the preceding compilation but wisely undertakes to include also "all variant readings which might possess some importance in the establishment of a new text." Opinion will always differ on questions of this sort, but I should think that such a lection as *abegit* (VI, 150), the reading of four out of the six oldest MSS, and accepted among recent editors by C. E. Haskins (1887) and C. N. Francken (1896), might at least have been considered. Complete dependence also upon A. E. Housman's text (the copy before me bears the date 1926, not 1927) eliminates from all record every word in such lines as he, in his always magisterial and frequently insolent manner, removes from the text, sometimes not deigning to quote them even in his apparatus.<sup>4</sup> Yet somebody wrote these verses, in at least recognizable if not always beautiful or correct Latin, and the total suppression of their contents is plainly an arbitrary procedure. Slightly more disquieting is the listing of all the words in the entire new verse (II, 703A) of which Housman says "finxi," without the slightest indication that they are the invention of a certain (though, so doing) of a certain poet and not of a

<sup>3</sup> The off-set method is a process of printing from a photograph of a manuscript, and thus something quite different from the process of printing from a type-set.

<sup>4</sup> The words which have been omitted are I, 436-40; IV, 251; VI, 152.

the same thing is done again at V, 535, where two new half lines are Housman's own pure concoction; and still again at IX, 674A, X, 122A, and X, 472A. But I have made too many indices myself to sympathize deeply with anyone who might thus be deceived because he neglected to verify his references; on which point Dr. J. W. Fuchs of the Hague, in his recent and most useful analytical index to Cicero's *De Inventione* ('s-Gravenhage, 1937), has expressed no less wittily than aptly the sentiment of all of us drudging makers of indices and concordances: "Si quis hunc indicem inspexerit neque ipsius Ciceronis verba perlegerit, si eum index fefellerit, iure deceptus esto."

Like the Ovid Concordance this one to Lucan is clearly indispensable and accordingly welcome. But one may still properly raise the question whether the enormous amount of conscientious labor expended upon it might not have been devoted more profitably to some of the many bodies of Latin literature without any respectable index or concordance at all, because we already have for Lucan an excellent index by George W. Mooney, of a date as late as 1927 (first supplemental volume to *Hermathena*).<sup>5</sup> In comparing the two I selected arbitrarily the first and the last eighteen words for verification. For the last eighteen words the two works were absolutely identical, but not quite so for the first eighteen. Here Mooney had omitted one example of the preposition *a* at IX, 892, and of course he has none of the twenty-nine different words which Housman "finxit."<sup>6</sup> On the other hand he lists an additional example of *ab* at I, 439, a line not even given in the apparatus criticus by Housman; and two additional important variants, one under *abduco* at V, 162, and the other under *abigo* at VI, 150. One must, therefore, regretfully add that, although careful, accurate, helpful, and indeed indispensable, the present Concordance does not completely supplant Mr. Mooney's Index,<sup>7</sup> although, to be sure, it marks a notable advance in comparison with it.

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<sup>5</sup> This is an important point; for example, the number of indices to Terence already in print or in MS is almost ridiculous, while far more important tasks remain undone. The mere advancement of learning (together with notable economy of effort and expense) might have been better served in this case by an index or concordance to the *Anthologia Latina*, let us say, plus a mere pamphlet, surely not more than eight or ten pages in size, containing additions and corrections to Mr. Mooney's Index, which could easily have been pasted in, or even bound in, at the back. Much more of this kind of supplement will be needed in the future, and not so many wholly new, and therefore expensive, publications. [It should be recorded here that, since the preceding note was written, Miss Ethel B. Sager, of Toledo, Ohio, has begun an index to the *Anthologia Latina*, and has therefore staked out a claim to this important field for herself.]

<sup>6</sup> Of these twenty-nine no fewer than six, or more than 20%, are never used by Lucan at all, although doubtless he would have recognized them. As reincarnated in Mr. Housman, Lucan appears to have modified, and presumably also improved, his poetical diction.

<sup>7</sup> Of course both works would have been made a good deal more useful by including all the important critical variants in the apparatus of editions now forty and fourteen years old respectively, together with a record of textual criticism since those dates.

Euripides, *Ion*. Edited with Introduction and Commentary by A. S. OWEN. Oxford and New York, Clarendon Press, 1939. Pp. 196. \$2.75.

This volume makes a fourth in the Oxford series of Euripidean plays; like its predecessors, it is just the businesslike and first-rate edition which the good undergraduate needs—though all of us can learn from it, as will shortly appear. Mr. Owen was plainly an admirable teacher as well as a fine scholar; throughout, he reveals notable skill in lucid, unpretentious explanation; moreover, he puts the reader in possession of the latest as well as the traditional opinions and interpretations. Metrical comment is full and highly competent; under this head falls the finest example of the donnish joke in existence—perfectly sound and relevant, but how remorselessly esoteric! V. 222 runs:

Ιω. οὐ θέμις, ὦ ξέναι.  
Χο. οὐδ' ἂν ....

Mr. Owen remarks: "The boy's association with the oracle seems to have stimulated his gift of prophecy. He knows apparently that the first word of the reply will begin with a vowel, and thereby save his anapaestic monometer from becoming a dochmiac." How that would have rejoiced Gildersleeve or Shorey!

In v. 1, Elmsley's *νότοις χαλκείουσιν οὐρανόν* is rightly preferred to the vulgate; the breach of Porson's rule is here incredible. In v. 101, I follow Bayfield in accepting Verrall's *ἰέας* instead of the MS *ἰδίας*; no doubt ill-omened words "in their private conversation" would be bad, but why emphasize that fact? In vv. 168 f. Owen accepts *αἰάξεις*—"you will turn your lovely song to a wail of woe." This strikes me as one of those emendations—I believe they grow more frequent; certainly they are common in Murray's text—which give an excellent sense but somehow do not *smell* like Greek. This sounds foolishly "objective," perhaps, but in the end one has to judge such suggestions by one's own feeling; and *αἰμάξεις* . . . *τὰς καλλιφθόγγους φῶδας* strikes me as far more Euripidean. On v. 494, we are told that the Acropolis is "then to be pictured as containing *στάδια χλοερά*." I defy Owen, Euripides, or anyone else so to picture that mass of limestone, with its top of flat uncompromising rock in the poet's day as in ours. Would he ask his audience to imagine anything so different? In v. 602, for *λογίων*, which (whatever it means) will not scan, Owen seems to favour *λογαίων* = "pick of the citizens"; he refers to Ibycus' use of the word (Strabo, p. 59C.). I do not know that it occurs anywhere else, and in Strabo it means literally "picked out": *χωμα, ὥς φησιν Ἰβυκος, λογαίου λίθου, ὃν καλεῖ ἐκλεκτόν*. Schaefer's *λεγόντων* is not good, because no one would alter it to *λογίων τε*. Klinkenberg's *λόγω τε* seems not to be available; it looks hard and so might suffer alteration but it is not so bad as *λογίων τε* (v. 599). In v. 630 *ψόγους* should be *ψόδοδος*. Owen approves Murray's *ψόδοδος* to avoid the 757 *ψόγους* by pointing to the word *ψοδοδος*, but that will not do; the note on v. 826 is unsatisfactory; Owen's suggestion *ἔλθων δ' ἐκείσε* is bad, whereas *καὶ ἐπὶ οὐρανῷ*

perfect antithesis to αλούς; nor can I see that the caesura is any weaker than that of v. 581, for instance. On v. 890, the statement about golden flowers is incorrect; see Pindar, *Ol.* II, 72. At v. 1029 occurs the familiar οἷσθ' οὖν ὃ δρᾶσον, about which the commentators make too much pother. Owen rightly says: "as though δαῖ δρᾶσαι." That this is correct—that the imperative is felt as a statement—can be proved by Thucydides, IV, 92, 7: δαίξαι ὅτι ὧν μὲν ἐφίενται πρὸς τοὺς μὴ ἀμυνομένους ἐπιόντες κτάσθων. . . . As to vv. 1137 ff.—the quaint remark that the square of 100 is 10,000, ὡς λέγουσιν οἱ σοφοί—we get no help from the suggestion that the phrase means "as experts direct," for arithmetic will not change its rules at the bidding of anyone, σοφός or ἄσοφος. Nor must we suppose interpolation; too many editors believe that a silly passage becomes less so if written by someone anonymous. We must assume that the mass of Athenians did not know how to do the sum  $100 \times 100$ . Next, why did Euripides drag in this information? All I can suggest is that he means: "The marquee was 100 feet square; that may not sound big enough for so huge a gathering, but 100 feet each way means a bigger area than you might suppose." (Most people are astounded when they hear for the first time that all the inhabitants of the earth could be assembled on the Isle of Wight.) And we must not forget that, though of course μυρίων is an exact numeral here, it does suggest the indefinite use of μυρίος. V. 1288 is printed by Murray ἀλλ' ἐγενόμεσθα πατρός· οὐσίαν λέγω, which even with his translation ("Xuthi factus sum: dei sum: de essentia loquor") remains sadly obscure. Kirchhoff's is not much easier: ἄ. ἐ. πατρός ἀπουσία λόγω, "In my father's absence I became in name the son of Loxias." Λόγω is bad; by its position it becomes emphatic and makes Ion imply that his own argument is a pretence. Much the best, though not too pleasing, is Seidler's ἀλλ' ἐγενόμεσθα· πατρός ἀπουσίαν λέγω, "You were not Loxias' son, but your father's." Ah, but I had *become* Loxias' son—I mean, while my father was absent." ἐγενόμεσθα, answering οὐκέτ' ἦσθα Δοξίου, is short for ἐγενόμεσθα Δοξίου. In the note on v. 1396 πολλή in *Hipp.*, 1 is said to mean "famous." Surely it has the frequent sense of πολὺς, "in great power"; "famous" is given by κοῦκ ἀνώνυμος in the same line. We may regret, but cannot decently complain, that Owen has not cleared up the oft-discussed v. 1424: τόδ' ἔσθ' ὕφασμα, θέσφαθ' ὡς εὐρίσκομεν. One thing seems plain: that the first three words can be right only if the rest of the line describes the ὕφασμα, by something like "corresponding to your statements." This Bayfield clearly saw, but his λεχθὲν ὡς εὐρίσκομεν is impossibly crude. Owen adds to our collection an unpublished reading by Prof. A. Y. Campbell: τόδ' ἔσθ' ὕφασμ', ἔφησθ' ὅθ' ὡς εὐρίσκομεν, "your assertions tallied every time with our discoveries." This leaves the first words quite futile. Further, I doubt this use of φημί with an implied accusative: "you recounted, mentioned (the details)." Certainly the one alleged parallel which is offered (Plato, *Rep.* 613 E) will not serve; the passage runs in full: . . . μαστιγούμενοι καὶ ἃ ἄγροικα ἔφησθα σὺ εἶναι, ἀληθῆ λέγων—simply, "punishments which you rightly called brutal."

One element in this edition, if not more, will chasten some of us, who, being uninterested in early Attic history, may have paid scant

attention to Euripides' frequent essays therein. Owen emphasizes it in his Introduction and even provides as a *παροψώνημα* an "Appendix on the Names of the Tribes." Whatever value this may or may not have in itself, the important point is Euripides' patriotism—important, because failure to give it weight may lead us into error about his dramaturgy. That is, possibly the *deus* here and elsewhere, instead of being thrust forward to cut the knot (as some believe) or to provide a *reductio ad absurdum* of traditional theology (as others hold), is introduced precisely and mostly in order to prophesy concerning Athenian tribes, cults, and the like. On v. 1549 Owen writes:

The goddess appears not so much to extricate the tangles of the plot (for Ion's doubts seem to have revived *in order* to warrant her appearance), as to give occasion for a prophecy about the future of the Ionian race who should be Ion's descendants. This kind of purpose, which Aristotle (*Po.* 15) says is the legitimate use of the *deus ex machina*, is a favourite one with Euripides; a good example is *IT.* 1435, where the shipwreck has been brought about so that Athena may utter her prophecies.

That makes a notable contribution to the study of Euripidean dramaturgy. I am not at present disposed to believe it—the parenthesis about Ion, for instance, seems to me a grave mistake—but I recognize that it merits careful attention.

The dramatic criticism itself, though useful so far as it goes, has too little vigour and vivacity. A number of points are excellent: the discussion of Τύχη on p. xxv, the notes on vv. 4 (New Comedy), 364 (fencing with pronouns), 806 (a small slip of the poet's), and a number of places (e. g. on vv. 331, 1276, 1307) where Owen points out that a phrase or turn of phrase has been "dragged in" to strengthen the tragic irony. His comment on vv. 239 f., that it is a sententious reflection to come from a boy, could easily be countered by "Yes: an English boy"; Ion recalls much more an American youth than anyone in *Stalky and Co.* In truth, the "dragged in" irony and the comparatively crude psychology of this play are both due to the fact that Euripides here writes not tragedy but melodrama. That is, he dispenses with certain qualities vital to tragedy and concentrates upon an exciting show, his one aim—superbly achieved—being to get the most out of each scene as it arrives; what similarity, for instance, can we detect between the young Samuel with his broom and the competent film-hero who vaults over the dining-table? Still more obviously, the Paedagogus is neither tragic nor comic, but melodramatic; a *frisson* at all costs is his aim, or the aim of his creator. The best stroke of unabashed and magnificent theatricality is that agonizing thrill when we believe for a moment that we are to be cheated out of the *ἀναγνώρισις* after all

1380 ff.) a superb trick played by an accomplished "man of  
... there will be nothing so good in this kind again."

Finally, what of Verrall, whose essay on this play, in *Classical Revue*, 1890, is a brilliant and formidable expression of his famous doctrine? Verrall's reasoning, dealing with the



well-nigh diabolical cleverness have won him few adherents. Almost every scholar rejects his conclusions, but perhaps no one has yet given them adequate discussion, argument being replaced by liberal use of the words "fantastic," "far-fetched," "perverse," and the like. It is precisely *Ion* which affords him the strongest ground, as all honest readers would (I should imagine) confess. On this ground Owen has challenged him and has made the best attack upon the whole structure of his Euripidean theory; meeting, however, with incomplete success, because he has failed to consider fully the theological implications of his own case. He was content to write (p. xxxiv) that the poet's "warm human sympathies will not allow him to condone the crime of Apollo." That is good, but not nearly enough; and, even so, he reveals a tendency to let the god down easily by treating Creusa cavalierly, for example on v. 948: "She is apt to tell untruths, and it looks as though she were adding picturesque touches in order to gain the maximum of pity." But Owen has dealt three telling blows. First, having shown fairly conclusively (pp. xii-xiv) that Euripides invented this story, he says (p. xxxiii): "It would be futile to bring forward such a myth merely to discredit it." Second, he offers a sound rebuttal of Verrall's attempts to discredit the birth-tokens (see notes on vv. 1410-1438). Third, on p. xxxv he writes:

If Xuthus is the father of Ion and Creusa no relation of his, the psychology of the play suffers badly, for she and the boy are singularly drawn to one another when they meet, and the tragedy of the plot largely depends on the fact that mother tries to kill son and son to kill mother; all the tragic irony with which the play is full has to disappear if she is not his mother.

Long study of this play has at last persuaded me that it contains no enigma at all but is perfectly simple; our perplexities, though quite natural, are imposed upon it by our modern ideas about dramatic art, about enlightened and pioneering playwrights, about the Divine Nature as conceived by various kinds of Athenian. It seems to me that anyone who reads *Ion* carefully, taking it as it comes, with as few theories in his head as possible, cannot but assent to these following propositions; whether they contradict one another is a further question.

- (i) Apollo, Hermes, and Athena definitely exist as personal deities.
- (ii) Apollo is the father of Ion.
- (iii) Apollo has protected Ion (a) by causing Hermes to bring him to Delphi; (b) by causing Xuthus to accept him as his own son; (c) by sending the doves; (d) by sending out the Priestess.
- (iv) The birth-tokens are genuine.
- (v) Apollo is untruthful.
- (vi) Apollo is a bungler.
- (vii) Euripides intends to prove the descent of the Athenian tribes, through Ion, from Apollo.

Discussion or proof of these assertions would be otiose; only two, those concerning the doves and the Priestess, seem not irresistibly obvious, and even they are hard to disbelieve. Our trouble is that we find all seven hard to accept in a mass. Verrall's perception of Apollo's quality thrust him upon discrediting the tokens and the *cri du coeur*. Others, impressed by the tokens, Apollo's protection, and the "historical" element, gloss over the ignominious collapse of Apollo's schemes. Owen (on v. 1546) misunderstood that tremendous moment when Ion steps forth to challenge the god. "If the oracle were so entirely the fraud that he [Verrall] supposes, it would have been quite capable of giving a fraudulent explanation." But that is not the point. Ion does not mean to ask: "Are you telling the truth?" to which of course anyone could reply: "Yes." He means: "You have said that I am the son of Xuthus. You have said that I am the son of Phoebus. Explain!" And no explanation save one is possible: "I am a clumsy liar, but my intentions are good." That, indeed, is a brief paraphrase of Athena's bland iambs in vv. 1557-1568.

The correct view, though profoundly distasteful to most of us, is simple. Apollo genuinely exists; he is a god, Ion's father, and ancestor of the Athenians; he is also a brute, a liar, and a bungler.

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LIONEL PEARSON. *Early Ionian Historians*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1939. Pp. vi + 240.

A work like this, which deals with a whole section of the history of Greek historiography comprehensively and yet in detail, is very much to be welcomed. For the last few decades have produced almost innumerable books and articles dealing with single authors and single problems; but the few comprehensive studies which we have, like Bury's *Ancient Greek Historians* and Shotwell's *Introduction to the History of History*, confine themselves almost exclusively to those authors whose works have come down to us in their entirety and give only a very casual account of those historians of whose works we possess only fragments.

The present work is divided into five chapters. In the first chapter the author discusses the origin and meaning of the term "logographer" and gives a brief general survey of the origin, development, and character of the pre-Thucydidean historical literature of the Greeks. The following four chapters are devoted to Hecataeus, Xanthus the Lydian, Charon of Lampsacus, and Hellanicus. In each one of these chapters the author first discusses the question whether the works mentioned by later authors are rightly attributed to the historian in question and whether the fragments which have come down to us are really from the work in question. Then he discusses the works, if not in detail, at least to their general content.

The most thorough discussion is devoted to Hecataeus' *Heptaplysia* 798, and it is also here that the author discusses the question of the

tributions to make, while his discussion of Hecataeus' historical or, as one may call it, mythographical work is rather short and does not contribute very much that is new, except perhaps the comparison of the opening sentence of Hecataeus' work with Hesiod, *Theog.*, 24-28. From the similarity of these two passages the author draws the conclusion that "it is quite a mistake to imagine that Hecataeus' words τὰδε γράφω ὥς μοι δοκεῖ ἀληθέα εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοί τε καὶ γελοῖοι indicate original and impartial research on his part or are evidence for his rationalistic tendencies." But here I can only partly agree with the author. It is quite true that these words do not indicate original and impartial "research," but, as in all similar cases—one must also compare the famous opening sentence of the work of Heraclitus—, those proud words are meant to indicate that the author has a new point of view, and in the case of Hecataeus this point of view is undoubtedly that of rationalism.

The second longest chapter is devoted to Hellanicus. Here too the author has many interesting suggestions to make, but he gives only an outline of the contents and arrangement of the single works and does not attempt a reconstruction in detail, which, at least with some of them, would have been quite possible. But the performance of this task would have required a special work of probably more than the length of the present volume, so that the omission is quite natural. But one may perhaps express the hope that someone may soon tackle this problem. For, though the subject is not particularly attractive in itself, a thorough investigation in this direction would undoubtedly greatly increase our knowledge of the early development of the chronographic methods of the Greeks.

The chapter on Xanthus also contains many interesting suggestions. I think that the author is probably right in his contention that the work of Dionysius Seytobrachion was not meant to be taken seriously.

Throughout his work the author not only shows that he is thoroughly acquainted with his subject but also displays a very sound and cautious judgment. Yet in so controversial a subject there is ample room for disagreement. So I may perhaps take up one problem, or rather set of problems, which seems to me of fundamental importance, and concerning which one may perhaps arrive at different results.

In his discussion of the origin and meaning of the term "logographer" the author gives a very complete and well arranged account of the evidence. This evidence shows very clearly that in antiquity the term *λογογράφος* in a positive sense was used only in reference to writers of speeches. When used in reference to a historian it always has a derogatory meaning and is meant to refer to an objectionable attitude rather than to a definite type of historiography. This latter use of the word obviously originated from the fact that the real *λογογράφοι*, the writers of speeches, had become notorious for distorting the truth and for using all sorts of embellishments in order to represent their cause in the most favorable light. It is for this reason—because he thought that they were more interested in telling a fine story than in telling the truth—that Thucydides (I, 21) called his predecessors *λογογράφοι*, referring principally to Herodotus and Hecataeus. All the later authors who use the word in

reference to a historian are influenced by this passage of Thucydides and, what is more important, they do not confine its use to pre-Thucydidean writers.

If this is so—and so far I agree entirely with the author—the question arises whether we are justified in using the term “logographer” to describe what is usually considered a well-defined group of pre-Thucydidean historians. This is not a purely terminological problem since it involves the further question whether there exists any well-defined group of authors which may reasonably be comprised under this name.

In favor of a positive answer to this second question one may set forth two arguments. (1) Herodotus uses, if not the word “*λογγράφος*,” yet the word “*λογοποιός*” in a positive sense. But this word has a much wider range than the modern term “logographer.” For, just as an *ἐποποιός* is a man who makes and writes *ἔπη*, so a *λογοποιός* is a man who makes and writes *λόγοι* which, in the earlier meaning of the word, may be either fanciful stories, or a description of foreign countries, or an explanation of the universe, or a historical account of the past, etc., if only these are written in prose. (2) Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Thuc.*, 5), though not using the terms *λογγράφος* or *λογοποιός*, enumerates a great many pre-Thucydidean “historians” whom he obviously considers a well-defined group, among them all the writers with whom the author deals in the present book. Yet, if one reads Dionysius’ description of their common qualities, one finds that the only positive quality which he ascribes to all of them is their clear, sober, concise style, which yet has its proper charm, and their Ionian dialect. As to their historical methods and subjects, they seem to have only negative qualities in common, while they differ in everything else.

If this should be the case, or even if there is only a mere possibility of its being so, I advocate that we cease to use the modern term “logographer” in reference to these pre-Thucydidean writers, as the author still does. For it might prejudice an investigation into the origin and growth of Greek historiography by creating a bias in favor of the assumption that there was a well-defined group of authors with a common subject or method.

In order to illustrate this I may perhaps take up a problem with which the author deals in his fourth chapter. He rightly rejects most of the titles listed in the *Suidas Lexicon* as those of works of Charon of Lampsacus, since this compendium is very often confused in matters like this and since all the evidence is against the assumption that Charon should have written such a great number of different works. The author practically retains only two of them, expressing some doubt as to three others. But in one of his notes the author mentions without further comment that E. Schwartz considered it “self-evident” that Charon had written only one work, the *ἔργοι Λαμψακηνῶν*. Now there are no self-evident axioms in history as there are in mathematics, and E. Schwartz, like all of us, is liable to be mistaken. But I have for a long time been troubled by a speculative statement like this, or like the other one, and that it is always worth while to investigate what this reason may be.

In the present case the reason is perhaps the statement of E.

It is one of the curious facts of the history of ancient historiography that local history and general history do not mingle until a rather late date. The only seeming exception is Hellanicus,<sup>1</sup> who wrote histories of Attica, of Lesbos, of Cyprus, etc., in addition to his works of general history. But he is only a seeming exception. For his *Ἀττική συγγραφή*, his *Λεσβιακά*, etc., are not only different in character from the local chronicles, but, what is more important, they are, though probably published one after the other, really parts of a much larger systematic undertaking, just as his *Αἰγυπτιακά*, *Περσικά*, *Σκυθικά*, etc., are not independent works like the *Λυδιακά* of Xanthus or the *Περσικά* of Ctesias but parts of an ethnological work of much wider scope. It would, therefore, be very strange if the very earliest local historian of whom we know had, at the same time, written a Persian history; and all the more so since the chronographic methods developed in local and in general history are entirely different and begin to mingle only in and through the work of Hellanicus.

In other words, it would change the whole aspect of the development of the chronographic and historical methods of the Greeks in the earliest period if we could prove that Charon had written a *Περσικά* as well as the *ἑοροι Λαμψακηνῶν*. But I cannot find sufficient evidence. The fact, at any rate, that Athenaeus quotes one fragment as "*ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς*" cannot be considered as such evidence, though it may have caused the insertion of that title in the Suidas *Lexicon*. For Athenaeus quotes another fragment under the heading "*ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πακτύην*" which certainly does not mean a special work of that title. In analogy to this latter heading the "title" *ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς* would mean "in that part of the chronicle of Lampsacus which deals with the period of the Persian wars," and this is exactly the period to which the fragment in question refers.

As to the fragments themselves it seems to me that all of them can easily be assigned to the *ἑοροι Λαμψακηνῶν* and that one could also show by a comparison with Herodotus that it is most unlikely that the fragments which the author—like many other scholars—assigns to the *Περσικά* belonged to a special work of that kind. But I cannot discuss the single fragments in a review which is already too long.

I am convinced that the author would have discussed the Charon problem more fully, if he had dealt more in detail with the general problems of the development of Greek historiography. He could not do so, because he would have had to include a full discussion of the work of Herodotus, which was quite outside the scope of his work. So he is certainly not to be blamed for the omission. But, just because his work is otherwise so excellent and will certainly be much in use, I am perhaps justified in pointing out that—whether I am right or wrong in regard to the point discussed—some of the problems appear in a different light when considered from the point of view of the general development rather than from the point of view of the tradition in regard to one single author.

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<sup>1</sup> Ephorus' *ἐπιχώριος λόγος* was, of course, not a local chronicle but, as the words *ἡμεῖς δὲ* clearly indicate, an *ἐπίδειξις* in praise of his native city.

W. BEDELL STANFORD. *Ambiguity in Greek Literature*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1939. Pp. xi + 185. 10 s. 6 d.

This is an interesting and suggestive book which testifies to the never-ending richness and variety of Greek poetry. Mr. Stanford states his purpose as follows (p. 1): "It was, and perhaps still is, a common misapprehension that the more ingenious uses of verbal ambiguity were a pernicious product of fifth-century sophistry. Part of the function of this study will be to make it clear that this is barely a half-truth. Later chapters will show how liberally the poets from Homer to Aeschylus used almost all the types of ambiguity usually ascribed to the rhetorical theorists who came after them, and it will be concluded that what these sophists did was not so much to discover new kinds, as new uses, of ambiguity."<sup>1</sup> The book falls into two well-defined parts, (1) the theories of the rhetoricians and especially a discussion of the various types of ambiguity (*ῥητορικαὶ ἀμφιβολίαι, σύνθεσις, διαίρεσις, προσῳδία*, etc.), (2) the manner in which the poets (Homer, Pindar, and the tragic dramatists) use ambiguity, and the purposes for which it is employed. Comedy is not treated in detail, although the author states (p. 180) that "in Aristophanes the art of amphiboly, innuendo, allusion and parody reached a degree of expertness rarely equalled in any literature." That he did not consider it worth while to add a chapter on comic ambiguities will be a source of regret to many readers.

The structure of the book and the admission (p. 97) that the Aristotelian categories are hardly adequate to cope with the subtler ambiguities of poetry might lead us to think that the two parts of the book are somewhat unrelated. Actually, this is not at all the case, for the discussion of the rhetorical theories includes illustrations from numerous writers, not only Greek but Latin (e. g. Cicero, Vergil, Seneca, Quintilian) and English (Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Spencer, etc.); no student of literature can fail to find both profit and enjoyment in what at first sight appears to be a somewhat dry analysis of technical terms used by the rhetoricians.

To ancient seekers after scientific precision, ambiguity seemed dangerous and, when used for the purpose of dialectical dishonesty with the avowed intent to deceive, was almost universally condemned (cf. pp. 12 ff.). In poetry, however, and especially in drama, ambiguity has dramatic and emotional values which must be recognized. The author believes that both Aristotle and his successors failed to appreciate the value of ambiguity in poetry (pp. 22 ff.; cf. p. 69). This is admittedly an *argumentum ex silentio*; the first extant Greek appreciation of the poetic effect of ambiguity is found in an anonymous scholiast on Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*.

The treatment of ambiguity in Homer and Greek tragedy will doubtless be of chief interest to most readers. In the *Iliad* appear only the most elementary types of ambiguity and few even of these, whereas the *Odyssey* "exploits many of the more subtle types with highly dramatic effect" (p. 98). Stanford explains, and rightly, I

<sup>1</sup> That the attempt to combine poetic practice and rhetorical theory leads to a basic confusion in the term "ambiguity" is the opinion of B. Farrington in *Hermathena*, LIV (1939), pp. 170 ff.

believe, that the difference between the two epics results from the difference in plot and from the increased verbal subtlety needed to express the complex scenes of deception in the second part of the *Odyssey*. The famous *Oûtis oû tis* incident is the classic example of deception in names and "is the only place in Homer where ambiguity and paronomasia motivate a whole episode. Technically it is possibly the cleverest use in all Greek" (p. 105). There is quoted as an apt comparison the delightful Nobody-episode in Chapter VII of Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking-Glass*.

The chapter on Homer seems quite adequate but does not raise the important problems that are suggested by the chapters on tragedy, where the author centers his attention on the three plays which best serve as illustrative material: the *Agamemnon*, where the ambiguity is primarily conscious; the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, which employs unconscious ironic ambiguity; and the *Bacchae*, wherein Euripides "combines deceptive ambiguity on Dionysus' part with unconscious 'Sophoclean' ambiguities foreshadowing his own doom on the part of Pentheus" (pp. 174 f.). It is impossible in a brief review to do justice to the richness of the material on these three plays, and I shall confine myself to a few topics which deserve consideration. (1) Mr. Stanford accepts the traditional view that the audience of a Greek tragedy is "generally omniscient in all the chief events that have been, are, and are about to be when the play is happening" (p. 137; cf. p. 164). The problem of the audience's familiarity with the stories of tragedy is exceedingly complex, but the results of a new study in this field<sup>2</sup> strongly support the view that the supposed familiarity of the Greek audience has been greatly exaggerated. Dr. Pratt shows that in both the *Agamemnon* and the *Oedipus* preknowledge is not required and the clearly foreboding atmosphere stimulates interest and creates expectation of tragic events.<sup>3</sup> Thus the effectiveness of much of the ambiguity does not necessarily depend upon such preknowledge as is usually assumed. (2) Equally important is the relation of ambiguity and tragic or "Sophoclean" irony, which Stanford treats in various parts of his book (cf. pp. 66-68, 74-76, 138, 164 f.). He admits that irony and ambiguity are closely related literary devices; he distinguishes (p. 67) Dramatic Irony, where the character unconsciously says the reverse of the actual truth, from Dramatic Ambiguity, where the character unconsciously suggests double (but not opposite) meanings to the audience; the former is a dramatic device, the latter linguistic. Sophocles in the *Oedipus* is a master of unconscious "ironic" ambiguity (p. 164); that is, the distinction cannot be sharply drawn, for many of the instances of ambiguity contain irony as well. But if we accept the author's belief that in such unconscious ambiguity it is the poet, not the character, who makes the statement (p. 67) and that the poet is a puppet-master who overthrows the illusion of the play (p. 76), we are led to a view of

<sup>2</sup> Norman T. Pratt, *Dramatic Suspense in Seneca and in his Greek Precursors* (Princeton, 1939), pp. 2-13. Since ambiguity is closely related to foreshadowing and suspense, Pratt's discussion of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (pp. 38-46) and Sophocles' *Oedipus* (pp. 100-104) provides a useful supplement to Stanford's treatment of these two plays.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 39 f., 103.

the *Oedipus* which I am sure Stanford would not wish to defend, in spite of his insistence (p. 164) that in the ambiguities in the *Oedipus* "we are conscious that it is the author's whim, and are never deluded into thinking that it is part of the speaking character's nature, to use them." I see no reason why many of the ambiguous remarks uttered by Oedipus (e. g. 264 f.) may not be as true to his character as the intentionally deceptive ambiguities spoken by Clytaemnestra. It is only natural in times of great stress to speak in personal terms, and most readers, I am sure, feel neither that Oedipus is a puppet in this respect nor that the deservedly famous irony and ambiguity in the play destroy the illusion of the play as a real happening. (3) Mr. Stanford at times finds ambiguity where perhaps none really exists.<sup>4</sup> It seems unlikely that the words of Clytaemnestra in 606, γυναῖκα πιστήν, would be understood as γυναῖκα ἀπίστην (p. 149); if so, a "very daring ambiguity" indeed. Equally subtle is the suggestion (p. 156) that εἰμάτων βαφάς might suggest the underlying blood motif to the audience, by its similarity in sound to αἱμάτων βαφάς. But in general the analysis of the plays seems sound, and the author throws new light on many passages which illustrate the technique of the dramatists. His treatment of the plays will be useful to all readers of Greek drama, whatever their attitude on the problems of preknowledge and unconscious irony mentioned above.

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R. WALZER. *Eraclito: Raccolta dei Frammenti e Traduzione Italiana*. Firenze, G. C. Sansoni, 1939. Pp. viii + 156. (*Testi della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, IV.)

In recent years Italian scholars have displayed great zeal in promoting the study of Greek philosophy, especially by supplying their countrymen with separate editions of sections of Diels' *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. Sometimes the emphasis has been on the Italian translation and commentary. In this instance we receive more: besides translation and a certain amount of commentary, Walzer gives us the Greek text, not only in selections, as Diels did, but quite fully, even adding to the materials printed by Bywater. Moreover, the text does not slavishly follow Diels-Kranz, the editor making good a claim to reasonable independence.

It may be said at once that this text is to be heartily welcomed, especially as the convenience of Diels' text is clearly leading many scholars to neglect Bywater and the background supplied by the ancient writers to whom we owe the preservation of the fragments. There is much also in Walzer's notes that should prove valuable to the student. Gigon's *Untersuchungen zu Heraklit* especially has been largely drawn upon for notes. There are unfortunately many signs of negligence in type setting and proof-reading of the Greek text, and some very curious errors, easily as one reads. I. 23, v. 6, we have Eraclito (for Eraclide) Pontico.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 181, where he shows a realization of this possibility.



Walzer, as has been stated, displays some independence of Diels-Kranz, but I am not sure that we may content ourselves with either text. Fr. 41: I prefer Diels'  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\eta$  to Walzer's  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta$ . There is involved here a question of style characteristic, I believe, of Heraclitus and generally ignored. He loved pregnant and sudden turns:  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$  = *ut qui*. "Wisdom consists in one thing, to have intelligence or judgment: seeing that it rules all things." Cf. frag. 57, 101. The same pregnant turn occurs with  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota$  and should be noted. Frag. 104: "They heed the popular bards and take for their teacher the ignorant mob (reading  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota$ ): because the many are worthless, only a few are good." Frag. 108: "Of all I have heard none has attained to this—to have intelligence or judgment: for wisdom is alien to them all." If one takes  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota$  to mean *that*, the sentences become flat. I have before given this interpretation of frag. 108. I think it is clearly right. I had forgotten that it is as old as Schuster and Patrick. Diels' understanding of  $\sigma\omicron\phi\acute{\omicron}\nu$  . . .  $\kappa\epsilon\chi\omega\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$  has always seemed to me forced and unnatural. I may say here that I have recently re-read G. T. W. Patrick's "A Further Study of Heraclitus" (*American Journal of Psychology*, I [1888], pp. 557 ff.) with great satisfaction. I once owned a copy but have lost it; that explains certain lapses of which I am keenly conscious. I am especially pleased to find that Patrick translates frag. 112, "Self-control is the highest virtue, and wisdom is to speak truth and consciously to act according to nature." In a note he adds, "The latter clause may also be translated, 'Wisdom is to speak and act truly, giving ear to Nature'." That the former rendering is the better seems clear, even if the sentence is not actually Stoic.

There are several fragments the text of which is apparently desperate. Why one should accept Diels' reconstructions I cannot conceive. Frag. 28: I think we have better reason for reading  $\Delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega\nu$  γὰρ  $\langle\acute{\alpha}\rangle$  ὁ δοκιμώτατος γινώσκει φυλάσσειν καὶ μέντοι καὶ Δίκη καταλήγεται ψευδῶν τέκτονας καὶ μάρτυρας. "Ay, let them (the people) think they are only holding fast to the judgment of their most esteemed teacher (Homer or Hesiod?). Verily, Justice will overtake the fashioners and witnesses of lies." Offense must needs come, but woe unto those through whom it comes! In frag. 45 I can make no sense of  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omega$  βαθὺν λόγον ἔχει. I have before suggested λόχον, "hiding place," which at least makes sense. Cf. Democritus, frag. 117 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἴδμεν· ἐν βυθῷ γὰρ ἡ ἀλήθεια. The text of frag. 26 is peculiarly desperate. My interpretation of frag. 120, understanding οὐρος as referring to the south wind, seems to find little favor, though it offers the only rational meaning. I should not call it my interpretation, however, because it was offered long before by others.

Regarding frag. 67 I may add that the reading  $\langle\pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\rangle$ , though not so certain as is generally thought, receives some support from Hippolytus. It is always credited to Diels. Thomas Davidson suggested ὅπως πῦρ in *A. J. P.*, V (1884), p. 503. If Diels anticipated him, I have no proof of it.

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PIERRE ROUSSEL. *Sparte*. Paris, E. de Boccard, 1939. Pp. 216; 16 plates and a map.

Pierre Roussel, whose scholarly work in Hellenistic history is well known, has produced a successful semi-popular treatment of Sparta, from the beginning of her history to modern times. The volume is designed for the layman as well as the scholar, for it contains no quotation in the language of the ancient sources and is bare of references and footnotes.

The introduction justly affirms that the modern attitude to Sparta is based not on the historical facts accessible to us but on the idealistic misconceptions of political theorists and philosophers, past and present. The author's purpose, therefore, is: "... retrouver la vérité sur l'origine et le développement d'institutions singulières dont nous n'avons qu'une très incomplète connaissance."

A concise geographical account of Laconia and Messenia is followed by Roussel's exposition (in twenty chapters) of the external history and the internal phenomena of Sparta from the time of the Dorian invasion; he concludes with a short evaluation of "L'Idéalisation de Sparte." No phase of Spartan history, no important Spartan is omitted.

Roussel emphasizes the natural development of Sparta in archaic Greece and shows clearly that it was only a need for permanent protection against a domestic menace that led, comprehensibly enough, to a state organization that seemed an anachronism as early as the fifth century B. C. In other words, virtues which came to be recognized as peculiarly Spartan were the result not of race or origin, as is at times popularly supposed, but of the system of training which the Spartan had the courage to institute, and to respect, even during the period of decline. Yet Sparta's greatness in the Hellenic world, as Roussel acutely observes, was due chiefly to those men who displayed, along with certain of the well-known Spartan virtues to be sure, a personal (and un-Spartan) independence. These conclusions form the core of the book. As a result, Roussel is at his best in describing internal Sparta, the new ("Lycurgan") order, the lessening of Spartan prestige as the Spartiates dwindled in the fourth century, the attempted revivals of a bygone glory in the third.

Dismissing minor inaccuracies (e. g., the Panhellenic conference called by Pericles at the beginning of the decade 450-440 is certainly misdated), some readers may justifiably complain that Roussel is prone to be dogmatic concerning questions which remain, to say the least, debatable (e. g., Cleomenes' defeat of Argos is placed ca. 520 B. C.). To make a general criticism, the chronology is sometimes confused (this applies particularly to the chapter on Lacedaemonian expansion, which is one of the least successful in the book); a few more actual dates would add clarity to the narrative. The account of relations between kings and ephors raises doubts (the work of Guy Dickens, *J. H. S.*, XXXII [1912], pp. 1-42, has evidently been consulted), and the explanation suggested for Lacedaemonian circumstances at Thermopylae (pp. 122-123) seem unconvincing beside Munro's brilliant analysis in *The Cambridge Ancient History* (IV, pp. 291-300). There are occasional contradictions, as

when Roussel denies that the Spartan educational system was a machine-like institution, assembled with minute care to check individualistic tendencies, yet on the following pages persuades the reader that the statement is true (pp. 60 ff.; see also pp. 90 and 92, on the prerogatives of the Spartan *apella*).

In a book of this nature there should not exist so many indications of careless proof-reading. The printing is not beyond criticism and apparently no great effort was expended to obtain uniformity of usage (e. g., "État" has the accent about half the time; certain nouns, e. g., "périèque," are capitalized at the author's whim; the spelling of proper names occasionally varies). An irritating eccentricity in the use of the comma sometimes obscures the sense. The illustrations are tastefully selected and well reproduced (see especially the Vaphio Cups on Plate VII); the map is no more than adequate.

There is nothing new or original in the book, but the eminently sane judgments that one would expect from Roussel and his refusal to romanticize at the expense of the evidence, unsatisfactory and scanty though it often is, leave one with the feeling that the book would bring profit and pleasure to all readers and is to be recommended particularly to those whose interest in ancient Greece is not professional.

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SISTER MARGARET MARY FOX. *The Life and Times of St. Basil the Great as Revealed in His Works.* Washington, D. C., The Catholic University of America Press, 1939. Pp. xvi + 172. (*Patristic Studies of the Catholic University of America*, LVII.)

Similar "revelations," concerning Saints Cyprian and Augustine, were made in three earlier studies of the same series (Vols. XXVIII, XXXVII, and XLV), so the merits and limitations of the method are now well known. On the whole, Sister Margaret Mary has applied it with energy and success, turning over a vast amount of material without often forgetting the difference between rhetoric and fact. Most commendably, she has renumbered her footnotes at appropriate intervals so as not to imply too strong a faith in merely quantitative standards: at least she has contrived to avoid four ciphers, if not three. One wishes, however, that she could have somehow persuaded the printer to break up the narrow vertical ribbons of *ibid.*'s which disfigure the bottoms of so many pages. It is pleasing to find that she has often noted the Latin equivalents of titles of office and other technical terms. Besides taking the pains to cite all the articles in Pauly-Wissowa and other reference works which seem to bear upon her subject, she has compiled a good classified bibliography. But Seeck's *Die Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet* (Leipzig, 1906) would have helped with the prosopography of the whole period, not only with the Basil-Libanius correspondence; and on p. xiv the *HSCP* should not masquerade as a "Harvard Journal of Philological Studies." A small item that deserved to be included is the Abbé Fernand Boulenger's *Saint Basile aux Jeunes Gens sur*

*la manière de tirer profit des lettres Helléniques* (Paris, Association Guillaume Budé, 1935)—a separate edition and translation of *Ad Adolescentes*.

According to the author's preface, her manuscript was read carefully by three of her teachers. They ought to have suggested some improvements in the English style. There are many awkward or incorrect expressions such as "... debtors who were *inveighed* . . . to sell their goods . . ." (p. 20); "the disease for acquiring" (p. 33); "... the rich man . . . anxious and *worrisome* about his wealth" (p. 34); "As a reason for their discontent . . . the Saint *ascribes* . . ." (p. 47); "He prays him to continue in the same good dispositions towards him" (p. 65); and "... the Saint *acquiesced* to aid a certain Caesarean to be released from the office" (p. 135). Slight lapses in spelling are "Vasilev" (p. xii), "Comagene" (p. 2), and "Nouveaux riche" (p. 33).

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† HERMAN HIRT. Die Hauptprobleme der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft. Herausgegeben und bearbeitet von HELMUT ARNTZ. Halle-Saale, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1939. Pp. x + 226.

Although many of the theories expounded in this volume are already familiar to the scholar who has studied the *Indogermanische Grammatik*, we must be grateful to Dr. Helmut Arntz for having completed and published this last work of Herman Hirt. Arntz does not exactly indicate what parts of the volume were written by Hirt himself, but this omission is not important, for in the parts which have not been written by Hirt, Arntz certainly gives us faithfully the point of view of his teacher.

The work is composed of thirty-six chapters among which we may cite: 6. The original home of the Indo-European; 7. The culture of the Indo-European; 13. The flexion and its origin; 14. Singular and plural; 15. The origin of the cases; 16. The grammatical genera; 18. The personal endings of the verb; 19. The development of the *verbum finitum*; 20. Active, middle and passive; 21. Primary and secondary endings; 22. The formation of the verbal stem; 23. The tenses; 24. The modes; 25. The expression of time; 28. The accent; 29. The Indo-European vocalism; 30. The Indo-European ablaut; 31. The Indo-European consonants; 33. The compounds; 35. The syntax; 36. The order of words in Indo-European. At the end of the book there are two concluding chapters in which Hirt sums up and condenses his theories.

Hirt is especially interested in the pre-history of the Indo-European speech. After 1875 most of the scholars who studied Comparative Philology were satisfied with reconstructing the Indo-European language as it was in the Proto-Indo-European period. According to Hirt, however, this is not enough. We can at least partly discover the origin of the cases. There was originally

originated relatively late; the instrumental developed from the locative; and the genitive, which is, in form, like a nominative, is also relatively new. Accordingly, there remain as old cases only the nominative-accusative and the dative. There was originally a *casus indefinitus* functioning as nominative, accusative, vocative, genitive, and locative. To this *casus indefinitus* were appended either meaningless particles or local postpositions to differentiate the cases.

Hirt's theory of the verb is that in Indo-European it developed from the noun. There was a time when in Indo-European the way of expression was purely nominal. Remains of this stage are the participles and infinitives. A sentence like *se in Galliam venisse* is a sentence without a verb. Forms like *sunt*, *ferent*, *dat* are originally participles; forms like *ferimini*, *sequere*, *agi*, *egi*, *ἐρε(σ)αι* are originally infinitives. Some nominal forms came to be used with a verbal meaning. This was the origin of the verbal forms, and then the verbal forms became differentiated by the addition of particles (*age* : *agi-tō* : *agitōte*). The difference between the verbal forms in *-ti* and the verbal forms in *-t* is to be explained by the difference between the *-ti* and the *-t* nominal stems. The *-ti* nominal stems are action nouns, and the *-t* nominal stems are agent nouns. Accordingly the *-ti* verbal forms have a durative meaning, and the *-t* verbal forms a perfective meaning.

The theories of Hirt are interesting, but many scholars will not be inclined to admit them. For instance the interpretation of the accusative and infinitive as an old independent sentence seems untenable. It is not unreasonable to suppose that in very remote prehistoric times there was no differentiation of cases or case functions in the pre-Indo-European language, and the explanation proposed by Hirt for the origin of the cases is attractive, but it is not convincing; and on the other hand it seems impossible to prove that the nominal forms are older than the verbal forms.

This last work of Hirt is written in a very vivid way and, in spite of the doubtful nature of some of the author's views, is a stimulating book.

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*Yale Classical Studies*. Vol. VI. Edited by A. M. HARMON, A. R. BELLINGER, and H. T. ROWELL. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1939. Pp. 167; 1 plate. \$2.

Bellinger in "Achilles' Son and Achilles" (pp. 3-13) argues that in the *Iphigenia at Aulis* Euripides "split up" the Neoptolemus of the *Philoctetes* and used part of him for Achilles and part for Iphigenia. In "The Bacchae and Hippolytus" (pp. 17-27) he solves the riddle of the later play in the light of the earlier one, which it resembles in important respects. The real Euripides, according to Bellinger, "was as sincere in his praise of gods as in his doubt of them" and was "alive to the great realities of human worship" (p. 27).

From the form which the re-transposition of "Tacitus, Histories IV, 46-53" takes in Yalensis I (Codex Budensis Rhenani) Walter Allen, Jr. argues (pp. 31-38) that the MS is descended from Laurentianus Mediceus 68.2 (M) "or a MS so similar as to be a twin" (p. 36). The argument is not convincing. C. W. Mendell (pp. 41-70) groups the "Manuscripts of Tacitus XI-XXI" according to their interrelations, proves that they do not all derive from M, and concludes that "the Group I MSS, with readings most widely divergent from the rest, assume a new importance" (p. 67). In an Addendum he describes Budensis 9; Kopenhagen, Gl. Kgl. S. 496 (a typical MS of Group I); and Yalensis II.

In "The Honesta Missio from the Numeri of the Roman Imperial Army" (pp. 73-108), Rowell by a skilful combination of inscriptional and historical evidence establishes a strong probability that, except in the case of *dediticii*, an honorable discharge from the national *numeri* was attended by the gift of Roman citizenship to the veteran and his children. The policy instituted by Pius of excluding from this award the children born to the veteran before his discharge "was closely connected with the problem presented by soldiers to be discharged from the earliest *numeri* created by Hadrian" (p. 88).

Finally, J. P. Maguire discusses "The Sources of Pseudo-Aristotle de Mundo" (pp. 111-167). He argues convincingly that Pseudo-Aristotle was a Peripatetic who was "acquainted, directly or through intermediaries, with the Pythagorean commentaries of Speusippus, Heraclides Ponticus, Aristotle . . . , etc.," and who "freely used Stoic scientific works" (p. 166). Pseudo-Aristotle was opposed to the philosophical principles of the Stoics and was only slightly influenced by Posidonius.

Such in outline is the perspicacious group of essays which constitutes Volume VI of the *Yale Classical Studies*. Of the few misprints, one has led to a confused sentence (p. 129, n. 40) and another to a misstatement of the areas of Roman forts (pp. 104-5).

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LUDWIG RADERMACHER. *Mythos und Sage bei den Griechen*. Baden bei Wien and Leipzig, Rudolf M. Rohrer Verlag, 1938. Pp. 360.

Radermacher's book contains a comprehensive survey of the field of Greek myth, legend, and folktale. The first part (*Vorfragen*) is chiefly concerned with methods of investigation in this field. He rapidly sketches the history of mythological study since the eighteenth century, discussing the symbolic and nature-myth theories, the comparative school, and the historical-critical method. In the part devoted to the origins of the phenomena of Greek mythology, he follows the lead of Voss, the brothers Grimm, Meinhof, and K. O. Müller. But Max Müller barely receives notice, though some attention is paid to the work of the German school.

macher follows most contemporary scholars in employing the historical-critical method to separate the kernel of a story from its later additions and the comparative method to determine the original character of a story and to separate the mythical, imaginative, and historical elements in it. In this part Radermacher examines the Bellerophon story to illustrate his method.

The second part (*Versuche*) contains detailed treatments of the Jason and Theseus legends. Each is broken up into its component parts and each part is thoroughly studied. In the Jason legend Radermacher finds an original Jason adventure, to which were joined the stories of Medea, the wonder-ship, and the bold seafarers who had marvellous adventures (the true Argonaut story).

The *Versuche* are followed by several short appendices (*Eckurse*), which are followed by numerous notes and an index.

This is a very good book, full of interesting and entertaining matter, though it is possible that some of Radermacher's conclusions will prove unacceptable. At this time I shall only object to his statement (p. 99) that Apollo's golden hair may represent the crown of solar rays.

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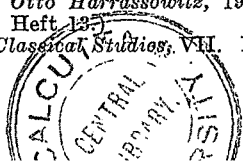
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## THE MEANING OF *CONSENESCO* AND KING ARYBBAS OF EPIRUS.

At a date which we do not know, though, as we shall attempt to show later, the event probably occurred early in the spring of 342 B. C., Philip of Macedon, for the second or more probably for the third time since his accession to the throne, invaded the kingdom of his wife's uncle and brother-in-law, Arybbas I, drove him out of Epirus, and established in his place Olympias' younger brother, his protégé Alexander the Molossian. Arybbas was compelled to seek refuge in Athens where "the citizenship given to his father and his grandfather" was "confirmed to him and his children," while the Athenians enjoined upon their generals to "see to it that Arybbas and his sons recover their kingdom."<sup>1</sup>

Whether Arybbas himself was ever reinstated or whether the restoration was effected only in the person of his younger son Aeacidas (the eldest son, the future king Alcetas II, had been disinherited by his father) is a matter of dispute, and it is the purpose of this paper to attempt to resolve the contradictions and surmount the difficulties which the extant authorities present. The statements of the sources can be reconciled and a satisfactory solution can be reached if we give the passage of Justin, which provides the key to the problem, a treatment more in accordance with his style and literary habits than that which it has hitherto received.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 226 = Dittenberger, *Syll.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 228. My translation owes much to G. N. Cross, *Epirus* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 39. For the date, cf. p. 143, n. 34, *infra*; see also C. Böttin, *Musée Belge*, XXIX (1925), p. 254; G. Glotz, *Hist. Gr.*, III, pp. 276, 302; F. R. Wuest, *Die Zeit der Zerstörung u. Wied. u. Griechenlands in d. Jahren 346-338* (München, 1938), pp. 92, 182.

While Diodorus (XVI, 72, 1) records the death of Arybbas after ten years' reign and omits to mention his exile in Athens, Justin, in a passage (VII, 6, 12) which Orosius<sup>2</sup> paraphrased and expanded, blames Arybbas for having miscalculated the consequences of his alliance and relationship with Philip of Macedon:

dum regni incrementa . . . adfinitate Philippi adquisiturum sperat, proprio regno ab eodem privatus in exilio consenuit.<sup>3</sup>

Does Justin mean, as most scholars have taken him to mean, that Arybbas merely "grew old in exile"?<sup>4</sup> Does he therefore not exclude the possibility that Arybbas later returned to Epirus, as seems to be suggested by a passage of Diodorus (XVIII, 11, 1), where, however, Arybbas' name has been inserted only as a conjecture to account for the name of a Molossian Aryptaëus who is otherwise unknown to us?<sup>5</sup> Or does Justin by his seemingly careless and rhetorical wording, *in exilio consenuit*, mean, whether rightly or wrongly, something different, something which rules out the hypothesis of Arybbas' restoration, namely his death in exile?

I believe that this is what Justin meant; moreover, I believe that Justin is right. To prove my case I propose, however, to defer any inquiry into the credibility of his version until I have

<sup>2</sup> Orosius, III, 12, 8. For his dependence on Justin cf. A. Petersson, *De Epitoma Justiniani* (Uppsala Univ. Årsskrift, 1926, No. 4), pp. 51; 96, n. 2, where he rightly remarks: "Orosium [III, 12, 8] verba Iustini [VII, 6, 12] aliquantum mutasse nemo non videt." Cf. also O. Seel, *Studi Ital. Filol. Class.*, XII (1935), pp. 5 ff., 18 ff.

<sup>3</sup> I quote Justin from Seel's Teubner text; Seel accepts the reading of this passage proposed by Petersson, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> The only exceptions I know are J. Kaerst, *R.-Æ.*, II, cols. 1496-7; G. De Sanctis, *Atti R. Accad. Torino*, XLVII (1911-12), pp. 450-1; and S. Accame, *Riv. Filol.*, XII (1934), pp. 526-7. Although he did not enter into a detailed investigation of the meaning of *consenesco*, De Sanctis rightly remarked long ago: "Il passo . . . di Giustino, letto nel suo contesto, sembra mostrare che egli (Arybbas) non solo invecchiò, ma anche morì nell'esilio."

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Diodorus, XVIII, 11, 1 (quoted p. 146, n. 44 *infra*) and F. Reuss' correction of it, *Rh. Mus.*, XXXVI (1881), pp. 171 ff. He was followed by M. P. Nilsson, *Studien z. Gesch. d. alten Epeiros* (Lunds Univ. Årsskrift, VI, 4 [1909]), pp. 74-5; C. Klotzsch, *Epirot. Gesch.*, pp. 95-6; K. J. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, IV, 2, p. 146; but he was opposed by R. Schubert, *Gesch. d. Pyrrhus*, p. 108; Kaerst, De Sanctis, and Accame (see note 4 *supra*).

attempted to show what, to a writer such as the epitomizer of Trogus, *consenesco* is likely to have meant.

The *Thesaurus* records only two meanings of *consenesco*, namely "to grow old" and "to grow weak" (the connotation of company inherent in the compounding preposition having soon been obliterated). Under one or the other of these meanings it lists most of the passages I am going to quote.<sup>6</sup> My contention is that such a rendering would often be tantamount to a mis-translation or to a misinterpretation of the passages I have collected and that we must therefore seek a different meaning of *consenesco* which the *Thesaurus* has apparently failed to notice.

It would be idle and futile to question the fact that *consenesco* does mean "to grow old." But "to grow old" also obviously implies all the weakness and weariness of a life drawing to its end, and the very word *consenesco* often explicitly conveys these meanings. Even more perhaps than the Greeks, the Romans, in spite of their habit of writing in praise of old age, vividly felt its misery and desolation, and realized the deep truth inherent in the common saying: *senectus ipsa morbus*. In their language and sentiments *senectus* (the *turpis senectus* of Horace) or the cognate verb *consenesco* is therefore connected with the wasting away of one's powers and capabilities, with the failure of one's life, with the remoteness of military service overseas or in far off lands, with the tragedy of exile and imprisonment.<sup>7</sup>

An echo of this plight is caught even in those examples of *consenesco* (and I have purposely chosen them from the most celebrated in all Latin literature) which are commonly cited as instances of the first and most literal meaning of *consenesco* and in which such a meaning undoubtedly prevails: Horace's picture of those vanquished at Carrhae:

milesne Crassi coniuge barbara

turpis maritus vixit et hostium . . .

consenuit socerorum in armis (*Carm.*, III, 5, 5 ff.)

or Hannibal's meditation on the failure of his achievements when

<sup>6</sup> *Thes. Ling. Lat.*, IV, cols. 387-9.

<sup>7</sup> A striking instance of such an implicit meaning of *consenesco* is the passage of Livy, XXXII, 3, 5, on the mutiny of the soldiers of Villius in the winter of 199/8 (I am indebted for this reference to the kindness of Mr. F. W. Walbank): multis annis sese Italiam non vidisse; *consenuisse* sub armis . . . ; confectos jam labore, opera; exangues tot acceptis vulneribus esse.

he is recalled to Carthage: *se . . . circa Casilinum Cumasque et Nolam consenuisse* (Livy, XXX, 20, 9).

A warning, however, must be given against using the latter passage or the sad words of Hannibal to Scipio (*ibid.*, 30, 10): *senem in patriam revertentem, unde puer profectus sum*, as evidence for the Roman habit of putting the initial stage of old age at an early period. The assumption of Forcellini<sup>8</sup> and other authors of lexica, who drew on passages such as these for conclusions concerning the customary determination of age limits, is in my opinion wholly untenable, for it rests upon a mistaken interpretation of Livy's context. Hannibal, *puer novem annorum* in 237 B. C.,<sup>9</sup> that is born in 246 B. C., could not be regarded as *senex* and could not characterize himself as such in 203 or 202 B. C. except by rhetorical exaggeration. Only in order to indulge in the embellishment of a play on words and in order not to miss the intentional contrast between the *puer* who had left Carthage full of hatred and hope and the disillusioned, worried, and worn out man who returned to fight the last battle of his country without the least spark of confidence in its final success did Livy use in both these passages the etymologically cognate words *senex* and *consenesco*. Certainly such an accomplished rhetorician as Livy did not entangle himself in a calculation of Hannibal's age. Still more certainly he did not expect his words to be taken at their face value and adduced as evidence to date in the early forties the beginnings of old age.

Without entering into an investigation of the Greek word for which *consenesco* stands as a substitute, I now turn to other passages of Livy which are likely to derive from Polybius<sup>10</sup> and

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Forcellini-De Vit, *Lex.*, V, p. 444; Forcellini-Corradini, *Lex.*, IV, p. 311.

<sup>9</sup> The historicity of Hannibal's oath, though often questioned (cf. E. Groag, *Hannibal als Politiker* [Wien, 1929], p. 20, n. 1), has been ably defended by De Sanctis, *Problemi di storia antica* (Bari, 1932), p. 171. The sources are collected by T. Lenschau, *R.-E.*, VII, col. 2323 and by De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, III, 1, p. 405, n. 43.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. XXXV, 34, 7 (*ne insontem indemnatum consenescere in exilio sinerent*); XXXIX, 36, 15 (*ne in tuto quidem exilio posse consenescere*); XLII, 50, 8 (quoted p. 133 *infra*); and see H. Nissen, *Untersuchungen* (1863), pp. 173, 224, 254. The fact that Polybius may have recorded Perseus' council of war is not enough to prove the historicity of the debate, for Polybius, in his biased hostility toward the last kings of Macedon, certainly did not shrink from circulating rumors invented by political propaganda and partisanship.

in which *consenesco* has a definitely different meaning. It conveys no allusion to old age but is simply connected with the "motif" of exile (sometimes with the very word), of which it often indicates the life-long duration. Take, for instance, the passage on the Magnetarch Eurylochus or, more especially, the similar statement on Perseus.

We shall deal with Perseus' age shortly. Here it is sufficient to recall that the word *consenesco* occurs in the account of the stormy council which the king is said to have held early in the spring of 171, in which different views are reported to have been expressed with regard to the attitude to adopt toward Rome. While some of the king's councillors urged him to come to terms with the Senate, the members of the war party are credited with the sarcastic remark that, to appease his enemies, Perseus could do nothing but give up his kingdom and ask the victors to grant him the undisturbed possession of Samothrace or of another small island *ubi privatus superstes regno suo in contemptu atque inopia consenescat*.

Obviously such advice was never given. The allusion to Samothrace is enough to prove that the episode was invented in Roman quarters, or rather by those Macedonian noblemen who survived the defeat and managed to shift to the "warmongers" the responsibility for an adventure that had led to the overthrow of the monarchy of the Antigonids. It circulated after Perseus' surrender, its only element of truth being that Perseus had vainly tried to find a sanctuary in the temple of Samothrace. If it is historically worthless, grammatically it has some bearing, for it attests a meaning of *consenesco* different from those recorded by the *Thesaurus*. In 171 Perseus was in his forties, had displayed remarkable energy, had perhaps made mistakes, but had shown no trace of weakness. It would have been merely a mark of bad taste to hint at the king's retirement to a place where peacefully and carelessly he might grow old. Such an interpretation, though in accordance with the *Thesaurus*, would be pointless. Since the passage is a forgery, or rather a retrojection into the past, the allusion to Perseus' self-internment becomes intelligible only in the light of later events. It merely alludes to the life-long relegation of the vanquished king, and (the allusion may perhaps have some bearing on the correct interpretation of Justin's statement concerning Arybbas) it implicitly rules out the possibility that the sovereign who

Hence *consenesco*, in Livy's usage, besides meaning "to grow old" also means "to die in exile," or at least "to live in life-long retirement, to live in exile, to which only death puts an end." The same meaning occurs in Velleius (II, 102, 3) whose biased account of the Oriental expedition of Gaius Caesar culminates in the condemnatory remark that the prince, then barely a boy of twenty, had been so much influenced by the adulation of his malevolent flatterers *ut in ultimo ac remotissimo orbis terrarum angulo consenescere quam Romam regredi mallet*. Here too a reference to old age would be tastelessly misplaced. Velleius can only have meant that Gaius, suddenly weary of the honors lavishly heaped upon him by Augustus, felt inclined to prefer to the task of the administration and the responsibility of the imperial inheritance a life of disillusioned retirement, similar to that which Tiberius was then leading in the loneliness of his Rhodian recess.

That authors of the Silver Age used *consenesco* in this sense is proved beyond doubt by a passage of Justin which, incidentally, as far as I can see, is the only one except that concerning Arybbas where *consenesco* occurs in his epitome and which is most probably an original quotation from Trogus. At the very beginning of his story Justin (I, 2, 11) records that Ninys, the son of Ninus and Semiramis, *raro a viris visus in feminarum turba consenuit*. Diodorus, whose Assyrian section, like the Assyrian section of Trogus, was drawn either directly or through an intermediary from Ctesias,<sup>11</sup> has the same words:

ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον διέτριβεν, ὅπ' οὐδενὸς  
ὁρώμενος πλὴν τῶν παλλακίδων καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν εἰνούχων

(II, 21, 2).

Obviously Justin, who was not personally interested in Assyrian antiquity and cannot therefore be credited with research on this subject, merely paraphrased a sentence of Trogus.<sup>12</sup> Hence we can cite the latter's passage as further evidence for a hitherto

<sup>11</sup> For the dependence of Trogus and Diodorus on Ctesias, cf. F. Jacoby, *R.-E.*, XI, cols. 2040-1, 2068, 2070-1; A. Momigliano, *Atene e Roma*, XII (1931), pp. 20 ff. Ctesias is quoted by Diodorus, II, 20, 3; 21, 8.

<sup>12</sup> L. Castiglioni in his careful essay on Trogus (*Studi intorno alle "Storie Filippiche" di Giustino* [Naples, 1925], pp. 4 ff.) seems to have overlooked this passage which should be regarded as a further step toward the reconstruction of Trogus' history.

unnoticed meaning of *consenesco* which appears to have been the same both in Velleius' criticism of Gaius Caesar and in Trogus' strictures on Ninyas.<sup>13</sup>

An author belonging to the generation immediately after Velleius and Trogus uses *consenesco* in a slightly different meaning. *Quid enim est*—says Seneca in his treatise *De Clementia* (I, 11, 4)—*cur reges consenuerint ac nepotibus tradiderint regna, tyrannorum execrabilis ac brevis potestas sit?* Though no hint is to be found here of exile or retirement, a connotation which seems peculiar to the verb, yet it is indisputable that the point of the passage lies in contrasting the undisturbed and life-long exercise of power by a rightful king, who dying a natural death bequeaths his kingdom to his heirs, with the illegal, brutal, and generally short-lived rule of a tyrant who soon falls victim to assassination.

If in a few cases *consenesco* admits the possibility of the exile's return or liberation before death ends his ordeal, in none of these cases is it used to convey an allusion to old age. Take, for instance, the passage of Florus on Camillus after the conquest of Veii and the trial which followed upon it.<sup>14</sup> Surely Florus did not take *consenesco* to mean "to die in exile." Certainly, however, he did not take it to mean "to grow old." Whatever his estimate of Camillus' age (and in his main source, Livy, there is no speculation about it), Florus knew, as the vulgate recounts, that from Camillus' trial until his return at the head of the army which was to beat back the Gauls no more than a year had elapsed,<sup>15</sup> in the course of which, obviously, Camillus had not grown old.

<sup>13</sup> A similar example of this peculiar usage of *consenesco* in erotic significance is afforded by Trebellius Pollio, *Tyr. Trig.* (Postumus), 3, 4 (*S. H. A.*, ed. Hohl, II, p. 101, 28-29): *cum Gallienus luxuriae et popinis vacaret et amore barbarae mulieris consenesceret.* The passage is historically worthless, as are all remarks on Gallienus' debauchery (cf. A. Alföldi, *Zeit. f. Num.*, XXXVIII [1928], pp. 156 ff.), but grammatically important in so far as it rules out any connection between *consenesco* and old age (actually Gallienus was barely fifty at the time of his death).

<sup>14</sup> *Epit.*, I, 17 (I, 22), 4 (ed. Malcovati): *hic* (sc. Camillus) *melior* (sc. than Coriolanus) *in capta urbe consenuit et mox supplices de hoste Gallo vindicavit* (cf. *ibid.*, I, 7 [1, 13], 17-19, where Florus narrates Camillus' onslaught against the Gauls).

<sup>15</sup> F. Münzer, *R.-E.*, VII, cols. 325, 329 ff., gives a critical survey of the different versions of Camillus' age and exile.



So far it appears that from the age of Livy to the time of Florus *consenesco* was used to mean "to live (and sometimes 'to die') in exile." Seneca, on the other hand, is evidence for another meaning of *consenesco*, namely "to live out to the close of one's life," or rather "to die," as I think we can render it, boldly perhaps but in complete accord with the meaning and use of the Greek equivalent of *consenesco*.<sup>16</sup> A survey of the passages from later historians and epitomizers shows that from the beginning of the second century A. D. *consenesco* seems to have acquired a new meaning, arising from the amalgamation of the two distinct meanings we have already recorded. From Tacitus to St. Augustine *consenesco* merely means or implies somebody's death in exile.

To his account of the trials of Cassius Severus Tacitus appends a bitter but on the whole not unfavorable sketch of the eloquent mouthpiece of the republican opposition. The last words give to the picture its final touch: *saxo Seripho consenuit*. The allusion is not to Cassius' old age but to his death. This seems to me obvious, and I would not enlarge upon it were it not for the mistake made by most of the commentators on this passage of Tacitus,<sup>17</sup> who have misinterpreted it just as they failed to see the structures on which the narrative rests. It is based upon two elements, corresponding to two phases of Cassius' life, to the two different forms of judgment that were passed upon him.

At first, Tacitus recalls, Cassius was interned at Crete, probably in 12 A. D.,<sup>18</sup> and the mild, though legally correct, expression *amoveretur* exactly pictures the legal status of the banished orator whose citizenship and essential rights remained unimpaired in spite of his relegation. Twelve years later, Tacitus goes on to say, a more severe punishment was meted out to the implacable enemy of a régime which he still dared to attack with his gossip, slander, and pamphlets. He was deprived of his citizenship and of the right of bequest and was condemned to a life-long agony on the barren rock of deportation: *saxo Seripho*

<sup>16</sup> Cf. the Appendix.

<sup>17</sup> Cf., e. g., J. Brodzka, *R.-E.*, III, col. 1746; H. Bornecque, *Les déclamations et les déclamateurs d'après Sénèque le Père (Trav. et Mém. de l'Univ. de Lille, I, 1 [1902])*, pp. 157-8.

<sup>18</sup> The date seems to result from Dio, LVI, 27, 1 compared with Tacitus, *Ann.*, I, 72, 3, and has been generally adopted; cf. R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (1939), p. 487.

*consenuit*. The crowning sentence would lack its flavor, its bitter taste of death, were it taken to convey anything other or milder than the lonely end of Cassius Severus. It seals the destiny of an exile, and Tacitus would certainly have refrained from using it, had he meant to revert to Cassius a little later and eventually to record his release. But Cassius never returned. By the time of Caligula's accession to the throne he had certainly died. Gaius lifted the ban on the authors whom his predecessors had condemned or deported and permitted their works to be freely circulated again.<sup>19</sup> The "rehabilitation" of the literary leaders of the opposition presupposes their death. Otherwise they would have been recalled, whereas we gather from St. Jerome, however mistaken in matters of chronology his statement may be,<sup>20</sup> that Cassius died in exile.<sup>21</sup> St. Jerome explicitly confirms what every unprejudiced reader of Tacitus feels that his *consenuit* implies.

The same conclusion is substantiated by another passage (*Ann.*, II, 63, 5) :

Maroboduus . . . Ravennae habitus, si quando insolescerent Suebi, quasi rediturus in regnum ostentabatur: sed non excessit Italia per duodeviginti annos consenuitque multum imminuta claritate ob nimiam vivendi cupidinem.

Whether Maroboduus "grew old" is debatable; if my reckoning is sound, he died in his late fifties; he may have been even younger.<sup>22</sup> But whether *consenuit* here means "to grow old"

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Suetonius, *Calig.*, 16; J. P. V. D. Baldson, *The Emperor Gaius* (Oxford, 1934), p. 34. The surmise is made a certainty by the connection of the name of Cassius Severus with the name of Cremutius Cordus.

<sup>20</sup> The versions of Tacitus (*Ann.*, I, 72, 3; IV, 21, 4-5) and St. Jerome cannot be reconciled. To follow St. Jerome's scheme, discarding Tacitus' (so T. Froment, *Annales Fac. Lettres Bordeaux*, I [1879], p. 137, and V. Cuheval, *Histoire de l'éloquence romaine* [Paris, 1893], I, p. 215), is absurd. But to maintain that Cassius' exile began in A. D. 12 and lasted for twenty-five years is equally impossible, for it would be tantamount to dating Cassius' death after Caligula's accession to the throne. Cf. Schanz-Hosius, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, II<sup>4</sup>, p. 346.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. R. Helm's edition, *Hieronymus' Zusätze in Eusebius' Chronik* (*Philologus*, Supplementb. XXI, 2 [1929]), pp. 75-6.

<sup>22</sup> Maroboduus is likely to have been taken to Rome after Drusus' settlement, viz. after 9 B. C. He was then a boy of ten or twelve, for we hear from Strabo (IX, 1, 3 [p. 290 C.]) that he was educated at Rome where he won the favor of Augustus. On the other hand he was

or "to die in exile" is *not* debatable, for Tacitus' account, besides conveying a clear allusion to Maroboduus' death toward the end of Tiberius' reign, is couched in the customary wording of those obituaries which he often liked to append to his narrative when it was time for him to take leave of the chief characters of his work.

A similar passage of Suetonius cannot be explained otherwise.<sup>23</sup> In praise of the attachment shown by Aurelius Opillus to Rutilius Rufus and his willingness to share in the misfortune of his patron, Suetonius recounts how the grammarian followed Rufus to Asia, sojourned with him at Smyrna, *simulque consenuit*. When he went into exile, Rufus was a mature man or even on the verge of old age. When he died he seems to have been over eighty. On the age of his companion, who is likely to have been considerably younger, no evidence, I think, is extant. Here again, however, the context is clear. All the readers of Suetonius were familiar with the name of Rufus not only because of his trial but more especially because of his obstinate refusal to come to terms with the party that had expelled him from Rome. Chiefly through Cicero's writings the case of Rufus was widely known as one of the typical examples of popular ingratitude. The knights—so ran the story as it was embellished by political partisanship and spread as a weapon by the *nobilitas*—had forced one of Rome's best citizens to retire to Asia, to die there. And this is the memorable deed of the grammarian which Suetonius undoubtedly intended to recall discreetly, merely by the use of *consenuit*: not that he grew old together with Rutilius Rufus, but that the client, in order not to break the fidelity he owed to

at the summit of his power, in the blossom of his age, and in the full strength of his vigor when Tiberius planned his expedition against Maroboduus' Bohemian kingdom in A. D. 6. Maroboduus cannot, however, have been much older than Arminius who was thirty-seven when he was murdered in A. D. 21 (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.*, II, 88). If we surmise that he was born *ca.* 20 B. C., Maroboduus would have attained an age of thirty-eight or thirty-nine years when he was interned (the date wavers between A. D. 18 and 19), and an age of fifty-six or fifty-seven at the time of his death. I wonder whether it is possible in any case to assume that he had reigned over the Marcomanni for some twenty-five years (so H. Dessau, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserzeit*, II, 1, p. 29) when he asked for the assistance of the Romans in A. D. 17.

<sup>23</sup> *De Gram.*, 6 (p. 12, ed. Robinson).

his patron, had chosen to share his fate and to die, as did Rutilius, in exile.<sup>24</sup>

As Suetonius recalls not only the life but also the death in exile of Aurelius Opillus, so Eutropius recalls not only the life but also the death in exile of the last king of Rome. In a passage strikingly similar to Justin's statement concerning Arybbas, Eutropius describes Tarquinius Superbus' disillusioned retirement after the failure of his designs against Rome:

Tusculum se contulit . . . atque ibi per quattuordecim annos privatus cum uxore consenuit (I, 11, 2).

I hardly need to enlarge on this sentence or to comment upon it. What it means, what the ancients took it to mean, is shown by St. Augustine (*Civ. Dei*, III, 15 [I, p. 118, 27 ff. Kalb]) whose dependence upon Eutropius is obvious but in any case attested in other ways:

in oppido Tusculo . . . quattuordecim . . . annos . . . cum uxore consenuit, optabiliore fortassis exitu quam socer eius, generi sui facinore nec ignorante filia, sicut perhibetur, extinctus.

The contrast which Seneca had already emphasized between the kings who die a natural death and the tyrants who are executed strikes here again, in spite of St. Augustine's somewhat different wording. To the assassination of Servius Tullius he opposes the peaceful end of Tarquinius Superbus. Let us surmise that *consenesco* here means "to grow old" or "to grow weak"; the point of the comparison is lost.

Somewhere halfway between Suetonius and Eutropius, whether he wrote under the Antonines<sup>25</sup> or dedicated his treatise to the emperor Macrinus,<sup>26</sup> Ampelius provides the best possible example of the meaning we are claiming for *consenesco*. Not only does he use it to mean "to die in exile" (of course after enduring the ordeal that exile implies) but he also rules out the possibility

<sup>24</sup> All the evidence on Rutilius Rufus is collected in F. Münzer's masterly article (*R.-E.*, Zweite Reihe, I, cols. 1274 ff.).

<sup>25</sup> So, e.g., J. Sorn, *Ueber den Gebrauch der Präpositionen bei . . . Justinus* (Progr. Laibach, 1894), pp. 1 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Such a chronology is energetically advocated by M. Galdi, *L'epitome nella letteratura latina* (Naples, 1922), pp. 81 ff. I wonder whether Ampelius' date can be later; in any case, however, it would not affect my argument, for Ampelius is certainly earlier than Eutropius.

that it refers to the old age of the captive or to the prolonged duration of his imprisonment. The last king of Macedon, says Ampelius (*Lib. Mem.*, 16, 4), *libera custodia in Albano consenuit*.

We can test the soundness of this statement. If Ampelius meant that Perseus "grew old" or that his internment at Alba Fuentia lasted for a long time, he is unquestionably inaccurate. Perseus was born *ca.* 213, that is in 213/2 B. C.<sup>27</sup> When he died is debatable, for we possess two contradictory versions between which we must choose. According to Diodorus (XXXI, 9),<sup>28</sup> he died after two years' internment, that is two years after the triumph of Aemilius Paulus, three years after his surrender: 168-1-2 = 165 B. C. According to Porphyry, identically quoted in all three versions of Eusebius' *Chronicle*,<sup>29</sup> Perseus died after five years' internment, viz. 168-1-5 = 162 B. C. If, as is likely, Diodorus was dependent on Polybius for this section of his history, the choice is obvious, for at the time of Perseus' internment and death Polybius (XXXI, 23, 5), himself a prisoner, sojourned at Rome. Hence his statement is indisputably correct. If Diodorus did not draw on Polybius, his authority and Porphyry's carry much the same weight, though we may even go so far as to discard as a mistake the testimony of Porphyry, if only we surmise that the interval recorded by Eusebius covers the period of Perseus' struggle against the Romans until the triumph of Aemilius Paulus. The third Macedonian War was decided upon in 172, though no military action was started till the following spring. Hence a chronographer such as Porphyry could well

<sup>27</sup> The *locus classicus* is Livy, XL, 6, 4 (cf. Eutropius, IV, 8, 2). In both passages, however, the estimate is given in round figures. The reconstruction of the chronology of Perseus' life was chiefly worked out by Beloch, *Riv. Stor. Ant.*, VI (1901), pp. 1 ff.; *Griech. Gesch.*, IV, 2, pp. 139 ff. His system has been adopted by e.g. M. Holleaux, *Mélanges Glotz* (Paris, 1932), I, pp. 432-3; F. W. Walbank, *Philip V* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 300, 318.

<sup>28</sup> Diodorus' scheme was accepted by B. Niese, *Gesch. griech. maked. Staaten*, III, p. 188; G. Cardinali, *Riv. Filol.*, XXXIX (1911), p. 11, n. 1; De Sanctis, *Storia*, IV, 1, p. 352; F. Geyer, *R.-E.*, XIX, col. 1021; and, though hesitantly, P. V. M. Benecke, *C.A.H.*, VIII, p. 271. It is noteworthy that in a more recent pronouncement (*Encicl. Ital.*, XXVI, p. 803) De Sanctis has discarded Diodorus for Porphyry.

<sup>29</sup> *Frag.* 3, 18 (Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, no. 260); Eusebius, *Chron.*, I, 239-240 (Schöne), adopted by Beloch, IV, 2, p. 141, and De Sanctis (see note 28 *supra*).

recall, in a sort of chronological survey of Perseus' reign, that in five years' time he had endured the pressure of the Romans, sustained a crushing defeat, and vainly sought a refuge at Samothrace, that finally he had been taken prisoner, had marched in chains behind the chariot of the victor, and had ended obscurely, whether by suicide or ill-treatment, as a captive in an Italian town.

However that may be, and even if we assume that he died in 162 B. C., Perseus at the time of his death was barely fifty or fifty-one (possibly, in fact probably, he was three years younger). His exile lasted for five years at the most. And, whatever the very debatable limits of old age among the Romans,<sup>30</sup> Perseus at fifty cannot possibly have been called *senex*. To surmise that in this passage of Ampelius *consenesco* means "to grow old" is tantamount to making the epitomizer responsible for a series of inaccuracies for which no reason is apparent. Ampelius' version is quite consistent and correct, provided we maintain that he intended to refer to the king's plight and to say that Perseus died at Alba Fucentia as a prisoner of war. Such a statement is confirmed by all authorities on the last king of Macedon and is in keeping with the requirements of grammar. It is not Ampelius' fault but ours if we have not so far been able to discern the peculiarities of his style.

<sup>30</sup> The *locus classicus* is Varro, quoted by Censorinus, *De Die Nat.*, XIV, 2, according to whom *senectus* begins at sixty. All the various systems of calculation, which have been ingeniously reconstructed by W. Wackernagel, *Die Lebensalter* (Basel, 1862), pp. 19, 23-4, and especially 45, and F. Boll, *Neue Jahrb.*, XVI (1913), pp. 100 ff., 106-7, point to the same conclusion, though rigid terms may (or even must) have been easily disregarded in everyday use and life. Aulus Gellius (*N. A.*, X, 23, 1-2) is often quoted as evidence for a considerably earlier limit. But upon a closer examination his context proves the contrary of what he is generally made to say. He recalls that, according to Tubero, in Servius Tullius' constitution citizens over forty-six were called *seniores* and adds: *eam rem notavi, ut discrimina, quae fuerint iudicio moribusque maiorum "pueritiae," "iuventae," "senectae," ex ista censione Servi Tulli . . . noscerentur*. Gellius' wording suffices to prove that the "Tullian" limits of age not only were far from being customary but had been disregarded and almost completely obliterated in the age of the Antonines. Moreover, it is ominous that Gellius' claim for their validity in earlier centuries should rest on the authority of such a second or rather third-class writer as Tubero whom only an antiquarian like Gellius was likely to unearth and quote.

It is now time to revert to Justin of whom we know so incredibly little that I do not even dare to attempt to say whether we should date him before or after Ampelius, whether he belongs to the age of the last Antonines or to the third century, and in that event to which one of its halves.<sup>31</sup> Yet I think we can confidently assert that Justin's style and vocabulary do not differ much from Ampelius' or from that of the other historians and epitomizers from whose works we have been quoting. From the beginning of the second century A. D. a sort of literary *κωμῆ*, a common style, came into being, which is more or less equally represented by all authors of epitomes that we chance to know. It is based chiefly on the principle of the imitation of Livy whom they meant, however, to improve by the embellishments of rhetoric and frequent borrowings from the language peculiar to oratory and poetry. Hence it would be strange if we were to attribute to a word occurring in Justin a meaning different from the one which that same word has in Ampelius. There is therefore little doubt concerning what Justin meant when he related that Arybbas *in exilio consenuit*. He intended to say, or at least to imply, that the king was never restored. It must now be our task to control the soundness of Justin's statement.

Unlike Justin, whose account is confirmed by the inscription mentioning honors conferred upon Arybbas during his exile in Athens, Diodorus records as an event of the archon-year of Sosigenes (342/1 B. C.) the death of Arybbas after a reign of ten years. If it is impossible to take Diodorus' version at its face value, it would, on the other hand, be rash and unjustified to disregard it completely, for Diodorus drew on a chronographer to whom he is generally indebted for the short statements, mostly of a chronological character, which he quotes in the opening lines or at the end of his chapters.<sup>32</sup> We must therefore seek an

<sup>31</sup> The different conjectures about Justin's date are listed by Schanz-Hosius, II<sup>4</sup>, p. 326.

<sup>32</sup> My argument would be unaffected even if Hammond's contention should prove right, namely that this passage of Diodorus is to be given not "to the chronographic source," but to the author of a "short text-book" who, however, "must remain anonymous" (*C. Q.*, XXXI [1937], p. 91). M. Tonev ("Die Chronologie des dritten heiligen Krieges," *Stud. hist.-phil. Serdicensia*, I [1938], pp. 165 ff.) accepts the "communis opinio" that Diodorus' statement about Arybbas derives from a

explanation which proves in keeping with the context of Diodorus and the other authorities.

As has been observed long ago, Diodorus was accustomed to list under the Athenian archon whose term of office began early in summer events which took place in the preceding half of the (Julian) year.<sup>33</sup> Hence we can date Arybbas' exile to the latter half of the archon year 343/2, should such a chronology suit better the succession of facts. Philip embarked upon his lengthy and laborious Thracian expedition early in summer 342 B. C., and it appears from Demosthenes' speeches of the following spring that, much as he plotted in the peninsula, he was nevertheless unable to launch any major campaign in Greece from 342 onwards, until he completed the conquest of Thrace which he rightly regarded as the necessary preliminary to a final reckoning with Athens. Philip's attack on Arybbas must have preceded the opening of the Thracian adventure and is therefore to be dated, in accordance with Diodorus' chronology, in the early spring of 342 B. C.<sup>34</sup>

Two further details of Diodorus' narrative demand a brief elucidation: the duration of Arybbas' reign and the ante-dating of his death. In 352 Arybbas had already been king for some years, since it is he who is mentioned as the overlord of Epirus and the guardian of his niece when in 357 Olympias was married

chronographic source (p. 198) and gives a useful survey of Diodorus' technique of appending to his narrative short chronographic excursions (pp. 178-9).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. A. Schaefer, *Demosthenes*, II<sup>2</sup>, p. 426, n. 1; Klotzsch, *Epirot. Gesch.*, p. 72. I cannot believe that in dealing with Macedonian affairs in Book XVI Diodorus reckoned on a "Macedonian" year running from October to September (so Tonev, *loc. cit.*, pp. 185, 200).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Beloch, III<sup>2</sup>, p. 292 (and the remarks of Tonev, *loc. cit.*, p. 198, n. 3); Wuest, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-8, and see note 1, *supra*. Such a scheme is not invalidated by the contention that the setting of the narrative in Trogus and Theopompus (on whom, as A. Momigliano has shown, *Rend. R. Ist. Lomb.*, ser. 2, LXVI [1933], pp. 985 ff., the former is ultimately dependent) seems to have been somewhat different: cf. Trogus, prol., VIII: *Thracia atque Thessalia subactae, et rex Epiro datus Alexander eiecto Arybba, et frustra Perinthos oppugnata*. Theopompus and Trogus followed a non-chronological disposition *κατὰ γένος* and are likely to have connected the campaign against Arybbas and the latter's exile with the political and diplomatic offensive in the Greek mainland which led to Athens' declaration of war on Philip in the early autumn of 340. Cf. Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, II B, p. 385.



to Philip of Macedon. Whether the marriage was, as our authorities romantically recount,<sup>35</sup> a love affair or the crowning episode of a political rivalry and the seal to an agreement between the victorious Macedonian and the vanquished Molossian, arrived at after a military campaign against Epirus,<sup>36</sup> is a minor and obscure question which we need not enter into here. Since, however, we know of a further intervention against Arybbas prior to 349<sup>37</sup> and since we also know that Philip recognized Arybbas as the *de jure* king of the Molossians and took with him the boy Alexander to be reared at his court, there is little doubt that the ten years of Arybbas' reign are reckoned from 352 onwards.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Plutarch, *Alex.*, 2, 2; Justin, VII, 6, 10. This is also emphatically maintained by G. Radet, *Alexandre le Grand* (Paris, 1931), pp. 38-9, and by F. A. Wright, *Alexander the Great* (London, 1934), pp. 38-40. Cf. D. G. Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander* (London, 1897), pp. 65-6.

<sup>36</sup> The political background of the marriage has been ably worked out by Klotzsch, *Epirot. Gesch.*, pp. 58 ff. and by G. Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens* (1932), pp. 24-5. The former, however, is, I think, too ready to rule out the possibility that the marriage marked the final stage of Philip's campaign against Arybbas.

<sup>37</sup> It is recorded in Demosthenes' *First Olynthian* (I, 13) which was delivered in the spring or summer of 349. One must be warned against using this passage as evidence for dating Philip's campaign in 351 (so F. Reuss, *Rh. Mus.*, XXXVI [1881], pp. 164-5, and Klotzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 ff.) or in 350 (so F. Focke, *Genethliakon W. Schmid* [Stuttgart, 1929], pp. 11-12). In his survey of Philip's achievements Demosthenes lists chronologically only his conquests at the expense of Athens. By means of a *παράλειψις* he then proceeds to record hastily and summarily the other successes of the Macedonian and only touches upon them for the good reason that they had not been won in the fight against Athens. We are therefore at liberty to date Philip's intervention in Epirus to any year prior to 349 that suits Diodorus' scheme and our own reconstruction of the chronology of these years. Though on other grounds, I agree with Beloch (III<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 282) in dating Philip's campaign in the early summer of 352. Such a scheme helps to disprove W. Jaeger's unjustified scepticism concerning the chronology of the years 352/351 (*Demosthenes* [Berlin, 1939], pp. 228-30) and accounts for Focke's suggestion (*loc. cit.*, p. 8; cf. Tonev, *loc. cit.*, p. 175, n. 2) that only in the early spring of 351, after a "well-deserved rest," did the Macedonian army embark upon the Thracian campaign.

<sup>38</sup> There is no reason for admitting a mistake in figures in the text of Diodorus (so Schubert, *Pyrrhus*, pp. 101-2; Nilsson, p. 73, n. 2); still less for rejecting his statement (so Reuss, *loc. cit.*, pp. 165-7). Arybbas' ten years of reign were rightly reckoned by Schaefer, *Demosthenes*, II<sup>2</sup>, p. 426, n. 1; Beloch, III<sup>2</sup>, 1, p. 491, n. 1; and Accame, *loc. cit.*, p.

While hitherto he had merely been the guardian of his nephew, Alexander being the heir-apparent to the throne of Neoptolemus I, he was then hailed king of Epirus, much as Philip, after having acted as regent for his nephew Amyntas,<sup>39</sup> made himself king of Macedon at a date which must certainly fall somewhere between his first conquest of Thessaly and the end of the Sacred War.

The reasons which led Philip to the recognition of Arybbas are a matter of guess-work. It is reasonable, however, to surmise that in 352, when his victory over Onymarchus, though final for Thessaly,<sup>40</sup> was almost nullified by the prompt counter-stroke of the Athenians who, supported by other Greek contingents, occupied Thermopylae, while the Olynthians, alarmed at his achievements, were on the point of denouncing *de facto* the agreement which they had signed with Philip some years before,<sup>41</sup> the lord of Macedon must have been careful to consolidate the area of his conquests and desirous of avoiding any complication on the northwestern frontiers of his kingdom on the eve of turning eastward against Thrace and the Athenian Chersonese. As he was still unable to subjugate and rule over Epirus himself, and as Alexander was a boy incapable of governing even under the control of Macedon, Philip realized that for the time being the best settlement was an agreement with Arybbas, which in accord-

525. Whether under one of the clauses of the agreement Arybbas' sovereignty was due to expire when Alexander came of age (so Beloch, III<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 491; Momigliano, *Filippo il Macedone* [1934], p. 109) seems to me very doubtful, for in this case the agreement would not have guaranteed Arybbas' independence and kingship. Under no other clause is the agreement conceivable.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Treves, *Études Classiques*, IX (1940), p. 152, n. 3.

<sup>40</sup> See H. D. Westlake, *Thessaly* (1935), pp. 175 ff. As to the date of the battle of the Crocus Field and the Athenian occupation of Thermopylae, I adopt Hammond's scheme (*J.H.S.*, LVII [1937], pp. 56-7, 65-8, 76, 78), i. e. spring-summer of 352, though it has been criticized and on the whole rejected by W. S. Ferguson, *R.E.*, XVIII, cols. 502-3; Tonev, *loc. cit.*, pp. 172 ff., 184-5, 192, 212; and P. Cloché, *Études Classiques*, VIII (1939), pp. 190-2, 203-4, all of whom prefer to date these events in spring-autumn of 353.

<sup>41</sup> As is well known, the text was discovered at Olynthus and published by D. M. Robinson, *T. A. P. A.*, LXV (1934), pp. 103-22. Cf. M. Segre's more recent edition (*Riv. Filol.*, XIII [1935], pp. 497 ff.) and Jaeger's remarks (*Demosthenes*, pp. 112, 229-30).

ance with the basic principles of his policy he concluded only after a successful campaign,<sup>42</sup> and which, while leaving the future unprejudiced, allowed Philip to pursue, undisturbed on his flank, his open war—officially against Athens and Phocis, actually against Greece as a whole.

It is also easy to explain why Diodorus, or his source, mistakenly dated the death of Arybbas in 342. If we accept Justin's version and maintain that Arybbas died in exile, his name must have disappeared from the list of the kings of Epirus as early as 342, in which case the shortness of the account, or the inaccuracy of an epitomizer, suffices to account for the confusion that must have almost inevitably arisen between the date of the king's exile and the date of his death. Even if he had known that Arybbas had spent some years in exile, it is doubtful whether, in such a brief obituary, Diodorus would have stopped to make the painstaking and pedantic distinction from which, probably, his literary good taste would have caused him to shrink. I think we can go even farther and argue from the very mistake of Diodorus that he followed the same version as Justin. On their common statement we can then safely base our contention that Arybbas died in exile.<sup>43</sup>

From another passage of Diodorus,<sup>44</sup> however, it has often been inferred that in 322 B. C., after the death of Alexander the Great and as the outcome of his participation in the Lamian war, Arybbas was reinstated in his kingdom.

Whether he is to be identified with the Molossian Aryptaëus is debatable. When all is said, two points must be regarded as certain: 1) Arybbas' younger son Aeacidæ fought on the side

<sup>42</sup> It has often been surmised that an outcome of Philip's campaign was the independence of Parauaea or her absorption into Macedon (so Beloch, III<sup>2</sup>, 2, pp. 180-1; Cross, *Epirus*, p. 38, n. 4). Whether this happened then or in 342 (so Klotzsch, p. 80) or later, during the reign of Cassander, we have no means of deciding.

<sup>43</sup> See Schubert, *Pyrrhus*, p. 101; and p. 144, n. 38 *supra*. The passage of Syncellus (p. 597 Dindorf), which Cross (*Epirus*, pp. 43, 108, 126) has unduly and in any case exceedingly emphasized, can perhaps be taken as further evidence that Arybbas was never reinstated, although it is difficult to determine exactly the ways and limits of Syncellus' chronological estimate of the ninety years' reign of the last six kings of Epirus.

<sup>44</sup> Diodorus, XVIII, 11, 1: Μολοτῶν οἱ περὶ Ἀρυπταίων· οὗτος δ' ὑπουργὸν συμμαχίαν συνθέμενος ὕστερον διὰ προδοσίας συνήργησε τοῖς Μακεδόσι (and cf. p. 130, n. 5 *supra*).

of the Greeks and married Phthia, a Thessalian princess whose father, Menon of Pharsalus, played a prominent part in the conduct of the war as the commander-in-chief of the allied cavalry; <sup>45</sup> 2) Arybbas' death in exile now being proved beyond any reasonable doubt, the question of his eventual identification with Aryptaeus must be disjoined from the question of his restoration, which we have negatively answered above, and must be answered independently of it.

In my opinion, however probable and even acceptable the correction of Diodorus' text may be, the latter must nevertheless be explained otherwise than has hitherto been the case. I suggest that the author on whom Diodorus is dependent and who ultimately is an Athenian historian, *possibly* Diyllus,<sup>46</sup> when he came to list Athens' allies, enlarged upon the participation of Aeacidas and his partisans, recorded their sufferings at the hands of the Macedonians, and mentioned the exile of Arybbas. It is irrelevant whether it was Diodorus or his source that blundered and why such a mistake was made, although the carelessness of an epitomizer or the shortness of the latter's narrative is enough to account for it. What matters is that the words *οἱ περὶ Ἀρυπταίων*, which can and do mean Aryptaeus' (i. e. Arybbas') sons—or even his sons and their partisans—, were taken to mean

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 1, 6; *Phoc.*, 25, 5; Diodorus, XVIII, 15, 4; 17, 4 and 6; and my book on *Demostene* (1933), p. 198, n. 39. On Menon's activities, cf. Westlake, *Thessaly*, pp. 231 ff. It is no argument against Aeacidas' agreement with Olympias that his father-in-law pursued the struggle against Macedon after the defeat of the Greeks and died in Thessaly in 321 (cf. Diodorus, XVIII, 38, 5-6; H. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in d. hellenist. Zeit*, I [1937], pp. 57-8) at the hands of that same Polyperchon who later recalled Olympias to Macedon and was friendly to Aeacidas.

<sup>46</sup> R. Schubert and W. Schwahn have conclusively proved that Diodorus' source cannot possibly have been Hieronymus of Cardia, but must have been either an Athenian historian pure and simple (Schwahn, *Philologus*, LXXXVI [1931], pp. 155 ff.) or an Athenian historian "contaminated" with Hieronymus (Schubert, *Die Quellen z. Gesch. d. Diadochenzeit* [Leipzig, 1914], pp. 237 ff., 244). Whether, however, the task of harmonizing the accounts of the two sources was done by Diodorus himself or (as I believe) by his authority we cannot say. And, as I have shown elsewhere (*Annali Scuola Normale Pisa*, 1937, p. 277), there is no cogent ground on which the Athenian author (*pace* Schubert, Schwahn, and Hammond, *C. Q.*, XXXI [1937], pp. 89-90; XXXII [1938], pp. 149-51) should be identified with Diyllus.

Aryptaeus (i. e. Arybbas) himself, and the blame for their treachery to Greece, that is for Aeacidās' agreement with Olympias against Antipater, as a result of which he was allowed to return to Epirus and have a share in the government of his country,<sup>47</sup> was accordingly but undeservedly bestowed upon the old king—whom we now know to have died, probably in Athens, several years before the outbreak of the Lamian War.

Our conclusion is, then, that Arybbas was driven out of Epirus in 342, that in spite of the gallant promises of the Athenians he was never restored to his throne, and that only Aeacidās succeeded in being reinstated in his kingdom. Such a conclusion is in accordance with all we know of that obscure period of Greek history which stretches from Chaeronea to the death of Demosthenes. It is also in complete accord with our extant authorities. Their account has often been questioned.<sup>48</sup> It has sometimes been rejected. We have tried to put to the test the credibility of their narrative and can confidently maintain that proof has

<sup>47</sup> The assumption that Olympias agreed to Aeacidās' restoration soon after the death of Alexander the Molossian (so De Sanctis, *Atti Accad. Torino*, 1911-12, p. 451; Accame, *Riv. Filol.*, XII [1934], pp. 526-8; H. Strasburger, *R.-E.*, XVIII, col. 180) is invalidated by the Cyrenaic corn-inscription (*S. E. G.*, IX, 1, p. 4, no. 2) which belongs to the years 329-326 B. C. and mentions Olympias and Cleopatra as joint rulers of Epirus, as I have shown in *Athenaeum*, 1933, p. 189, n. 2, and in a paper (hitherto unpublished) which I read to the First International Congress of Graeco-Roman Epigraphy, Amsterdam, September 1938.

<sup>48</sup> Another detail also proves Justin's accuracy and the self-consistency of his account. He has often been blamed (so Klotzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 95, n. 1; De Sanctis, *Atti Accad. Torino*, 1911-12, p. 451) for calling Aeacidās *frater* of Alexander the Molossian (XVII, 3, 16). But it has been overlooked that such a statement (whether right or wrong is immaterial) is in any case confirmed by Justin's mention of Alexander as the *privignus*, the adoptive son, of Arybbas (VIII, 6, 4; cf. Reuss, *Rh. Mus.*, XXXVI [1881], p. 164). Alexander's first cousin and step-brother Aeacidās could well be called his *frater*. It can also be questioned whether the usage of *frater* instead of *consobrinus* or *frater patruelis* must be branded as a blunder. There are, as F. Vollmer has ably shown (*Thes. Ling. Lat.*, VI, 1, cols. 1254-5), several examples of such a usage. One of the most striking instances is the passage of Curtius Rufus (VI, 10, 24) on Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas III, who is called *frater regis*, while evidence is given that, being the son of Perdiccas, he was the cousin of Alexander the Great. That is, Curtius was fully aware of the relationship of Amyntas to Alexander and aware of the fact that he was using *frater* to mean "cousin."

been given of its substantial accuracy and veracity. In spite of the severe criticism which has frequently been raised against them, Diodorus and Justin have stood the test well enough.<sup>49</sup>

#### APPENDIX

##### On the meaning of καταγηράσκω.

A passage in Plato's *Critias* (112 c) shows a close resemblance to the passage of Seneca (*De Clem.*, I, 11, 4) which we have quoted above (p. 135). This passage is also interesting evidence for a meaning of καταγηράσκω which authors of lexica (e. g. Dindorf in his edition of Stephanus' *Thesaurus* and Liddell and Scott) ought to have emphasized more than they appear to have done: κοσμίᾳς ὁκοδομοῦντο οἰκῆσεις, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ἐγγόνων ἔκγονοι καταγηρῶντες ἄλλοις ὁμοίοις τὰς αὐτὰς ἀεὶ παρεδίδουσαν.

As in the case of *consenesco*, it would be idle to deny or even to question the fact that in its first and foremost significance καταγηράσκω does mean "to grow old" or "to grow grey." In Plato's passage, however, as *consenesco* in the passage of Seneca's treatise *On Clemency*, καταγηράσκω implies, and in my opinion also explicitly conveys, more than that. It would be pointless if its meaning merely were that each generation of the Athenians grew old peacefully in decent houses and if it did not also refer to their actual death in their hereditary dwellings, the possession of which they used to bequeath to each of the succeeding generations. Indeed, παραδίδωμι obviously indicates the act of legacy and bequest which comes into being and has legal validity only through and after the death of the donor. Whether, as seems likely, the change of meaning of καταγηράσκω is due to the proximity and frequent simultaneity of old age and death, καταγηράσκω being used as a euphemistic substitute for or as a synonym of "to die" (the connection of παραδίδωμι with the idea of death, incidentally, is also unquestionable), we cannot maintain with absolute certainty.

Certain it is, however, that such a meaning of καταγηράσκω is

<sup>49</sup> The substance of this paper was communicated to the Cambridge Philological Society at a meeting held on November 21, 1940. A summary of it was published in the *Cambridge University Reporter*, February, 1941. I am indebted for criticism and suggestions to Professor D. S. Robertson, Mr. R. J. Getty, Dr. W. Morel, and especially to my friend Mr. F. W. Walbank who read my article in manuscript and helped me in several ways.

clearly proved for another passage of Plato which he is known to have written before he even thought of attending to the composition of the *Critias*<sup>50</sup> and which reads as follows (*Theaetetus* 202 d): τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰλήφαμεν ὃ πάλαι καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν σοφῶν ζητοῦντες πρὶν εὐρεῖν κατεγέγρασαν. Here two ideas prevail, obliterating any direct or immediate allusion to old age: 1) the idea, cognate to one of the ideas inherent in *consenesco*, of the useless waste of one's life, none of the wise men of the past having succeeded in his efforts to discover the truth here revealed, whether humorously or in earnest, by Socrates to Theaetetus; 2) the idea, also paralleled by one of the meanings we have advocated for *consenesco*, of end and death, the deeper meaning of the passage undoubtedly being that the wise men of the past died (not merely "grew old" or "grew grey") before they were able, at the close of their lives, to find a definition which not even an existence wholly devoted to striving for truth allowed them to attain. I think Plato's words make better sense, acquire a new flavor, and breathe an unsuspected gravity and poignancy if they echo a bitter feeling of failure and death, which is missing, or merely implied and left to the careful reader to experience for himself, in most of the modern translations of the *Theaetetus* which I have come across.<sup>51</sup>

The meaning we are claiming for καταγηράσκω, which makes of it a synonym or euphemistic substitute for ἀποθνήσκω, the only difference between the two being that ἀποθνήσκω refers to any form of death whereas καταγηράσκω is connected only with a natural, i. e. non-violent, end, if it may be assumed to be only implicit in the Platonic passages quoted above, is in my opinion

<sup>50</sup> Whatever the exact date of Plato's *Theaetetus* and *Critias*, there is little doubt that they are separated by a long interval of time, Plato's Sicilian adventures and the Oriental influences which (*pace* E. Des Places, *Rev. Phil.*, XIV [1940], p. 132) he underwent in his old age lying between them.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. the translations of Jowett ("we have found a truth which in former times many wise men have grown old and have not found"); H. N. Fowler (*Loeb Cl. L.*: "many wise men have long been seeking and have grown grey in the search"); A. Diès (Budé ed.: "ce que, depuis si longtemps, tant de sages ont vieilli à chercher sans le pouvoir trouver"); and F. M. Cornford (*Plato's Theory of Knowledge*, p. 146: "Can it be . . . that . . . we have found out to-day what so many wise men have grown old in seeking and have not found"). Insufficient stress is laid on καταγηράσκω also by most translators of Plato's *Critias* (e. g. Rivaud and A. E. Taylor).

explicitly instanced and unquestionably confirmed by a passage to be found in the only extant writing of Plato's nephew and first successor to the leadership of the Academy.<sup>52</sup>

To contrast the bloody and shameful end of Alcibiades with the peaceful death of Amyntas III, in a passage the full significance of which apparently only Orelli among almost all the translators whom I know<sup>53</sup> was able to catch and to render adequately, Speusippus aptly and intentionally made use of καταγγράσκω, possibly in a peculiar meaning, which, however, is not very different from Plato's: ὁ μὲν (sc. Alcibiades) . . . φυγῶν αἰσχροῦς τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν, ὁ δὲ σὸς πατήρ (sc. Amyntas) βασιλεύων κατεγήρασε. Only if one bears in mind Isocrates' apology for Alcibiades in his juvenile pamphlet *De Bigis* and, still more, the judgment which somewhere halfway between his apology for Alcibiades and his apology for Philip he had passed on Amyntas III in his *Archidamus* (VI, 46: Ἀμύντας ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς . . . τὸν δ' ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον βασιλεύων γήρᾳ τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν) can one truly appreciate Speusippus' literary skill and understand the *sensus absconditus* which underlies his antithesis and which he expected his readers not to miss (his message to Philip being indeed one of those elaborated scholarly polemics, full of the catchwords proper to literary coteries, which one must read attentively and, so to speak, between the lines).

In his effort to criticize Isocrates and to display the utmost flattery and subservience to the new ruler, to the long awaited and longed for master of Hellas, Speusippus knew of no better

<sup>52</sup> After the publication of the treatise, *Speusipps Brief an König Philipp* by E. Bickermann and J. Sykutris (*Berichte Sächs. Akad.*, LXXX, 3 [1928]) the authenticity of Speusippus' letter cannot, I think, be any longer disputed; cf. W. Morel, *Phil. Woch.*, L (1930), cols. 191-2; F. R. Wuest, *Philip II* (1938), pp. 59, 87; G. Pasquali, *Le lettere di Platone* (Firenze, 1938), p. 251.

<sup>53</sup> J. K. Orelli, *Collectio Epistolarum Graecarum*, I (Leipzig, 1815), p. 103: "ille nova fuga turpiter vitam amisit, tuus vero pater ad extremam senectutem regnum possedit." More recent translations are much less satisfactory. Cf., e.g., R. Herscher, *Epistolographi Graeci* (1873), p. 631: "ille . . . iterum expulsus vitam turpiter amisit, tuus vero pater ad senectutem usque regnum tenuit"; J. Sykutris, *loc. cit.*: "Jener hat . . . sein Leben auf schmachliche Weise beendet; Dein Vater aber ist bis zum Greisenalter König geblieben"; L. Koehler (*Philologus*, Supplementb. XX, 2 [1928]): "Jener wurde . . . wiederum verbannt und endete sein Leben schmälich. Dein Vater aber herrschte bis in sein Alter."



device than to quote a sentence from Isocrates' *Archidamus* which he paraphrased and recast to show the tastelessness of the parallel between Alcibiades and Philip which Isocrates had briefly dwelt upon in his letter to the king of Macedon. While, disregarding or ignoring Plato's praise of Alcibiades, Speusippus did not hesitate, in order to give vent to his animosity against the author of the discourse *De Bigis*, to recall the lust and debauchery of the Athenian adventurer (*αἰσχροῦς* undoubtedly refers to Alcibiades' last love affair and the ambush into which he had been trapped and in which he lost his life at the side of the courtesan Timandra<sup>54</sup>), he accepted, repeated, and polemically turned against Isocrates the latter's eulogy on the father of Philip.

The story and the adventures of the kings of Macedon in the first half of the fourth century, from the violent end of Archelaus to the accession of Philip, must have appeared to contemporary Greeks (who could not possibly foresee the even more gloomy and tragic events—mass executions, crimes, and internecine strife—that were to follow until the tragedy consequent upon Cassander's death from consumption laid Macedon open to Demetrius the Besieger and the monarchy of the Antigonids) to be such a chaotic succession of massacres, hatred, and bloody rivalries that they rightly regarded Amyntas' old age and his peaceful end as events deserving of particular emphasis. This is shown not only by Isocrates' *Archidamus* but also by a statement of Justin: *senex decessit* (VII, 4, 8), for which through a long chain of intermediaries he is ultimately dependent on a fourth-century historian, most probably Theopompus, the disciple of Isocrates.

To blame Isocrates for an alleged lack of taste which had led him to the "faux pas" of suggesting that the achievements of Alcibiades were a suitable pattern for Philip while ignoring or forgetting the brilliant victories and the blessed end of Philip's father whom he had himself praised elsewhere, Speusippus ably readjusted Isocrates' words and condensed a whole sentence into a single word. Instead of the Isocratean *γὰρ τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν*, he said only *κατεγήρασε*, and this verb he contrasted

<sup>54</sup> For the various versions of the death of Alcibiades cf. J. Hatzfeld, *Alcibiade* (Paris, 1940), pp. 347-9. On Plato's portrait of Alcibiades see *ibid.*, pp. 44 ff.

with the preceding words of the first part of the sentence:  
 τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν.

There is, then, no doubt that Speusippus took καταγῆράσκω to mean "to die a natural death, to have a peaceful end"; or, at the very least, that he expected his readers to take the verb in this sense. Whether his wording was due merely to a rhetorical "tour de force" or a deliberate antithesis or a grotesquely rigid observance of the literary principle of *variatio*, we have no means of deciding, and the question is in any case immaterial. What does matter, however, is that Speusippus indisputably must have thought such a use of καταγῆράσκω to be in accordance with the requirements of grammar and the habit and knowledge of his readers.

The Speusippus quotation is, I think, enough to show that it may be worth while, that it is indeed an urgent necessity, to inquire at greater length into the alternative meaning of καταγῆράσκω, further instances of which should not be difficult to collect. In an appendix to a paper devoted to a different topic we could only touch upon it in passing. In any case it will not be irrelevant, as a means of confirming indirectly the soundness and appropriateness of the meaning we are claiming for *consenso*, to note that its Greek equivalent καταγῆράσκω seems to have undergone a similar process and to have been used to convey the same complex subtlety and variety of meanings.

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ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE LEPTINEAN  
DECLAMATIONS ATTRIBUTED TO  
ARISTIDES.

Among the works attributed to the second century sophist Aristides there are found two declamations on the theme of Demosthenes, *In Leptinem*. The problem of their authenticity, that is of the Aristidean authorship of the two compositions, has not hitherto been definitely solved, although its solution lay ready at hand for any one who should have taken the trouble to examine carefully the whole 14th century manuscript Vaticanus graecus 714 (V) where they appear after many other treatises and discourses which I shall enumerate below. The results of such a study will lead to a definite identification of the author.

With a view to completing the edition of Aristides, which was begun by the late Professor Bruno Keil and of which the second volume was published in 1898, his papers were placed in my hands. From them I published in *Hermes*, LXXI (1936), pp. 171-185 a discussion of these Leptinean declamations and added several critical and exegetical details. In this paper Keil discussed the question of authenticity and came to the conclusion that the two declamations were the work of the same author, who, however, could not be identified with Aristides. He showed that the anonymous author was well acquainted with the works of Aristides but was unable to understand him satisfactorily and that from this lack of understanding several important mistakes resulted.

When I began to prepare a new critical edition of the declamations I was obliged to examine and to re-collate the Vatican manuscript. I published a new collation in the *Accad. dei Lincei, Rendiconti*, ser. 6, X (1934), pp. 422 ff. and added some information about a Venice manuscript which is important for the second of these declamations. I now am in a position to give some additional details about several readings of V which will be given in the preface of the new edition. When I published this collation I did not yet know that an examination of the whole manuscript V would yield a better solution of the problem of authorship than scholars had reached at that time. From the

examination of V I learned that the alternative "either Aristides or an unknown imitator" is wrong.

Before V became known scholars knew only the second of the Leptineans. J. Morelli had found it in a Venice manuscript and published it under the name of Aristides in 1785. The manuscript he used is the 15th century Marcianus graecus 419 (M). A fuller description of M is found in one of my additional notes to Professor Keil's article mentioned above. I cannot repeat all the details given in that long note but must restrict myself to emphasizing that M contains several discourses of Demosthenes and Aristides which are followed by the second Leptinean declamation. This composition is offered without either title or name of author. It appears that the writer of the manuscript, who obviously used the declamation as a kind of stop-gap, endeavored to distinguish between the genuine works of Aristides and the Leptinean declamation which he considered anonymous. Nevertheless Morelli attributed the declamation to Aristides for reasons of style and because of a false interpretation of Aristides, *Πρὸς Καπίωνα*, II, p. 416, 5 Dindorf. Here Aristides says that he wrote a discourse *πρὸς Λεπτίνην*. An exact interpretation of Aristides' words was given in Keil's article, *loc. cit.*, p. 178.

Almost forty years after Morelli discovered the second Leptinean Angelo Mai found in V, which he was the first to use, the second Leptinean again but preceded by another declamation which deals with the same topic. He published the text of the unknown declamation in his *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, I (Rome, 1825) and added a Latin translation. As far as the text of the second declamation was concerned he contented himself with enumerating the different readings because he did not wish to repeat Morelli's text of 1785 at full length. In the preface of his edition he stated on p. lii that the text in V is anonymous as well as that in M. He made an unfortunate error, however, inasmuch as he isolated the two declamations, instead of taking into consideration the whole manuscript. He did not put them into relation with the remaining contents of the manuscript but agreed with Morelli in the case of the second declamation and attributed also the first declamation to Aristides. A short time after its discovery the manuscript disappeared in the Vatican Library and remained unknown, although several 19th century scholars had endeavored to find it again. Not until 1933 was it

discovered when at my request Giovanni Cardinal Mercati, Prefect of the Vatican Library, made a successful search for the missing manuscript.

Through a recent letter from Cardinal Mercati I am now in a position to give fuller details about V than was possible in 1934 when I was about to publish the new collation.

The last page of the manuscript—it is f. 336<sup>r</sup>—contains the last four lines of the second Leptinean. They are followed by a table of contents which was written by the same hand as the preceding text. It reads as follows:

α' Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον ἰωάννην τὸν βαπτιστὴν ἐγκώμιον  
 β' ὑπὲρ δυνθίων  
 γ' εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον  
 δ' ἀνάπλους  
 ε' πρὸς βασιλέα πρεσβευτικὸς ὑπὲρ χανδρηνοῦ  
 ς' περὶ βασιλείας  
 ζ' περὶ πολιτείας  
 η' πρὸς τινα ἀδικήσαντα καὶ δίκην δόντα καὶ δυσχεράναντα διὰ τὸ μὴ  
 παρὰ δικαστῶν τουτὶ γεγενῆσθαι  
 θ' προσφώνημα τῷ μεγάλῳ στρατοπεδάρχῃ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ  
 προσφῶν τῷ μετοχίτῃ <sup>1</sup>  
 ι' ἐγκώμιον τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ  
 Νίφωνι <sup>2</sup>  
 ια' ἐγκώμιον τῷ πατριάρχῃ  
 ιβ' ἐπιστολὴ τῷ κυρίῳ ἰωσήφ  
 ιγ' ἐπιστολὴ τῷ κυρίῳ ἱεροθέῳ  
 ιδ' θεσσαλονικεῦσι περὶ ὁμονοίας  
 ιε' ὑπὲρ κυναγιείρου  
 ις' ὑπὲρ καλλιμάχου  
 ιζ' προσφώνημα τῷ μεγ(ά)λῳ δομεστίκῳ  
 ιη' πρὸς δημοσθένην περὶ ἀτελείας  
 ιθ' εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον

No author's name is given in this index, but the writer had a good reason for omitting it, since in the beginning of the manuscript the title of the treatise α' runs as follows: τοῦ σοφωτάτου

<sup>1</sup> These words were inserted between the lines by another hand; they refer to ι'.

<sup>2</sup> This name was inserted between the lines by another hand; it refers to ια'.

καὶ λογιωτάτου κ, <sup>ῥ</sup> Θεοδούλου τοῦ μαγίστρου. ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν μέγαν τοῦ <sup>χ</sup> βαπτιστῆν καὶ πρόδρομον ἰω<sup>ν</sup>.

When Cardinal Mercati informed me of this title he confirmed in a very satisfactory manner the result which I had already reached. I had asked him to send me an exact description of V and to see whether the name of Theodulus Magister could be found anywhere in the manuscript. Because of a new interpretation of the style of the author I was convinced that he did not belong to antiquity but to the Byzantine era, and some observations the reasons for which will appear presently had already called my attention to Theodulus Magister.

It will be useful for us to examine the title of the first treatise once more and to call attention to the period after μαγίστρου. From this period we shall have to understand that the writer wished to inform the reader that the name was to be linked not only with the title of the treatise immediately following but also with all the others. It will appear at once that we are not wrong in taking this interpretation into most serious consideration: for it has long been well known that several of the treatises and discourses of the manuscript belong to Theodulus Monachus, i. e. to that Byzantine author and scholar of the 14th century who is better known by the name of Thomas Magister, among them the numbers δ', ε', and ς' which precede the two Leptineans. Cardinal Mercati informed me that there are two other manuscripts<sup>3</sup> which contain selections from Thomas Magister's works, the Palatinus graecus 374 and the Vallicellianus C 82.<sup>4</sup> The former contains on f. 87 ff. ten treatises and discourses, i. e. ε',<sup>5</sup> ς', δ', α', θ', ι', ια', ιβ', γ', and ε'. The treatise ε' is just as incomplete as in the edition of the *Patrologia Graeca*, CXLV, p. 373. The Vallicellianus has ten works too, but it differs a little from the Palatinus. It has α', θ', ι', ια', ιβ', γ', ε', ς', ζ', δ'. Before drawing any conclusions I must complete the account of the manuscript V, which I have already given in *Rendic. Linc.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 425, in some important respects. Mercati was the first to make interesting observations concerning both the con-

<sup>3</sup> The possibility that there will be others in the National Library of Paris is not to be excluded.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Stevenson's *Catalogue of the Palatine Library*, p. 241 and E. Martini, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle Biblioteche Italiane*, II, 78.

<sup>5</sup> For the meaning of the numbers see p. 156, *supra*.



the language is almost identical with that of Aristides. He was wrong, however, in drawing the conclusion that the author was to be identified with Aristides. It is a well known fact that Thomas Magister had studied Aristides' works no less thoroughly than Demosthenes' discourses. It is therefore not surprising that he alludes to both authors very often, although it appears that he was not always able to understand them completely. He made many mistakes, some stupid, several of which Keil discussed in his paper mentioned above (see p. 154 *supra*). These mistakes could not be explained so long as Aristides was supposed to be the author of the declamations. When it has been definitely proved that they were written by an unsuccessful imitator, all the difficulties will disappear. Furthermore, this imitator did not content himself with copying only the style of Demosthenes and Aristides, he followed other usage as well which he considered correct. We are in a position to examine his rules of usage very thoroughly, for Thomas Magister is the author of a dictionary in which he collected and discussed many words which he claimed to be pure Attic; sometimes he added the non-Attic equivalent. Whoever deals with Thomas Magister's language and his idioms in order to lay the foundations for a new critical edition of his works, a real need if we are interested in familiarizing ourselves with Byzantine literature and history, must turn to Thomas' *Ἐκλογή*. It will appear that only knowledge of the *Ἐκλογή* enables the interpreter to understand several passages of the Leptinean declamations.

As long as manuscript V was supposed to contain both ancient and Byzantine works mistakes of different kinds were unavoidable. I must confess that I also committed such an error which is to be set right now.

I said in *Rendic. Linc., loc. cit.*, p. 425, n. 1 that on f. 242 ff. V contains two discourses or declamations which seemingly are anonymous. Their titles are *Ὑπὲρ Κυναιγέρον* and *Ὑπὲρ Καλλιμάχου*. It seemed a probable hypothesis that we had here a manuscript of the two declamations of Polemo which hitherto had not been used by editors and had escaped their attention like the Vaticanus graecus 928.<sup>7</sup> Between the two declamations which deal with the two warriors of Marathon and the two Leptineans

<sup>7</sup> Cf. F. Lenz, *Untersuchungen zu den Aristeidesscholien*, p. 113, n. 1.



another speech is intercalated which reads Προσφώνημα τῷ μεγάλῳ δομestίκῳ.

It is likely that, in spite of the interpretation of manuscript V offered above, some scholars will be inclined to believe that the title at the beginning of V, in which the author's name is mentioned (see pp. 156 f. *supra*), does not refer to the entire corpus but only to the first sections and that the last works to which the Leptinean declamations belong should be considered anonymous additions to the preceding genuine works of Thomas Magister. In view of this objection, which is quite plausible, we must look for other arguments for Thomas' authorship.

First it will be necessary to call attention to the strange sequence of two apparent declamations of Polemo followed by the obviously Byzantine Προσφώνημα τῷ μεγάλῳ δομestίκῳ and then the pseudo-Aristidean Leptineans and to look for an explanation. As the rank of μέγας δομestικός does not appear before the 7th century A. D.<sup>8</sup> it goes without saying that at least this Προσφώνημα, which appears in the midst of the two groups of declamations, is to be attributed to an author who lived in an undetermined century of the Byzantine era. A better understanding of the seemingly strange contents of the last section of manuscript V depends, therefore, on the possibility not only of determining this century more exactly but also of finding out which μέγας δομestικός is addressed.

Early in 1936 I had planned to collate at more leisure the text of "Polemo" in the Vatican Library in order to find out whether or not it offered subsidiary material for emending the many corrupt passages of the text in Hinck's Teubner edition. It became evident at once that the text differs completely from that in Hinck's edition. Not a single sentence is identical, although most of the arguments show a striking likeness. As at that time I was engaged upon another task in the Vatican Library I was forced to postpone any decision about the relation between the two different forms of the declamations. On resuming the problem once more I procured, with the generous help of Professor A. M. Harmon, photostats both of the text of "Polemo" and of the Προσφώνημα. The result of the examination of these declamations and of this speech was not surprising inasmuch as the

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Du Cange, *Gloss. mediae et inf. graecitatis*, s. v.

conclusion which the interpretation of the title and the contents of manuscript V had yielded was confirmed completely.

The Προσφώνημα begins with the following words: Οὐχ ὅτι καλὸς σὺ κάγαθός καὶ τοῦ διὰ πάντων ἦκειν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φέρων, θαυμάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἔχεις ἢ ὅτι τοιοῦτος ὢν οὐκ ἐπεσπάσω<sup>9</sup> βασκάνους οὐδ' ἤκουσας ὑπὸ του κακῶς. καίτοι εἰ μὲν τοῦ πᾶσι κομᾶν ἀγαθοῖς<sup>10</sup> ἐναργὲς σημεῖον ὁ φθόνος—«πρὸς γὰρ τὸν ἔχοντά,» φησιν, «ἔρπει»—ὁ μὴ φθονούμενος οὐκ ἂν εἴη χρηστός. The author quotes Sophocles, *Ajax*, 157 without, however, mentioning the name of the poet. The same verse is quoted, without name, by Thomas Magister in the speech *Περὶ βασιλείας*, *Patrologia Graeca*, CXLV, p. 493 C Migne. This coincidence seems the less fortuitous when we note that the same verse is quoted by the author of the so-called younger Sopater scholia on Aristides which were written or amplified under the influence of or by Planudes<sup>11</sup> (III, p. 336, 20 ff. Dindorf) whose works exercised an important influence upon Thomas.

This coincidence raises the question whether or not the Προσφώνημα τῷ μεγάλῳ δομεστικῷ is to be identified with the speech of Thomas Magister bearing the same title, which is enumerated in *P. G.*, CXLV, p. 548 Migne and in Krumbacher's *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, p. 550 among other works of Thomas which are still unpublished. We shall be inclined to draw the same conclusion from another parallel which is much stronger. On f. 267<sup>v</sup> the author endeavors to prove that no commander of an army deserves to be estimated highly unless he possesses an education which corresponds to his military ability. For instance, Alexander the Great and Themistocles are to be praised because they had both military training and high literary culture: οὐτε γὰρ ἂν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου τοσοῦτον ἐξέλαμψε λόγων ἀτέλεστος ὢν, ὃν γε καὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου μουσικῆς οὕτω λόγος ἐξῆφθαι, ὡς μηδὲ νυκτὸς ἀφεστάναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔπεισιν αὐτοῖς συγκαθεύδειν. In *Περὶ βασιλείας*, CXLV, p. 460 Migne, Thomas Magister says about Alexander: Ἀλέξανδρον . . . συγκαθεύδειν τοῖς ἔπεισιν Ὀμήρου φασίν. I do not believe that this coincidence is accidental. Immediately after, we meet the example of Themistocles in the Προσφώνημα; it runs as follows: οὐτ' ἂν μηκέτ' εἶναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος κινδυνεύουσας καὶ πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἤδη

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the 2nd Leptinean declamation, II, p. 702, 5 Dindorf.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Magister, *Eccl.*, p. 208, 11 f. Ritschl.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. F. Lenz, *Untersuchungen zu den Aristeidesscholien*, pp. 85 ff.

χωρούσης χεῖρα ὑπερέσχε Θεμιστοκλῆς, μὴ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Πυθίας λογίων ξυνεῖς καὶ τὰ τε περὶ τὰς ναυλόχους πέτρας τὰ τ' ἄλλα σοφαίαι προσεξευρών. This allusion to Themistocles as one who was able to combine ὄπλα with λόγος is preceded by a comparison between the μέγας δομέστικος, who is addressed, and Themistocles. On f. 266<sup>v</sup> he says: ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς μὲν ὀξύτερον παντὸς Θεμιστοκλέους αὐτοσχεδιάξεις (cf. Thucydides, I, 138) τὸ δέον καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ὡς ἤδη παρόντων διανοῇ. . . . On f. 268<sup>v</sup> he emphasizes the fact that the emperor (βασιλεὺς) entrusts the μέγας δομέστικος with important missions: σὲ δὲ μετ' ὀλίγων ἐκπέμπει εἰδὼς σά τε μῆδεα (the author alludes to Homer) σὴν τ' ἀγανοφροσύνην (cf. Homer, λ 302 f. σά τε μῆδεα, φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεῦ, σὴ τ' ἀγανοφροσύνη) πάντ' ἐσομένην τοῖς πράγμασι. The μέγας δομέστικος and his ὀλίγοι are worthy to be compared with Leonidas and the three hundred Lacedaemonians. The historian Nicephorus Gregoras tells us in his *Byzantine History*, X, 7 (p. 496, 23 ff. Bonn ed.) that the younger Andronicus ὅλην σπουδῇ τὴν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἤλαυνε, μηδένα στρατὸν ἐπαγόμενος. ὑποπτοι γὰρ αὐτῷ πάντες ἤδη καθίσταντο, πλὴν μόνων τῶν πιστοτάτων οἰκειακῶν καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ, ὃν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα σύμπνουν τε καὶ ὁμόφρονα αὐτῷ τε ἔφηγεν ὁ χρόνος καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἱλαρὸν καὶ χαρίεντα. The last words correspond very closely to the ἀγανοφροσύνη which is a preëminent quality of the μέγας δομέστικος in the Προσφώνημα. A little later (on p. 497, 15 ff.) the μέγας δομέστικος is compared with Themistocles:<sup>12</sup> καὶ πρό γε τούτων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸν πολλὸν ἐκείνον στόλον τῶν Μήδων λόγοις οἰκονομικοῖς καὶ δόλοις κατετροπώσατο, μὴ δυνάμενος ἄλλως. Perhaps we shall not be wrong in drawing the conclusion from these coincidences that there was a certain typology which the Byzantine writers of encomia followed. Thus these examples have no individual value. Furthermore it becomes evident that the Προσφώνημα belongs to the age of Andronicus the Second, and refers to the famous μέγας δομέστικος Cantacuzenus who had to deal with Triballi, Persians, Illyrians, and Acarnanians. All these nations are mentioned by the author of the Προσφώνημα and by Nicephorus Gregoras. These parallels which are afforded by Nicephorus are not to be neglected in an edition of the Προσφώνημα and should be printed as a parallel text.

The μέγας δομέστικος is praised as one not only able to take the necessary decisions which are required but from the present

<sup>12</sup> Leonidas is mentioned on p. 636, 21 ff.

situation to forecast the future and to act accordingly in the interest of the empire. He knows also because of his εὐψυχία and ῥώμη when and where the enemies are to be attacked successfully, τοὺς μὲν σκηπτοῦ δίκην ἐμπίπτων κατάκρας ἐλαύνεις, ἡμῖν δὲ σώζεις τὰς πόλεις. In the declamation on Cynaegirus the father Euphorion emphasizes not only that his son fell at Marathon ὑπὸ θαυμαστῆς εὐψυχίας καὶ ῥώμης ἐθελοντὶς ἐπαποδύεται πρὸς τὴν μάχην (f. 244<sup>r</sup>) but also ὡς σκηπτοῦ δίκην τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμπίπτων πάντα τὰ πάντων δεινότατα τούτους εἴργαστο. In view of this identity no one will be inclined to regard this coincidence as fortuitous. This identity compels us to look for other coincidences and peculiarities of style. It will soon appear suitable to use more systematically the two Leptineans also, which in V follow the Προσφώνημα, and to compare the whole group of these five declamations and speeches with other discourses and treatises of Thomas Magister.

Herodotus in VI, 114 adds to the name of Cynaegirus the name of his father Euphorion. Callimachus, however, who is mentioned in VI, 109 ff. several times is called only Polemarchus without mention of his father. The genuine declamations of Polemo follow the same rule. Before beginning his declamations the Byzantine author, however, supplies a brief hypothesis in order to inform the reader of some details of the earlier history just as he prefaced the Leptinean declamations with a similar hypothesis. Here he calls Callimachus' father Polemarchus, and in the declamation (f. 246<sup>v</sup>) the speaker repeats the same mistake by calling Callimachus ὁ τοῦ Πολεμάρχου τουτονὶ παῖς. Several mistakes of the same kind that we meet in the Leptineans have been enumerated and explained by Keil in the article which I have mentioned on p. 154 *supra*. In our case, however, the recognition of this mistake enables us to draw an important conclusion. We are in a position to combine it with a passage of the first Leptinean declamation, II, p. 618, 29 Dindorf, about which there has been some discussion among scholars. Now we are able to understand better the intention of the author. He says that Themistocles and Pausanias showed their ἀρετή only because they had μεγαλοψυχία and loved their country. They did not, however, desire to get any external or pecuniary advantage. The same behavior, he goes on, is shown by two other men who lived before them, Cynaegirus, son of

Euphorion, and Callimachus, son of—Polemarchus! Just at this point manuscript V is difficult to read; after repeated examinations of the photostats, however, I may say that there is no doubt that the writer wrote τῷ πολεμάρχου not τῷ πολεμάρχω and that Angelo Mai was right when he deciphered the last letters as ου. When the German scholar G. H. Grauert in 1827 replaced the genitive by the dative, following Herodotus, he had good reason from the point of view of the subject-matter, but he was wrong so far as the critic of the text was concerned, since we meet the same mistake in the Leptinean as well as in the Marathon declamation from which we started. This coincidence is far from being fortuitous, for in the Leptinean it goes on ἐπεὶ μηκέτ' εἶναι κινδυνεύουσιν ἐσώσαντο τὴν Ἑλλάδα, and in the other declamation it runs οὐτ' ἂν μηκέτ' εἶναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος κινδυνεύουσης (cf. pp. 161 f. *supra*). Is, then, Thomas Magister the author of the Leptineans too and does he quote his earlier work?

I am not convinced that all the editors of the Leptinean declamations have understood II, p. 628, 33 f. Dindorf. This may be excused by the fact that this passage can hardly be explained by the usage of ancient Greek: καὶ σὺν γε ἔτι παραπλήσιον ἔσται, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ὀλυμπιονίκου πατρὸς ὦν ἔπειτ' ἀξιοῖ διὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τοῦ κοτίνου<sup>13</sup> μετέχειν. Dindorf was inclined to replace σὺν by πρὸς but did not venture to put it in the text, and the Greek Professor Nikos A. Bees suggested to me (orally) that σὺν be changed to σοί. σὺν is quite correct, however, and was used by Byzantine writers in the age of Andronicus the Second in the same way. For instance, Thomas says in Θεσσαλονικέῦσι περὶ δμονομίας, f. 242<sup>v</sup>: ταῦτ' εὐχομαι καὶ σὺν γε ἔστι, and Nicephorus Gregoras writes in his *Byzantine History* (p. 611, 2 Bonn ed.): (πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν κομίσαι τὴν βασιλίδα) καὶ ὅσα θανόντος ἐκείνου πέπραχεν αὐτῇ ξύν γε τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὴν εὐγενῶν ὀρκωμοτήρια.

Now we are also in a position to understand that II, p. 610, 3 f. Dindorf is not to be changed; the passage reads: ὥς καὶ πεπεῖσθαι λέγειν περὶ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἂν ἕνα μηδένα τῶν πάντων τὰ τοιαῦτα δόξαι βελτίω. Grauert, who was not pleased with this strange expression, wished it to be replaced by μηδ' ἂν ἕνα τῶν πάντων. This conjecture must now be rejected because of Thomas Magister's statement in *Ecl.*, p. 262, 9 Ritschl: ὡσαύτως καὶ μὴ ἂν ἕνα μηδένα

<sup>13</sup> Thomas Magister, *Ecl.*, p. 198, 10 Ritschl: κότινος, οὐκ ἀγριέλαιος.

τῶν πάντων. With the help of the same Ἑκλογή we also are in a position to decide about II, p. 617, 25 Dindorf. Manuscript V has εὐθενοῦσαν but the writer himself added η above ε. Thomas agrees with several other lexicographers when he prefers the form with the short vowel (p. 136, 15 Ritschl): εὐθενεῖν κάλλιον ἢ εὐθηνεῖν.

It now begins to appear to what circle the author of the Leptinean declamations belonged. Therefore we can understand without any difficulty a series of other idioms which Keil could not but regard as very strange in the works of an author whom he believed to belong to a period of later antiquity.<sup>14</sup> On p. 177 of his article he rightly emphasizes the fact that the author is fond of using the adverb καθάπαξ everywhere. He characterizes this fondness as almost unbearable and as quite opposed to the manner of Aristides. Although Aristides did not refrain from using it several times, he was able to avoid any excessive abuse and exaggeration. It is a matter of fact that this adverb, which Thomas Magister, *Ecl.*, p. 217, 19 Ritschl explains by παντελῶς, belongs among his favorite expressions. We read it both in the printed discourses and letters and in the Marathon declamations as well as in the Προσφώνημα so often that it is neither necessary nor possible to enumerate the passages. Furthermore the author is no less fond of replacing ἔχειν almost everywhere by ἴσχειν or of using both verbs as synonymous. The reason is that ἴσχειν is κάλλιον ἢ ἔχειν (*Ecl.*, p. 185, 7 Ritschl). It is true that these details have not yet the value of a definite proof since both words are very usual in the works of other Byzantine authors as well. There are, however, other cases which are so unequivocal that any doubt is removed. Keil was quite right in being surprised (*loc. cit.*, p. 176) that the author coined the senseless expression II, p. 614, 22 Dindorf: καὶ φαῦλός τις ὢν τύχη καὶ τῆς κάτω φρατρίας (i. e. *infimo loco natus*). Although this expression is unpleasant and contrary to any ancient usage, it becomes less strange when it is compared with a passage of the declamation of Euphoriion. This passage reads (f. 251<sup>v</sup>): τὸ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἔτ' εἶναι καὶ μετ' ἀνθρώπων διάγειν<sup>15</sup> τὸν μείζον ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἡγωνισ-

<sup>14</sup> It is very characteristic, however, that Keil is forced to compare the manner in which one fragment of Aeschylus is quoted by the author with the quotations of the fragment which occur in some Byzantine authors (see *Hermes*, LXXI [1936], p. 177, n. 1).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Thomas Magister, *Ecl.*, p. 98, 15 ff. Ritschl.

μένον οὐκ ὥοντο χρῆναι, ἀλλὰ τῆς Ὀλύμπου φρατρίας καὶ αὐτὸν ἀξιώσαι. A few lines above he says: συμβαίνοντά τε δρῶντες τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τῷ καλοῦντι τοῦ καιροῦ. The same expression is used both in the speech *Περὶ βασιλείας*, CXLV, p. 481 B Migne: τῷ τοῦ καιροῦ καλοῦντι and in the second Leptinean declamation, II, 656, 3 Dindorf: τῷ τοῦ καιροῦ καλοῦντι. Some other passages are to be added, such as II, p. 638, 25 Dindorf: τῷ τοῦ καιροῦ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι καλοῦντι and p. 620, 18: ἐν τῷ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπαιτοῦντι, and another group of participles which are used as nouns. They are so strange and occur so often that they are to be regarded as an individual peculiarity of style. Most of them are found in the Marathon declamations, e. g. f. 244<sup>v</sup> τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὥρμηκός,<sup>16</sup> f. 249<sup>r</sup> τῷ συνειδότη τοῦ κρείττονος, and f. 257<sup>r</sup> τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς αἰρουμένῳ; CXLV, p. 481 B Migne, τὸ τῆς χρείας ἐστηκός, and second Leptinean declamation II, p. 671, 2 Dindorf, τὸ τῆς χρείας ἐστός again.

In other similar cases Thomas, with whom the author of the Leptinean declamations now seems to be identified, starts from some expressions which are used by Aristides. Whereas Aristides refrains from using them to excess Thomas abuses what he took from Aristides. This strikingly different attitude was overlooked by Harry when he drew wrong conclusions from the comparison between Aristides and the Leptineans (see p. 158 *supra*). Thus the occasional use in Aristides becomes a stylistic peculiarity of Thomas which cannot be underrated. To this group belong II, p. 634, 10 and p. 704, 16 Dindorf: ἐν παντὶ τῷ παρασχόντι, which he took from Aristides, *Panath.*, I, p. 155, 2 Dindorf and the favorite expression μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ κρείττονος (for instance II, p. 684, 14 Dindorf; CXLV, pp. 453 C, 489 D Migne) which varies Aristides, *Panath.*, I, p. 236, 10 Dindorf: ἀπὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ κρείττονος and p. 187, 4: μεθ' ὅσον τοῦ κρείττονος. From Boissonade's note on *Anecd. Graec. Nov.*, 82, 13 (cf. *Anecd. Graec.*, II, 28) we learn that other writers who worked under the emperor Andronicus II were fond of this expression.

The case of two other favorite expressions of the author is very similar. He uses to excess both μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος and μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ συγκεχωρηκότος. There is an abundance of examples both in the other works and in the Leptinean declama-

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Nicephorus Gregoras, p. 587, 19 (Bonn ed.): τὸ τῆς γνώμης ὀργιζόμενον.

tions, for instance CXLV, p. 456 B Migne: μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος τὰς εὐεργεσίας ποιεῖσθαι, p. 465 A: μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος πᾶσι μετεῖναι, p. 476 D: μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος ἐξελαύνειν οἷονται δεῖν (τοὺς χυμούς), first Marathon declamation f. 247<sup>r</sup>, second Marathon declamation f. 258<sup>r</sup>: εἰ τοὺς διώκοντάς τις μᾶλλον μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος κρατεῖ, and last of all first Leptinean declamation II, p. 616, 5 Dindorf: πάντα ταῦθ' ἐτοίμως καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος καὶ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν; furthermore first Marathon declamation f. 248<sup>v</sup>: εἴθ' ὧν τότε μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ συγκεχωρηκός ἀπέλαυσεν ἂν; second Marathon declamation f. 263<sup>r</sup>: εἴθ' ὃν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ συγκεχωρηκός τιμῶντες ἔγνωσαν Πέρσαι. Προσφώνημα τῷ μεγάλῳ δομestίῳ, f. 266<sup>r</sup>: σοὶ δὲ ἄμφω ταῦτα μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ συγκεχωρηκός ὑπάρχει, first Leptinean declamation II, p. 617, 30 Dindorf: δίκαιος ἂν εἴη μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ συγκεχωρηκός κύριος εἶναι, *Laudatio Gregorii Theologi*, CXLV, p. 240 C Migne: (εἵνεκα) τοῦ παρὰ πάντων ἐν ἅπασιν συγκεχωρηκός, cf. Aristides, *Panath.*, I, p. 298, 10 f. Dindorf: τοῦ παρὰ πάντων συγκεχωρηκός.

Similarly Thomas wearies the reader with the phrase *χθὲς καὶ πρόωγν*. It appears in the Leptinean declamations four times and is also explained in the *Ἐκλογή*, p. 392, 1 f. Ritschl where he quotes a passage of Synesius.<sup>17</sup> It would be possible without any difficulty to extend this enumeration almost *ad libitum*, but let this suffice. It will be the duty of an editor to care for such details.

Thomas is not to be reckoned among the creative authors who are able to coin new forms in order to express their ideas. He prefers rather to copy the same model over and over with slight variations. One of the most noticeable examples, which really has the force of a definite proof, is read in the second Leptinean declamation, II, p. 703, 4 ff. Dindorf. Here it runs as follows: it is senseless and inept on the one hand to honor those who died in war by annual funeral orations, to educate their children at public expense, and to send them back to their families after they grow up bestowing the *πανοπλῖαι* upon them, but on the other hand to act quite contrary to this praiseworthy principle, etc. The same argument is read in the speech *Περὶ βασιλείας*, CXLV, p. 461 D Migne. Both passages agree in such a striking manner that every reader will be inclined to believe that the same writer is author of both. He did not invent this argument

<sup>17</sup> See *De vita et moribus Gregorii Theologi*, p. 100, 3.



himself, however, but borrowed it from Aristides, *Panath.*, I, p. 310, 6 ff. Dindorf: τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τελευτησάντων αὐτῶν μὲν ἐπαίνους ἐπὶ ταῖς ταφαῖς καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας δημοσὶαι τρέφειν ἄχρι ἡβῆς, καὶ τηνικαῦτα ἀποπέμπειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατρίους οἴκους μετὰ τῶν πανοπλιῶν. The first imitation of this passage, which appears in the second Leptinean declamation, *loc. cit.*, is very close to the original: τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότας<sup>18</sup> αὐτοὺς τε καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν λόγοις ἐπιταφίοις τιμᾶν τοὺς τε παῖδας αὐτῶν δημοσὶαι μάλιστα τρέφειν, ὥς ἂν ἡξήκοτες εἰς ἡβὴν ἀναχωρήσωσιν οἴκαδε μετὰ τῶν πανοπλιῶν. And the second imitation in *Περὶ βασιλείας* is not far from the original; some expressions agree with the original even more literally, whereas other parts of the whole sentence are omitted: καθάπερ Ἀθήναις τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότων τοὺς παῖδας ἐποιοῦν, δημοσὶαι τρέφοντες ἄχρις ἡβῆς καὶ τότε οἴκαδ' ἀποπέμποντες μετὰ τῶν πανοπλιῶν. It is quite impossible to decide which imitation was written earlier. If we may believe, as Cardinal Mercati suggests, that the order of the works in manuscript V was established under the supervision of the author, who followed some chronological principle, the decision would be easy; there is, however, no possibility of proving it.

Another repetition which is no less striking shows again Thomas' restricted ability of invention. In *Περὶ βασιλείας*, CXLV, p. 472 D Migne he says: ὡς ἑταιροτάτοις τὰ πλείστον φησὶν ἄξια χρῆσθαι. From p. 492 C, καὶ τούτοις ἀπανταχοῦ τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ πλείστον φασὶν ἄξια χρῆσθαι we see that, in *Περὶ βασιλείας*, φησὶ is to be changed into φασὶ.<sup>19</sup> With these passages we must connect both the *Laudatio Gregorii Theologi*, CXLV, p. 280 A Migne, τούτῳ τὰ πλείστον φασὶν ἄξια χρῆσθαι, and the first Leptinean declamation II, 626, 23 f. Dindorf, καὶ νῦν αὐτῷ τὰ πλείστον φασὶν ἄξια χρῆσθαι. Furthermore a parallel with the superlative ἑταιροτάτοις which is used in *Περὶ βασιλείας* is also found in the same Leptinean declamation, II, p. 637, 5 Dindorf and is excused by Thomas himself who quotes Plato, *Phaedo* 89 d and *Gorgias* 487 d in his *Ecl.*, p. 159, 9-12 Ritschl.

<sup>18</sup> It is very characteristic that he replaces the aorist which is used by Aristides by the present perfect of which he is no less fond than he is of the past perfect. There are very strange examples in his works, some of which were changed by the critics, such as II, p. 611, 3 Dindorf, γεγαμῆκει.

<sup>19</sup> It may be that φασὶ is the reading in V; I have, however, no information about this passage.

He is fond of using the proverb ὥσπερ ἐκ δυοῖν ποδοῖν ποιεῖν τι which he knew both from Aristophanes, *Aves*, 35 and Aristides, *Panath.*, I, p. 188, 12 Dindorf. It appears, for instance, in the second Marathon declamation f. 257<sup>v</sup>: καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὥσπερ ἐκ δυοῖν ποδοῖν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐλαυνόντων, in the *Laudatio Gregorij Theologi*, CXLV, p. 225 A Migne: ὥσπερ ἐκ δυοῖν ποδοῖν τὸ τοῦ λόγου τῷ Χριστῷ προσχωρῆσαι, and in the second Leptinean declamation, II, p. 671, 3 Dindorf: καὶ πάντες κατὰ τὸ τῆς χρείας ἐστὼς—this form is not to be replaced by the normal form of the neuter which ends in -ὸς—ὥσπερ ἐκ δυοῖν ποδοῖν ὡς ἀληθῶς, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, πρὸς ταύτην ὡς πρὸς μητέρα χωροῦσι.

If now there can be no more doubt that the author of the Leptinean declamations does not belong to antiquity but is to be assigned to one of the best periods of Byzantine literature, we shall understand at once several other circumstances which are to be discussed in a few words. Keil proved in his paper mentioned above that the author has a fairly good knowledge of Aristides' works without, however, being able to understand either the complicated diction or the arguments of the orator, which sometimes are really difficult. Thomas did not content himself with imitating Aristides; he also used Demosthenes as a source from which to embellish his own meager effort. In view of these passages it is really hard to understand how it was possible to identify the author of the Leptinean declamations with Aristides, who knew the rules of style too well to abuse them so childishly. Although Keil has discussed a few cases of this kind we must add some others because they will enable us to draw further conclusions. The phrase in *Περὶ βασιλείας*, CXLV, p. 468 C Migne, πόθεν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, taken from Demosthenes, XVIII, 47, is met again in the first Leptinean declamation, II, p. 635, 30 Dindorf. Thomas even ventured to transfer the beginning of the *De Corona* to the second Marathon declamation, f. 255<sup>r</sup>. These cases are the most striking of all and in comparison with them the quotation in the same declamation, f. 256<sup>r</sup>, of Demosthenes, *Περὶ συντάξεως* (XIII), 34, λιπεῖν τὴν τοῦ φρονήματος τάξιν which is read also in Aristides, Ὑπὲρ τῶν δ', II, pp. 191 and 227 Dindorf, is of less importance.

From these cases in which the imitation of Demosthenes is evident we should segregate some other cases of what I should characterize as pseudo-Demosthenean style. In *Περὶ βασιλείας*,

CXLV, p. 456 C Migne a phrase is used which because of its anaphora impresses itself upon the memory of the reader. I mean the phrase *οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν, ὧ βασιλεῦ*. This is a slight variation of Demosthenes, XVIII, 24 *οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτ', οὐκ ἔστι*. Apparently Thomas was very fond of this variation since we read it again, without the address, in the *Προσφώνημα τῷ μεγάλῳ δομestίκῳ*, f. 266<sup>v</sup> and—in the second Leptinean declamation, II, p. 683, 21 Dindorf! <sup>20</sup> This one coincidence seems to me so striking that even without the above mentioned identities of style we are enabled definitely to identify the author of the Leptinean declamations with Thomas.

We now are in position to understand better another feature of style. We are no longer surprised that the author knows and uses the Byzantine sentence clauses and follows W. Meyer's law. Professor A. M. Harmon recognized this fact when we discussed some passages, even before he knew that for other reasons we must seek the author in the Byzantine period. Another consequence which results from the right understanding of this fact is that we may no longer assume the norm of the Attic language of the fourth century B. C. or that of the second sophistic in examining these declamations. This principle is very important for three passages, two of which have been changed by the editors who, starting from that assumption, were unable to understand the language of the author, while a third case seems to have been overlooked completely. We now have to examine these passages from the point of view which we have now gained.

No one has hitherto tried to explain the phrases *ἐκόντες ὄντες τῷ μείζονι (κακῷ) περιέπεσον* and *ἐκόντες ὄντες ἐνταῦθ' ἤξομεν* which are used in the second Leptinean declamation, II, p. 681, 25 f. and p. 692, 12 Dindorf. The repetition proves that the hypothesis of dittography is to be rejected as well as the change of *ὄντες* to *εἶναι*, although the author knows the phrase *ἐκὼν εἶναι* (cf. II, p. 629, 19 Dindorf). Lobeck dealt summarily with the expression *ἐκόντες ὄντες* in his *Paralipomena*, p. 53, n. 61 but did not mention the passages of the Leptinean declamations. His explanation is that euphonic reasons are preponderant if the phrase *ἐκόντες ὄντες* is used. Ancient and modern feelings differ so far as euphony is concerned. Granting that Lobeck is right, after we understand that the declamations are to be attributed

<sup>20</sup> Aristides, *Ἐπὲρ τῶν δ'*, II, p. 217, 19 Dindorf: *οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν, οὐκ ἐνῆν*.

to a Byzantine author of the 14th century we are in a position to get a surprising explanation of this strange use. The *Ἑκλογή* of Thomas is helpful again. On p. 124, 12 ff. Ritschl he discusses *ἐκὼν εἶναι* and quotes several passages of ancient authors. Then he goes on and says on p. 125, 5: *γράφεται δὲ καὶ ἐκόντες ὄντες*. He proves this statement by quoting two passages which are said to be read in Aristides' *Panathenaïkos* (*ἐκόντας ὄντας ταῦτα τιμῆσαι*) and in Lucian's *Περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνόντων*, 2, *καὶ ἐκόντες ὄντες ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι αὐτῶν*. When we examine the matter, however, it seems to be quite different from what we should suppose from Thomas' statement. Ritschl says in his apparatus criticus that he was unable to discover to what passage of Aristides Thomas alludes, nor do I know to what words of the orator Thomas refers. In the case of Lucian the quotation itself is right; no one of our manuscripts, however, has *ὄντες*; they offer rather the usual infinitive instead of the participle. Professor A. M. Harmon, editor of Lucian in the Loeb Library, informs me that as far as he is able to ascertain the variant *ὄντες* does not exist. As the hypothesis that Thomas invented his citation from Aristides is not very likely, we shall rather have to state that he made some mistake. There are also other erroneous quotations in the *Ἑκλογή* which we are not able to explain. In the case of Lucian, however, it may be that in some Byzantine manuscript *ὄντες* was written instead of *εἶναι*. In any case, however, the justification which is given by the *Ἑκλογή* is to be considered satisfactory *only* for the two passages of the Leptinean declamation.<sup>21</sup>

The second passage furnishes a difficulty which the editors overcome by approving of Morelli's emendation which seems very

<sup>21</sup> It may also be noted that Thomas follows the directions which are given in the *Ἑκλογή* in other cases also, for instance, II, p. 666, 14 Dindorf, *δοιμέραι* and p. 674, 2 *δοσαι ὦραι* ~ *Eccl.*, p. 257, 13 *δοιμέραι λέγε, δοσαι δὲ ὦραι*. In II, p. 640, 21 Dindorf he uses, together with his favorite expression *καθάπαξ*, the verb *ἀσφαλίζεσθαι* which is shunned by Attic writers obviously because it is regarded as *βάρβαρον* (for instance *Anecd. Græc.*, I, 456, 27 f. Bekker). In the *Ἑκλογή*, p. 277, 10, he connects this verb with *σφραγίδα ἐπιτίθημι* in order to explain the verb *παρασημαίνομαι*. In II, p. 660, 11 Dindorf he uses the noun *διαγνώμη* which seems to be a borrowing of the newly coined words of the fifth century B.C. and is not found in this form in the *Ἑκλογή*, p. 663, 1, by quoting *ἡμετέρας διαγνώμης Ἀττικοί, οὐ διάγνωσις λέγονσι*; he is not quite correct, however, because *διαγνώμη* is common in Attic and Ionic.

likely but is quite contrary to the Byzantine language of the 14th century. The author preferred also in this case to use the phrase of his own age instead of writing in the manner of Demosthenes or Aristides: II, p. 697, 19 ff. Dindorf, *λανθάνεις τοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἀξίως τιμῶν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ καὶ πάντας, πάντας δὲ ἀτιμάζων ἀδίκως, ἐπειδὴ μόνους ἐκείνους τιμᾶν ἀξιοῖς. δεῖ γὰρ ἀμφοτέροις μεταδιδόναι τῶν ἴσων. οἷς δὲ διαιρεῖς, καὶ ἄκων τούτους συνάπτεις, ὥς δεῖν εἶναι πάντας ἐξίσσης τῶν δωρεῶν ἀπολαύειν.* There is no reason, it would even be wrong, to change *δεῖν* to *δέον*. We have to recognize only that *δεῖν* is not the infinitive but the participle. It will appear at once that we are not wrong in doing this. It is a well known fact that in ancient Greek the form of the participle *δεῖν* instead of *δέον* is a difficult problem. There is no certain instance although in Lysias, XIV, γ *δεῖν* (*δεῖ* MSS) αὐτὸν (*ἐκαστον* MSS) μετὰ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν (*πολιτῶν* MSS) *κινδυνεύειν ἱππεύειν εἴλετο* the editors agree that this emendation is the easiest and most probable of all. There has been much discussion about the question whether or not this form existed in antiquity; cf. *Thes. Graec. Ling.*, II, 1036, Kühner-Blass, I, 216, and especially J. Wackernagel, *Vermischte Beiträge zur griechischen Sprachkunde*, pp. 18 f. Although Wackernagel seems somewhat doubtful about the existence of this form of the participle, he is finally inclined to recognize it. It is less important in our case whether or not the participle *δεῖν* was used by the Greeks in ancient times; the one decisive fact is that it was in vogue in the Byzantine era and both the participle *δεῖν* and the infinitive *δεῖν εἶναι* apparently were favorite phrases. In Boissonade's <sup>22</sup> collection of the letters of Nicephorus Chumnus, who was a contemporary of Thomas Magister and sent many of his letters to the same people as Thomas, we read on p. 30 in Letter KE', line 8 *οἶμαι μὲν δεῖν εἶναι*; cf. p. 54, line 4, and p. 72, line 5; p. 99, line 18: *καὶ συνέδοξέ μοι δεῖν εἶναι*; further cases are enumerated in Boissonade's note to the first passage. Thus there can be no doubt that we must recognize the participle also in the Leptinean declamation and that the author gives us a valuable hint of the language of his own age. It was not his fault that he was misunderstood for so long a time and that his declamations were supposed to belong to ancient literature.

Last of all we are in a position to explain another passage,

<sup>22</sup> *Anecd. Graec. Nov.*, 1 ff.

because of Thomas' manner of writing, which was not understood by Grauert. In II, p. 636, 21 ff. Dindorf he says: καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα καταψεύδει Λεπτίνου, ὡς ἐν τῷ δυσμεναίνειν ἰδία τισίν, οὐ τῷ τῆς πόλεως προνοεῖσθαι τεθεικότος τὸν νόμον. Grauert changed ἐν to ἀν. It is the aim of the preposition to express a touch of coincidence: by letting his hostility against some people take its course he pretended to become a legislator of this kind, but by no means because he was interested in the wealth of the community. In Περὶ βασιλείας, CXLV, p. 464 Migne, Thomas uses the same preposition in an analogous manner. Here he says: μάλλον δ' ἐν τῷ σοὶ ταῦτα συνέχεσθαι καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἥττον ταῦτα συνέχονται.

The consequences which result from the double proof that the Leptinean declamations do not belong to the Greek literature even of later antiquity are evident. Both the interpretation of manuscript V and the comparison of the Leptinean declamations with other works of Thomas have offered the same result. It becomes possible to eradicate an obstinate error which is current in books on the history of Greek literature in general and on Aristides in particular. The example of these declamations, which have restricted value, acquires symptomatic importance of a longer range, because it shows clearly the fact that because of continuous misunderstandings and consequent mistakes more recent works were attributed to an author who worked more than a thousand years earlier. Furthermore, a new edition cannot be based upon the Attic language of the fourth century B. C.; Dindorf especially was wrong in trying to normalize the text to this standard. It remains true, however, that, while we cannot neglect the language of Demosthenes and Aristides, the starting point must be the Ἐκλογή and the other works of Thomas, from which we get everywhere valuable help for the constitution of the text and the interpretation. Because the style is poor and because of the repetition of the same arguments in different works the significance of parallel passages is greater than in other cases in which we have to deal with a more original author.<sup>23</sup>

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## THE PTOLEMAIC COPPER INFLATION, CA. 230-140 B.C.

The study of the Ptolemaic copper inflation<sup>1</sup> presupposes the determination of the rates of exchange between silver and copper drachmae and the determination of average prices of commodities.

The ratios of exchange of the drachmae as well as the prices of commodities fluctuate in each very short period and at the same time rise when we consider longer periods. In the second half of the second century B. C. the rate of exchange of the silver drachma with the copper drachma was about 450, with oscillations varying from 10% above to 10% below the average level. We assume that the range of oscillations of the silver drachma with the copper drachma shows oscillations of the same amplitude in every short period. On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that the prices of commodities are stationary, i. e. that prices in copper are based on the rate of exchange of the copper drachma. Some basic prices in silver are greatly altered in the period we are now considering. The average price of wheat, which was about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  silver drachmae in the early Ptolemaic period, reached 3 silver drachmae in the later Ptolemaic period,<sup>2</sup> while the price of wine, about 8 silver drachmae for a ceramion of 8 choes in the earlier Ptolemaic period, shows a trend toward lower prices in the later Ptolemaic period.<sup>3</sup>

In order to deal with the inflation of 230 B. C. and 140 B. C. properly, we should consider separately the prices of commodities and the rates of exchange of silver drachmae with copper drachmae, interpolating the data with different exponential functions.<sup>4</sup> The results of this inquiry appear in the following tables.

<sup>1</sup> The conclusions in A. Segrè, *Metrologia e Circolazione Monetaria degli Antichi* (1928), p. 519 are confirmed by the new data, but they can be expanded on the basis of the new evidence, chiefly that of *P. Tebt.*, III.

<sup>2</sup> A. Segrè, *Circolazione monetaria e Prezzi nel Mondo Antico* (1920), pp. 99-102.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132-5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 65 ff.

<i>Texts</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Exchange of silver drachmae for copper drachmae</i>	<i>Observations</i>
1. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 866	237 B. C.		exchange of the stater with agio
2. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 867	ca. 237		
3. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 743	224/23		
4. <i>P. Guéraud</i> , 34	219/18	(2)	price of a metretes of wine
5. <i>B. G. U.</i> , 1262 1277 and 1278 1265	216/15 215/14 214/13	(2)	penalty price of wheat and olyra
6. <i>U. P. Z.</i> , 149	ca. 210	4 dr. 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ ob.	rate of exchange between silver drachma and cop- per drachma; the price of wheat is about 2 dr. silver
7. <i>B. G. U.</i> , 1266	203/2	(10)	penalty price of olyra
8. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 1010	ca. 200		
9. <i>B. G. U.</i> , 1217	ca. 200	(12)	price of wheat
10. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 832		(20)	price of wheat and sesame
11. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 1011		(20)	evidence the same as No. 10
12. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 1012		(20)	evidence the same as No. 10
13. <i>B. G. U.</i> , 1561 and 1562		(40)	prices of wine; silver agio of 13%
14. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 997		(50)	price of cneus oil
15. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 1079		(60)	price of wine and wheat
16. <i>B. G. U.</i> , 1501	190/89-189/88	(60)	price of geese and wine
17. <i>B. G. U.</i> , 1537	(190)	(60)	price of wine
18. <i>B. G. U.</i> , 1545	(190)	(60)	price of wine
19. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 1062	190	(70)	price of wine here is rather low
20. <i>B. G. U.</i> , 1503	190/89	(70)	price of naubia
21. <i>B. G. U.</i> , 1506	189/88	(70)	price of wine
22. <i>B. G. U.</i> , 1520	190/180	(70)	price of wine
23. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 916	184?	(80)	price of wheat
24. <i>B. G. U.</i> , 1290		(80)	wages of workers
25. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 886	ca. 182	(90)	wages of workers
26. <i>P. Mich.</i> , III, 200	181/80	(80)	wages of workers at a vine- yard
27. <i>B. G. U.</i> , 1532		(90)	mnaeion of gold at 7916 copper drachmae
28. <i>B. G. U.</i> , 1536		(90)	price of wheat
29. <i>P. Amh.</i> , 43	173	(90)	penalty price for an artaba of wheat, 500 dr.



<i>Texts</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Exchange of silver drachmae for copper drachmae</i>	<i>Observations</i>
30. <i>B. G. U.</i> , 1516		(140)	wine prices
31. <i>U. P. Z.</i> , 59	168		allusions to the inflation?
32. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 887	170/60		prices of oil
33. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 910	162		price of wheat, 500 dr., about $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the price of the Serapeum in the year 159
34. <i>U. P. Z.</i> , 83	163/62		price of a goose
35. <i>U. P. Z.</i> , 88	161/60	275?	rate of exchange between silver drachma and cop- per drachma
36. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 889	(160)		prices of wine
37. <i>U. P. Z.</i> , 89	160/59		
38. <i>U. P. Z.</i> , 93	159	213	rate of exchange between silver drachmae and cop- per drachmae
39. <i>U. P. Z.</i> , 91	160, 159, 158		prices of wheat; sitos, very important
40. <i>U. P. Z.</i> , 99	158		price of castor oil
41. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 893	(150)		
42. <i>B. G. U.</i> , 1271	reign of Philometor		penalty price of an artaba of wheat, 1000 dr.
43. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 876	(150)		price of wine
44. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 892	152/51?		price of wheat
45. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 891	152/51	250?	exchange of silver drach- mae with copper drach- mae; prices of castor oil, geese
46. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 890	ca. 150-140	400, 390, 377 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 375, 370	rate of exchange of the tetradrachma
47. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 956	144		price of salt
48. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 860	138	(450)	price of olyra
49. <i>U. P. Z.</i> , 118	136 or 83		penalty price of olyra
50. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 1087	2nd cent. B. C.	609 $\frac{1}{2}$	rate of exchange of the sil- ver drachma
51. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 1092	Euergetes II		price of wine
52. <i>P. Tebt.</i> , 894	ca. 114		price of wine
53. <i>B. G. U.</i> , 1292	80/79	480, 475	rate of exchange of the sil- ver drachma

Year	Rate of exchange between silver drachma and copper drachma	Average price of artaba of wheat	Average price of ceramion of wine	Observations
230	1	1½	8	
220	2	3	16	
210	4	6	32	artaba at 2 dr. silver; see No. 6
205	8	12	64	
200	16	24	128	
195	32	48	250	
190	64	96	500	prices of wine, 300, 400, 500 dr. per ceramion, see Nos. 19, 16, 17; year 184 (?) wheat at 120 dr., see No. 23
180	90	135	700	artaba of wheat at 1½-2 dr.
170	120	180	940	year 173, artaba about 125 dr.?
160	190	270	1500	prices of wheat range from an average of about 300 dr. to 500 dr., see Nos. 33, 39
150	250	375	2000	possibly a rate of exchange of 275, see No. 35
140	450	675	3500	

1. *P. Tebt.*, 866 (237 B.C.), line 33: the exchange of the stater with the agio of 4 obols for a stater; line 50: 80 drachmae = 89 drachmae 1 obol in copper; lines 69 ff.: 256 drachmae 4½ obols, exchange 42 drachmae 4½ obols; line 74: 172 drachmae, exchange 28 drachmae 3½ obols. The agio of silver seems to be about 16⅔%, but it is not always the same. I think that the differences in the agio, which is above the normal agio of the time of Philadelphus (see pp. 185 ff.), may be a good index of the beginning of the copper inflation. *P. Tebt.*, 867, with the agio of 2½ obols per stater belongs perhaps to an earlier period.
4. *P. Guéraud*, 34 (219/18), line 4: metretes of wine of 6 choes at 14 dr. Perhaps it is the beginning of the inflation.
5. *B. G. U.*, 1262 (216/15), 1265 (214/13): leases with penalties of 10 dr. for an artaba of wheat. *B. G. U.*, 1277 (215/14) and 1278 (215/14): penalty price of the olyra,

- 4 dr. See A. Segrè, *Metrologia e Circolazione Monetaria degli Antichi*, p. 518.
6. *U. P. Z.*, 149 is very important. Line 32: καὶ ἀργυρίων στανῆπαν / 16 dr.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ob. gives a stater of 4 dr.  $1\frac{3}{8}$  ob. Line 24: 2 artabae, dr. 15, 1 artaba,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  dr. of copper or nearly 2 dr. of silver. In line 12: 12 οἶνον cotylae at 2 ob. each, in line 15: 16 cotylae at  $2\frac{1}{4}$  ob., and in line 16: 11 cotylae at  $2\frac{1}{4}$  ob. each would fit much better a ceramion of 6 choes each of 12 cotylae than each of 4 cotylae as I assumed in "Appunti di Metrologia," *Symbolae Osloenses*, XIII, p. 71, because in the latter case we would have here a price of 2 silver dr. for a ceramion while with the choes of 12 cotylae we would have a ceramion worth about 6 silver dr.
7. *B. G. U.*, 1266 (203/2): lease. Penalty price of olyra, 20 dr. of silver per artaba. See A. Segrè, *Metrologia*, p. 518.
9. *B. G. U.*, 1217:

$$\text{Line 24: value } \frac{\text{aracus}}{\text{wheat}} = \frac{13311\frac{1}{2}}{22186\frac{1}{12}}$$

$$\text{Line 26: value } \frac{\text{sesame}}{\text{wheat}} = \frac{40274\frac{3}{4}}{5754\frac{1}{3}}$$

$$\text{Line 27: value } \frac{\text{croton}}{\text{wheat}} = \frac{6323}{1800\frac{1}{2}}$$

See *P. Tebt.*, 832. Line 20: price of wheat about 17 copper dr. per artaba.

10. *P. Tebt.*, 832 is very valuable. It contains (line 3) the quotation of an artaba of sesame = 7 dr. of silver =  $6\frac{1}{2}$  artabae of wheat = 130 copper dr. Lines 3, 7, 22, 37, 50, and 53 present some slight variations, but we always find an artaba of sesame = 7 silver dr. and an artaba of wheat = 120 copper dr. The value of an artaba of wheat in this document is always very near to a silver drachma, while the price of an artaba of 30 choenices of sesame is nearly the same. Cf. *P. Rev. Laws*, 39, line 3 and 53, line 16: 8 dr.; also *P. Tebt.*, 701, lines 281-2: 7 and 8 silver dr.

In *P. Hibeh*, 119 (about 260 B. C.) an artaba of sesame is converted into wheat at a rate of  $3\frac{1}{6}$ : 1; in *P. Rev. Laws*, *loc. cit.*, an artaba of sesame would equal 4 artabae of wheat; but *P. Fayum*, 101, col. III, lines 2-3: cnecus =  $\frac{9}{5}$  of an artaba of wheat; and this, when compared with *P. Rev.*

*Laws*, 39, line 6, where an artaba of cnecus = 1 dr. 2 ob. and *P. Rev. Laws*, 39, lines 2-3, where an artaba of sesame = 8 dr., gives the equation 1 artaba of sesame =  $7\frac{1}{5}$  artabae of wheat (see Segrè, *Circolazione Monetaria e Prezzi nel Mondo Antico*, pp. 150-1), which agrees with *P. Tebt.*, 832, lines 11-12.

- 11, 12, 8. *P. Tebt.*, 1011, 1012, and 1010, line 2 contain the same evidence as *P. Tebt.*, 832. The rate of exchange of the silver drachma (= 20 copper drachmae) would put the documents between 203/2 (exchange about 10 dr.) and 193/2 or 188/7 (exchange about 70 dr. [*Metrologia*, p. 519]). *P. Tebt.*, 1010 is the verso of *P. Tebt.*, 743, attributed by the editors of *P. Tebt.*, III to the year 157 B.C. (line 12: year κδ, line 24: year κδ). I think *P. Tebt.*, 743 belongs to the twenty-fourth year of Ptolemy III Euergetes, 224/23 B.C. The verso would be written about twenty years after the recto.
13. *B. G. U.*, 1561 and 1562: metretai at 300 dr., ἀλλαγή of 13 dr. on a mina. Silver agio 13%, a little higher than the older rate of 10%.
14. *P. Tebt.*, 997 (early second century), line 8: 1 metretes of cnecus oil, 2160 dr.; line 11: 2500 dr. These figures, if compared with *P. Tebt.*, 122 (96 or 63 B.C.; *Circolazione*, pp. 142-3), would give a rate of exchange of about 50.
15. *P. Tebt.*, 1079, line 2: ῥόδιον, 230 dr.; line 5: κνίδιον, 270 dr.; line 12: κνίδιον, 276 dr.; line 24: ῥόδια, 6, each 230 dr.; line 56: wheat, 30 artabae, each 68 dr.; line 57: 25 artabae, each 68 dr.; verso, col. II: prices of ῥόδια and κνίδια about the same as recto. Rate of exchange near 60.
16. *B. G. U.*, 1501: a goose, 600 dr.; a small goose, 200 dr.; a ceramion of wine, 400 dr. The rate of exchange must be about 60 and the date of the document the years 16 and 17 (190/89 and 189/88 B.C.).
17. *B. G. U.*, 1537, *passim*: ceramia at 500 dr. (about the year 190).
18. *B. G. U.*, 1545, line 5: ceramia at 600 dr. (about the year 190).
19. *P. Tebt.*, 1062 (year 15 = 190 or 207 B.C.): it appears from the probable reading of lines 2-3 that a metretes (of 8 choes) of wine was worth 300 copper dr. The rate of

- exchange would be about 70 if the document belongs to the year 190 B. C. See, however, other prices of wine about the year 190, with a ceramion at 500 dr., e. g. No. 17 *supra*.
20. *B. G. U.*, 1503 (year 16, which I think = 190/89); naubia of the workers at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  dr. each naubion; see *P. Tebt.*, 886.
21. *B. G. U.*, 1506 (year 17, which I think = 189/88): 2 ceramia of wine, each 500 dr.
22. *B. G. U.*, 1520, *passim*: ceramia at 500 dr.
23. *P. Tebt.*, 916 (year 184?: line 9: [ζτους] κρ): wheat at 120 dr. per artaba; exchange about 80.
24. *B. G. U.*, 1290 (second century): workers on construction, generally at 30 dr., sometimes at 15,  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , and 6 dr.
25. *P. Tebt.*, 886: workers at 20 copper dr. *passim* and at 30 copper dr.; line 18: naubia at 10 dr. See *P. Tebt.*, III, 2, Introduction, p. 146. The editors find some difficulty in explaining the price of a naubion. In the time of Philadelphus 4 dr. corresponded to 50-70 naubia, but in *B. G. U.*, 1503 (190/89) the price of a naubion is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  dr. *P. Tebt.*, 886 must have been written about 180 B. C.
26. *P. Mich.*, III, 200 (181/80): the wages of ἀμπελουργοί are between 25 and 30 dr., mostly 25. That means that the silver drachma at this time, about the year 180, agrees with the statements in *Metrologia*, p. 519. The possibility that this applies to the year 157/56 is not absolutely removed. See Introduction to *P. Mich.*, III, 182; also *Circolazione*, pp. 112-13.
27. *B. G. U.*, 1532, line 3: artaba of wheat at 150 dr.; line 12: artaba of wheat at 155 dr.; line 13: artaba of wheat at 180 dr.; line 14: 15 tal. 2740 dr. = 12 μναῖῃα τ.; line 15: 1 tal. 1960 dr. / 15 tal. 5520 dr. (λοι)πὸν Ἀρσινήσει πρὸς τὰ μναῖῃα † 2780. I think that in line 14, 12 μναῖῃα + τ means 12 μναῖῃα + τεταρτημόριον. From lines 14-15,  $12\frac{1}{16}$  μν = 15 tal. 5520 dr. (see editors' note on line 14 on p. 45) and a μναῖῃον = 7916 dr. The editors understand 12 μναῖῃα + τ = 12 μναῖῃα and 300 dr. I think they are wrong, but the difference in the calculations is very small. We have to suppose a μναῖῃον of about 100 silver drachmae; then we would have an exchange rate of nearly 80. If we assume an exchange rate lower than this in the document, with a rate of exchange of nearly 100 the artaba of wheat at 150 copper dr. would range between  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and 2 silver dr. I do not believe that the

interpretation of line 1:  $\kappa\gamma\angle^{\epsilon}$  as meaning that an artaba of wheat costs  $3\frac{1}{2}$  silver dr. is possible.

28. *B. G. U.*, 1536, line 4: 35 artabae at 160 dr. the artaba.
29. *P. Amh.*, 43 (year 173): loan of wheat with penalty of 500 dr. per artaba. I assume the price of wheat to be about 125 dr. because the penalty prices are generally about four times the normal prices.
30. *B. G. U.*, 1516, lines 2 and 9: ceramia at 900 dr. Cf. *B. G. U.*, 1517, *ταρτήμορον* means a quarter of a ceramion.
31. *U. P. Z.*, 59 (168 B. C.), line 13: *ἔνεκα τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ το<ιο>ύτου καιροῦ ἐμαντήν τε καὶ τὸ παιδίον [ν σ]ου διακεκυβερνηκῦα καὶ εἰς πᾶν τι ἐληλυθῦα διὰ τὴν τοῦ σίτου τιμὴν* probably alludes to the inflation.
32. *P. Tebt.*, 887, line 3: Egyptian oil, 60 dr. for each cotyla, and *ξενικόν* 80 dr. for each cotyla. The editors attribute the document to the early second century; according to the prices it must belong to the period 170-160 B. C.
33. *P. Tebt.*, 910 (162 B. C., a letter with a reference to the price of wheat at 500 copper dr.): the price is higher than in the Serapeum papyri. Perhaps we could assume that in *U. P. Z.*, 88 (161/60 B. C.) the rate of exchange was really 275 (see No. 35 *infra*).
34. *U. P. Z.*, 83 (163/62 B. C.), line 14: goose at 2000 dr.
35. *U. P. Z.*, 88 (161/60 B. C.), verso lines 10 ff.: on p. 398 and note, pp. 399 f., we find the following account:

<i>ὀθονίου τιμή</i>	—	2100 dr. of copper
<i>σίνδωνα</i>	—	2000 dr. of copper
<i>ἀργυρίου</i>	—	8 dr. of silver
		<hr/> 6300 dr. of copper

and line 15: *Ἀπολλωνίωι* (dr.) *Ἵβσ*. I think that we can reckon that 8 dr. = 2200 dr. of copper, with a rate of exchange of 275. If we assume this rate of exchange, the price of the olyra in *U. P. Z.*, I, p. 409 of this period would be about 1 silver dr.—a little low, perhaps, but possible.

36. *P. Tebt.*, 889 is attributed to the early second century. Line 4: wine at 12 dr. the cotyla. Cf. No. 6 (*U. P. Z.*, 149) where the equation a cotyla =  $\frac{1}{12}$  chous shows that the ceramion would cost 864 dr., and the document would belong to about the year 160.

37. *U. P. Z.*, 89 (160/59 B. C.): honey,  $\frac{1}{2}$  (?) = 60 dr. I think half a cotyla is meant.
38. *U. P. Z.*, 93 = *P. Paris*, 59 (159 B. C.), lines 2-3: τὸν λόγον τῶν χαλκῶν. Ἀπέστηκε τὴν ἀργυρίου τὸ Δοξ καὶ παρὰ σοῦ τὸ Ἀ. I doubt very much that the meaning of this text is that the rate of exchange between silver and copper was 532½. If instead of τὴν we could read τὸν, we would have a rate of exchange of 213, which would be possible.
39. *U. P. Z.*, 91: the prices of σῖτος (wheat, not olyra) are collected in Wilcken's commentary on this document (*U. P. Z.*, I, p. 409). They range in the same year from 250 to 360 dr. The majority are between 290 and 320 dr., but on the same day in perhaps the same place wheat is bought at 250 and 300 dr.
40. *U. P. Z.*, 99 (158 B. C.), col. III: kiki ἄ 2½, dr. 1320; ἄ means certainly chous: 1 chous = 528 dr.
41. *P. Tebt.*, 893, line 9: a σταθμίων of wool at 200 dr. (cf. *P. Tebt.*, 117, line 17 [99 B. C.]: 360 dr.) would agree with a rate of exchange of about 200 and puts the document in approximately 150.
42. *B. G. U.*, 1271: penalty price of an artaba of wheat, 1000 dr.; normal price must have been 250 dr.
43. *P. Tebt.*, 876: prices of wine: ceramia at 1500 dr., 800 dr., and 500 dr.; the document belongs to a period with a rate of exchange of about 250.
44. *P. Tebt.*, 892, line 29; each chous, 200 dr.; line 7: an artaba of wheat seems to cost 200 dr. and the exchange of the drachma of silver would presumably not be under 200. I should prefer to attribute the document to the thirtieth year of Ptolemy VI Philometor (152/51 B. C.) instead of the thirtieth of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (140/41). The price of wine would be nearly 6 silver dr. for a metretes. See *Circolazione*, pp. 134 ff.
45. *P. Tebt.*, 891, line 5: 8 dr. of silver are exchanged for 2000 copper dr., at the rate of exchange of 250. I list the prices of some important commodities: goose (line 16), 1300 dr. = 5½ dr. of silver; kiki (lines 13 ff.), 60 and 50 dr. a cotyla. The cotyla of kiki would be about ¼-⅓ silver dr.; the metretes, 8640-7200 copper dr. = 34.56-28.8 dr. of silver. Cf. prices in *P. Rev. Laws*, col. 40: 30 dr., and in *P. Ryl.*,

70, and the prices of the second century with the rate of exchange at about 450 (cf. *Circolazione*, pp. 142-3 where many prices of kiki are shown to be about 60 dr. per metretes). I would attribute this document to the year 150 B. C. Other prices available are quoted by the editors in their commentary on lines 14-15; cf. *U. P. Z.*, 83 = *P. Paris*, 52 (163 B. C.): a goose, 2000 dr. (about 10 dr. silver); *P. Tebt.*, 1079 (about 200 B. C.), lines 118 and 123: a goose, 200 copper dr.; *B. G. U.*, 1501 (189 B. C.): a goose, 600 dr. and a *χρσίον*, 200 dr.

46. *P. Tebt.*, 890: the rate of exchange between the silver drachma and the copper drachma is 400, 390, 377½, 375, and 370. See *P. Tebt.*, III, 2, p. 157. The rate of exchange of the reign of Soter II Ptolemy Alexander and Neos Dionysos ranges between 375 and 500, with the most frequent rate about 450. It is probable that *P. Tebt.*, 890 belongs to an earlier period, perhaps near 150-140 B. C.
47. *P. Tebt.*, 956 (144 B. C.), line 3: 157¾ artabae and 5 choenices of salt, 250 dr. per artaba *ὅν φασέρρωι*; compare with the price of salt in *Circolazione*, pp. 154-5.
48. *P. Tebt.*, 860: an artaba of olyra, 300 dr. in 138 B. C. The exchange rate must have been about 450.
49. *U. P. Z.*, 118 (136 or 83 B. C.): an artaba of olyra, penalty price 2 dr.
50. *P. Tebt.*, 1087 (second century B. C.), lines 16-17: 2 tal. 1410 copper dr. = 22 silver dr.; rate of exchange 609½ (Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen*, p. 28).
51. *P. Tebt.*, 1092, lines 10 ff.: 1 ceramion at 1 tal., time of Euergetes II.
52. *P. Tebt.*, 894 (about 114 B. C.), frag. 2, line 6: a ceramion of wine = 4000 dr.; frag. 5, line 7: 13 ceramia of beer = 5645 dr.; frag. 5, line 13: *πόδιον* of beer = 300 dr.; frag. 6, line 1: a ceramion of wine = 3000 dr.; frag. 6, line 28: 1 ceramion = 2 rhodia; frag. 7, line 3: 1 ceramion of wine = 3400 dr.; frag. 10, line 3: ceramion of wine, 3400 dr.
53. *B. G. U.*, 1292 (80/79 B. C.), line 37: rate of exchange of the silver drachma, 475; line 47: 480.

I have left out of consideration some few documents which are of little use for my purpose. (a) *P. Mich.*, III, 173 and *B. G. U.*, 1012, although considered very important by Heichelheim, "Zu



Pap. Michigan III 173 und Hesperia V (1936) 419 ff. Nr. 12," *Aegyptus*, XVII (1937), pp. 61 ff., are actually not important because from these documents we can ascertain nothing but that the silver drachma in the year 194/93 or 170/69 had an exchange rate of less than 425. I cannot agree with those who insist on the fluctuations of the period as given in *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen*. (b) *P. Petrie*, II, 39 d (second century B. C.; Epiphanes or Philometor?): the rate of exchange of 625 for this period is surprising; see, however, Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen*, p. 28.

### *Gold, Silver, and Copper in the Period of the Inflation*

In Roman Egypt the purchasing power of gold was generally higher in prosperous periods than in periods of depression, and the price of gold in silver, even in somewhat debased silver, was often under par. *P. Tebt.*, 890 (No. 46) shows that in Ptolemaic Egypt the *μναίειον* of the middle of the second century B. C. was undervalued in silver. We find (line 36) the *mnaeion* at 4 tal. 5 (...) dr.; and (line 89) *tetarton* at 1500 dr. (a *mnaeion* at 4 tal.). Silver *tetradrachma* are variously priced at 400, 390, 377½, 375, and 370 *drachmae* of copper. We should expect a *mnaeion* above par of 100 silver *drachmae*. In *P. Fouad*, 46 (23/22 B. C.) *τραπεζίτη χρ χρυσοχόους εἰς τεμὴν χρυσίου μναιαίων δέκα εἰς στέφανον ἐπὶ λόγῳ ἀργυρίου ἐνακοσείας (γίνεται) (δραχμὰς) ρ (ἔτους) ἡ Καίσαρος Φαρμ(ούθι) κ* the *μναίειον* corresponds to 90 silver *drachmae*. The silver *drachmae* of the time of Augustus have the same value as the Ptolemaic *drachmae* (see *Metrologia*, pp. 407 ff. and 417 ff.). For the connection of *χρυσοχόοι* and *τραπεζίται* see *P. Tebt.*, 890, lines 88-90. *Ἐπὶ λόγῳ* means here "in full payment" and not "as partial payment," as the editor supposes. *Στέφανος* is *aurum coronarium*. Before attempting to explain this low rate of exchange, we must consider the rate of exchange between silver and gold in the Roman period.<sup>5</sup>

In the documents of the first and second centuries A. D. (*C. P. R.*, I, 12 [93 A. D.], *B. G. U.*, 1065 [92 A. D.], and *P. Oxy.*, 496 [127 A. D.])<sup>6</sup> the rate of exchange between uncoined gold and silver is respectively 8½, 11, 9, while the legal value

<sup>5</sup> In these documents *μναίειον* means the weight of a *μναίειον*.

<sup>6</sup> *Metrologia*, pp. 428 ff.

according to the exchange at par between the aureus and the silver denarius was about 11. The problem is still more complicated if we consider the possibility of an agio.<sup>7</sup> Coined gold seems to have been given a higher value if the interpretation of *P. Bad.*, 37 (time of Trajan) is correct. The χρυσούς seems to have fallen from 115 silver drachmae to 111,<sup>8</sup> but the differences between coined bullion and metal bars are about 6%-7%.

The agio of  $6\frac{2}{3}\%$  of the gold of the μναῖεῖον on the gold of the τρίχρυσον, and an agio of about 6% occur during the reign of Trajan in *P. Giss.*, 47.<sup>9</sup> *P. Tebt.*, 890 and the evidence of coins suggest that the μναῖεῖον was no longer a circulating coin and that the government had fixed a low rate of exchange for it in order to get the gold bullion cheaper.<sup>10</sup>

We realize now that the rate of exchange between gold and silver bullion of  $12\frac{1}{16}$  in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus did not last and that about the year 150 the rate of exchange was about 10.<sup>11</sup>

Χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος and χαλκὸς πρὸς ἀργύριον.

In the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus the silver drachma had an agio on the copper coins.<sup>12</sup> The στατήρ in silver was 24 obols in silver and generally  $26\frac{1}{4}$  obols in copper. We see this difference between the two currencies in contracts with the State

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 430.

<sup>8</sup> I did not mean that the drachma was not a silver drachma of 7 obols. F. Oertel in *C. A. H.*, XII, p. 724, quotes me incorrectly. See *Metrologia*, pp. 410 ff.

<sup>9</sup> See *Metrologia*, p. 274. A similar agio, 6-7%, is to be seen in *P. Giss.*, 47, about 117 A.D. Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste der griech. Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*, I, p. 170 ad *P. Giss.*, 47, line 29, means that the silver pound was worth 362 silver drachmae or  $90\frac{1}{2}$  denarii. See *Metrologia*, pp. 412 ff. The denarius must have been  $\frac{1}{96}$  of a libra. The agio is 6%, calculating an exchange of 1 tetradrachmon = 1 denarius, but it may be that the denarius has a very small agio over the tetradrachmon. See *Metrologia*, p. 417.

<sup>10</sup> See *Metrologia*, p. 261 ff. for a similar case with the τρίχρυσον. The observation of Milne, *J. E. A.*, XXIV (1938), p. 204: "The μναῖαι belong to the gold coin that ended in the reign of Epiphanes, exceptional absence of any record of them having been found in hoards," confirms the interpretation of *P. Tebt.*, 890.

<sup>11</sup> In *Metrologia*, p. 268, I assumed wrongly that the μναῖεῖον kept its value in silver in the later Ptolemaic period.

<sup>12</sup> Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. LXIII ff.; *Metrologia*, pp. 272 f.

πρὸς χαλκόν and πρὸς ἀργύριον. Generally people reckoned in silver or in copper, adding the agio, or vice versa. In the period of the inflation there was no substantial change.<sup>13</sup> We distinguish payments πρὸς ἀργύριον when one had to pay in silver; χαλκὸς οὐ ἀλλαγὴ and χαλκὸς πρὸς ἀργύριον mean that they had to pay in copper with the agio.

During the period of the copper inflation Egyptians went on distinguishing copper and silver drachmae as in the earlier Ptolemaic period, as long as they had business with the βασιλικόν.<sup>14</sup>

For private transaction, as we can see in *P. Tebt.*, III, 2, people reckoned mostly in copper drachmae and very seldom appeared to exchange silver tetradrachma for copper drachmae. But we cannot exclude the possibility that they often transacted business with silver drachmae and wrote down their value in copper drachmae. When the currency was somewhat stabilized in the late second and early first centuries B. C., although the unit of reckoning appears to be the copper drachma as in most of the documents in *P. Tebt.*, I, the silver tetradrachma appear to be exchanged for copper more frequently than in the earlier period. I do not think that we may infer from the documents that in the late Ptolemaic time people transacted business as frequently with copper drachmae as it appears from the documents.

While the expression χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος is very clear in the earlier Ptolemaic period, it would seem to me that it needs an explanation in the later period. Χαλκὸς πρὸς ἀργύριον means in the earlier Ptolemaic period χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος with an agio of 10%. In the later Ptolemaic period, e. g. in the *Tait Ostraca*, 33 (238 or 213 B. C.) and 40 (191/90 B. C.), it seems that people paid in copper drachmae with the rate of exchange of a stater = 26¼ obols. Therefore I suggest that in the year 190 B. C., e. g., a silver drachma was 100 copper drachmae in χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος, 110 copper drachmae in χαλκὸς πρὸς ἀργύριον of the new copper coinage, and

<sup>13</sup> See e. g. *P. Paris*, 62 = *U. P. Z.*, 112 (203/2 B. C.), lines 16 ff.: τῶν δὲ πρὸς ἀργύριον ὧν ὧν προσδιαγράφουσιν ἀλ(λ)αγὴν ὡς τῆς μνᾶς ι = [C] καὶ καταγώγιον Γ καὶ <εἰς> τιμὴν σπυρίδων καὶ τᾶλλα ἀναλώματα α Γ C, ὥστ' εἶναι ιβΓ. See *U. P. Z.*, 112, note on p. 516.

<sup>14</sup> *Tait Ostraca*, receipts from the τράπεζα at Diospolis: 43 (225 B. C.): χ. ἰσον.; 45 (173/2 B. C.): χ. πρὸς ἀργ.; 46 (171/70 B. C.): χ. ἰσον.; 47 (170 B. C.): χ. ἰσον.; 48 (169 B. C.): χ. ἰσον.; 49 (165 B. C.): χ. οὐ ἀλλαγὴ; 50 (159/6 B. C.): χ. πρὸς ἀργ.; 53 (155/4 B. C.): χ. οὐ ἀλλαγὴ, etc.

1 drachma of copper in χαλκὸς ἰσόνomos or  $1\frac{1}{10}$  drachmae in χαλκὸς πρὸς ἀργύριον of the old copper coinage. In this way we can explain the small figures for the year 191/90 of *Tait Ostraca*, 40, and the much higher figures of the later ostraca.

Parallel cases with silver drachmae are much less frequent because in this period the unit of reckoning was the copper drachma, but we can perhaps quote two cases where silver means copper coins with ἀλλαγή.<sup>15</sup> In these cases, 100 silver drachmae would mean  $1\frac{1}{10}$  old copper drachmae or 110 new copper drachmae. To distinguish the silver drachma—copper drachma plus ἀλλαγή—they use in one case the expression silver coin of the old Ptolemaic coinage.<sup>16</sup>

We conclude that the Ptolemies distinguished three types of drachmae: (a) the silver drachma of gr. 3.57 which was always the same after the reform of Ptolemy Philadelphus; (b) the copper drachma exchanged with the silver drachma with an agio for silver that was nearly always 10% with small oscillation; (c) the copper drachma which falls gradually from a value of about par with silver to  $\frac{1}{500}$  of the silver drachma.

### *The Evidence for the Copper Coins of the Ptolemies.*

The copper coins of the Ptolemies have no mark of value, except perhaps the coins of Cleopatra VII with II and M.<sup>17</sup> The classification of the copper coins according to their weight and value is all without a real foundation.<sup>18</sup> Realizing that the

<sup>15</sup> *B. G. U.*, 1266 (203/2 B.C.), line 28 (see *Metrologia*, p. 519, n. 1) refers to silver but it means copper drachmae with ἀλλαγή. *P. Würzb.*, 5 (31 B.C.), line 12: ξύσπρα valued at 150 silver drachmae. I suppose that silver drachmae here mean copper drachmae with the silver agio (see on line 9 the note of Wilcken, who finds the value amazingly high), but 150 copper drachmae plus agio is also very low.

<sup>16</sup> *P. Mich.*, III, 182 (182 B.C.) with a payment of 48 copper talents an ἐπίτιμον of 1000 drachma of silver τοῦ παλαιοῦ πτολεμαϊκοῦ νομίσματος with the rate of exchange of 80. See p. 175. 48 copper talents would be 3600 silver drachmae. Πτολ. παλ. νομ. means nothing else than silver coins, and I think it has nothing to do with superior or inferior types of silver currency of the time of Ptolemy Epiphanes (cf. editors' note on lines 49-50). I know of no other similar cases.

<sup>17</sup> *Metrologia*, p. 270.

<sup>18</sup> *Metrologia*, p. 271. My classification was also false, because I

copper currency was inflated during a period of about seventy years, we think it futile to attempt a new classification, since from the evidence of the coinage nobody could assume a copper inflation.

The Ptolemaic copper currency presents the same sort of problem as the late currency of the third century A. D. It is impossible that the copper coins continued to retain the same face value in the period of the inflation.

Calculating, e. g., that a silver drachma had 6 obols of the size of the late Ptolemaic pieces (about 20 grammes) with the mark II (80 copper drachmae; see *Metrologia*, p. 270), the drachma of coined copper would weigh about forty times a silver drachma. But if the copper coins of the weight of the pieces with II were, e. g., one obol, in the time of Philadelphus with the progress of the inflation they would get all the values from one obol to eighty drachmae. It is mere curiosity to try to ascertain the value of the copper coins. It would be very interesting, however, to know how they were an instrument of the inflation.

The Ptolemaic government would use the inflation of copper drachmae to exchange copper with gold and silver metal or bullion. To attain this end they began to offer, e. g., instead of  $26\frac{2}{3}$  drachmae of copper for a silver drachma, 30 drachmae and after that always more. But the copper drachma must always have been smaller and always more depreciated. This feature of the copper currency does not appear to be clearly illustrated by the coins. We have the impression that the government used the same sort of copper coins and issued the same copper coins with an ever-increasing value in copper drachmae. This mechanism of the inflation would have a certain effect if the government could put out of circulation or devalue the older copper coins.

If the Ptolemies found in the inflation a mechanism to pump precious metal and gold and silver bullion away from their subjects, it was very probable that they spent a considerable part of it in countries outside their realm, because for transactions in the interior of the realm they were enforcing the use of copper coins. But now let us see whether the hoards of copper coins in the inflationary period teach us anything. Did silver really

started with the coins with II and M, ignoring at this time the features of the inflation.

circulate much less from the end of the third century B. C. to the fall of the Ptolemaic rule?<sup>19</sup>

I still doubt that the silver tetradrachma were the usual coins of this period, because for bigger transactions the use of copper was not practical.<sup>20</sup>

According to Polybius, V, 88 (see *Metrologia*, p. 273, n. 1) we must suppose that between the years 225 and 222 Ptolemaic copper circulated at Rhodes. The inflation was just beginning, but it may also be true that the copper money was not sent to Rhodes but credited for purchases in Egypt. It is also very likely that in the third century B. C. Egypt had much more important commercial relations with the other Mediterranean countries than in the second and first centuries.

Milne<sup>21</sup> says that in the middle of the third century the typical Egyptian hoards consist not of silver tetradrachma, as was the case about 300, but of bronze of the two largest sizes, which may be taken as drachmae and half-drachmae. The fact that the Ptolemaic bronze of this period had a real metal value also appears, according to Milne, from its export in considerable quantities to foreign countries.<sup>22</sup> The coins of these series have been found all around the Mediterranean and even as far afield as Britain, and in Italy they were occasionally restruck for the local bronze coinage. Technically it would seem that both silver and bronze were legal tender to any amount in Egypt, and no adjustment should have been needed between the two for the reckoning of payments, but the fact that silver was undervalued as currency, according to Milne, would naturally tend to drive it out of circulation; no one would want to give a silver tetradrachmon in payment for a debt of that amount if he knew that he could get more than four drachmae for it in the silver market.

Milne (*loc. cit.*, p. 205), after saying that the silver tetradrachma of the Ptolemies showed a debasement that was steadily increasing till at the end there was only about 25% of silver in them, says "This can clearly be connected with the local valuation of silver at the end of the third century mentioned above."

<sup>19</sup> See the description of the Ptolemaic currency in Milne, "The Currency of Egypt under the Ptolemies," *J. E. A.*, XXIV (1938), pp. 200 ff.

<sup>20</sup> See p. 186.

<sup>21</sup> *J. E. A.*, XXIV (1938), p. 204.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

Of course, this (i. e. the debasement of the money) meant that the currency of the debased Ptolemaic silver was practically confined to Egypt. No one outside would consider its strict face value, nor was it attractive as metal. So, while the third century coins are found in Greece and Asia Minor, the second and first century tetradrachma hardly ever occur there.

But (according to Milne, *loc. cit.*, p. 205) the debasement of the silver involved a revision of the rates of exchange for the bronze. The two had been related to suit the foreign market, and, when outside support forsook the debased silver tetradrachma, the bronze drachma lost ground in sympathy, and its collapse was the more rapid because it had no recognized equivalent in the ordinary schemes of currency. Early in the second century the bronze drachma and its fractions ceased to be struck on the standard used under Philadelphus, and a fresh set of bronze coins was issued which must have been regarded as unrelated to the earlier series, since they are not found associated with them in hoards to any extent; large hoards of the third century bronze are common, and likewise of the later bronze, but it is rare to come upon even one or two stray examples of the third century coins in a hoard of the second century.

But what does Milne mean by "silver was undervalued"?<sup>23</sup> He was right when he said that tetradrachma of different metal content circulated together with the same purchasing power, that silver coins were token coins,<sup>24</sup> and that, as long as good and half-debased coins circulate together, as in the late Ptolemaic period, it is difficult to think that coins were not accepted at their face value.

We know that the silver tetradrachmon on the same day and in the same place had a different rate of exchange.<sup>25</sup> It is not very reasonable to think that the fluctuations depended on the intrinsic value of the tetradrachmon because the silver coinage had a tendency to be a token coinage.<sup>26</sup>

But, if Milne does not believe in a difference in attitude toward

<sup>23</sup> Milne, "Report on Coins Found at Tebtunis in 1900," *J. E. A.*, XXI (1935), pp. 210-218.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>25</sup> *Metrologia*, pp. 277 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Similar oscillations of value occur with the gold solidi in the fourth century (see *Metrologia*, pp. 488 ff.), and with the solidi it cannot be a question of the quality of the metal.

the tetradrachmon in the period of the inflation, when he says that silver was undervalued it seems that he does believe in a sort of bimetallism, silver and copper.<sup>27</sup> The argument about the real metallic value of the first Ptolemaic copper coins does not appeal to me.<sup>28</sup> I would not expect the copper coins to be sent abroad in the earlier Ptolemaic period,<sup>29</sup> but I think that they were taken to Asia, Italy, and England in the later period when the older copper coins had to be changed at their face value with copper coins which represented a fraction of the intrinsic value of the older copper. This consideration is suggested from the history of the copper inflations of the third and second centuries B. C.<sup>30</sup>

### *The Inflation and Political Events*

The Ptolemaic inflation depended to a large extent on the political events of the late third century and perhaps mainly on the great effort of the first Ptolemies to keep Egypt a great world power.<sup>31</sup>

We may connect the decline of the Egyptian currency with the years preceding the fourth Syrian war. The consequences of the battle of Raphia (217 B. C.) were the revolts of the Egyptians against the Greek rule during the reign of Epiphanes

<sup>27</sup> I think there is no doubt that the copper currency was based on such a bimetallism as people thought of in the time of Revillout.

<sup>28</sup> Milne, *J. E. A.*, XXV (1939), pp. 151 f.

<sup>29</sup> Except in countries that had an Egyptian Ptolemaic currency, see pp. 189 ff.

<sup>30</sup> See for analogous cases, *Metrologia*, pp. 300 ff., 316 ff., 347 ff., 500 ff., 525 ff., 531 ff., 533 ff.

<sup>31</sup> The energy which had characterized the early years of Ptolemy III had hardly been maintained, and after 241 Egypt enjoyed the blessings of twenty years of peace, for he confined his military activity to subsidizing Aratus and Cleomenes in Greece and probably Hierax and Attalus in Asia. But the long pause, which depended upon the difficulties of Egypt's rivals, revealed much weakness in his rule; for, though he did a little to foster these difficulties, he let Pamphylia slip from his hands, endured Dason's attack on Caria, and abandoned Cleomenes as his father had abandoned Athens. Egypt maintained her ancient reputation as a "broken reed." Above all, the once powerful land army was allowed to decay, and, when he died in 221, perhaps in July, certainly by October, Egypt was no longer a military power. Cf. W. W. Tarn in *C. A. H.*, VI, pp. 726 ff.



(who died in 182) ; the Ptolemaic empire, having been weakened by the peace of Apamea in 188, Egypt lost all her conquests but Cyprus and Cyrene. The domestic wars of the Ptolemies, the growing importance of Rome, and the native uprisings against the Greek rule explain without difficulty why the inflation, when once started, continued. But in this period we must not consider the inflation an exceptional condition of the currency. If we consider this sort of copper inflation something pathological, we must speak of a sort of epidemic, because most of the currencies of the Greek and Roman world suffered from the same disease.<sup>32</sup> In this period these countries faced financial difficulties with the debasement of the coins and with a copper currency intended to serve as a substitute for the silver currency in internal use. I would say that it was inherent in the economic style of this period to have a debased copper currency, as it is our style to face difficulties with a debased paper currency. I do not attempt to discover relations between the state of the currency and political events. People can explain why the Ptolemies, using a copper coinage to a very large extent, had a very noticeable copper inflation, but I think that they would find it difficult to explain why the Ptolemies stabilized their money about the years 150-140 B. C. I do not think that the Ptolemaic kingdom recovered in this period, and in any case I do not think that a period of inflation must necessarily be more troublesome than a period of stabilization imposed because of the impossibility of getting more credit.

A. SEGRÈ.

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<sup>32</sup> A. Segrè, *Historia*, III (1929), pp. 369 ff.

## ZENO OF ELEA'S ATTACKS ON PLURALITY.

(Continued from Vol. LXIII, 1, p. 25.)

The spectacle of Zeno's polemic is impressive; it is amusing too. Some of the arguments really pound hard and are capable of overwhelming the victim. On the other hand, the contention that the unextended is non-existent, when isolated from its context and examined on its own merits, proves to be no more substantial than froth and scum. Zeno worked it up, for a momentary purpose, by means of a verbal ambiguity. He probably knew that he was just playing, and playing a dangerous game at that. If he really had convinced himself that the unextended is nothing and cannot exist, he had also disposed, for the theory of motion, of all those intriguing instants in time and points in space. Those obstacles would have been successfully eliminated, and motion could proceed on its course freely, unimpeded, and with ease. Zeno then might have rather had reason to wonder whether, if there are no points, there could be any rest.

Moreover, after the annihilation of bounding plane surfaces, should not every object be continually stretching out without meeting a final limit? This question, as we shall see, is answered by Zeno in frag. B 1:

Εἰ δὲ ἔστιν, ἀνάγκη ἕκαστον μέγεθος τι ἔχειν καὶ πάχος, καὶ ἀπέχειν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἕτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου. Καὶ περὶ τοῦ προύχοντος ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο ἔξει μέγεθος καὶ προέξει αὐτοῦ τι. Ὅμοιον δὴ τοῦτο ἅπαξ τε εἰπεῖν καὶ αἰεὶ λέγειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοιούτων ἔσχατον ἔσται, οὔτε ἕτερον πρὸς ἕτερον οὐκ ἔσται. Οὕτως, εἰ πολλὰ ἔστιν, ἀνάγκη αὐτὰ μικρά τε εἶναι καὶ μεγάλα· μικρὰ μὲν ὥστε μὴ ἔχειν μέγεθος, μεγάλα δὲ ὥστε ἄπειρα εἶναι (B 1 = Lee, no. 10; Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 141, 2).

The meaning of the fragment has been much disputed. Closer inspection shows that all the rest depends on the correct explanation of the three words *προέχει αὐτοῦ τι*. Fortunately there is an objective clue for removing the basic uncertainty. Zeno makes the same point (τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, as he calls it) three times: first for *ἕκαστον*, then for *τὸ προέχον*, and finally for any subsequent "such thing." This being the case, it is highly probable that all three statements run on exactly parallel lines, and we shall be able to clarify ambiguities by a comparison of the various

versions. We now note that in the first case μέγεθος is made, through addition of καὶ πᾶχος, to apply to the dimension of depth especially: <sup>66</sup> "... every single thing must by necessity have a certain magnitude and thickness, and the one (part) of it (of the single thing) <sup>67</sup> must be distant from the other." Since thickness was mentioned, the distance refers to the depth of the object, and the contrasted two parts of it are likely to be opposite sides or surfaces: top and bottom, or front and back. Thickness implies, so Zeno says, a certain distance from front to back. This explanation is confirmed by the parallel in the second presentation. It is true that here Zeno mentions μέγεθος alone, without adding καὶ πᾶχος to specify the dimension. But instead of the neutral ἀπέχει "is distant" he uses this time προέχει "projects, stretches forward," a word which specifically refers to extension and distance in depth.

The parallelism further indicates that in the second version αὐτοῦ has the same meaning and function as in the first and third. It does not modify προέχει ("is more in front than it") <sup>68</sup> but is partitive-possessive and goes with τι.<sup>69</sup> Thus αὐτοῦ τι means "some (part) of it," viz. of the προέχον. The προέχον then is "that which is in front, the front part (or surface)," and the sentence says that the front surface, having likewise magnitude

<sup>66</sup> See *supra*, note 60.

<sup>67</sup> The αὐτοῦ must refer to ἕκαστον; and it can only be partitive, just as in οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ in the third instance. The αὐτοῦ is correctly explained e.g. by Rodolfo Mondolfo, *L'Infinito nel pensiero dei Greci* (Firenze, Le Monnier, 1934), p. 184, n. 1. Diels, in his translation, ignores the first αὐτοῦ where it stands but in the preceding clause renders ἕκαστον as if it were ἕκαστον αὐτοῦ, scil. τοῦ ὅντος; although then we should rather expect the plural τῶν ὄντων. He was led to such strange constructions because he had reversed the order of the fragments and had further taken, and printed, as a verbatim quotation from Zeno the words of Simplicius, εἰ μὴ ἔχουι μέγεθος τὸ ὄν, οὐκ ἂν εἶη (see *supra*, p. 17 and *infra*, note 72). These two mistakes are interdependent; and yet Calogero, who corrects the first, was confused by the second (cf. p. 99, n. 2).

<sup>68</sup> This seems to be Simplicius' explanation (*Phys.*, p. 139, 17, *supra*, p. 17), but what he says is not quite consistent.

<sup>69</sup> This explanation is also recommended by the position of τι at the end of the sentence. Being an enclitic, τι would ordinarily take the second place: καὶ τι αὐτοῦ προέχει (Wackernagel's law); or else: καὶ προέχει τι αὐτοῦ. Instead, Zeno appends the enclitic to αὐτοῦ, thus indicating that the two words belong together and that αὐτοῦ modifies not προέχει but τι.

(which involves an extension in depth), has a thickness and some of it "is in front" (or "projects"). True to the premise that whatever exists has three dimensions, the surface, if it exists, has to be considered as a layer or skin<sup>70</sup> and therefore has its own surface or skin.<sup>71</sup> This is, of course, ridiculous. But we should not forget that it was Zeno's purpose to ridicule plurality.

The first part of the fragment then can be translated thus:

But if it<sup>72</sup> exists, every single thing must of necessity have a certain magnitude and thickness, and the one (part) of it must be at a distance from the other. And the same reasoning applies to that which is in front: some (part) of it is equally in front. Now to state this once is like repeating it over and over.<sup>73</sup> For no such (*scil.* front part, surface, or

<sup>70</sup> It may be recalled in this connection that the Greeks often conceived the visible surface of an object, or its color, as a kind of skin or coating. The Epicurean theory of sight assumes that extremely thin films constantly emanate from the surfaces and thus convey images to the eyes. The same, or related, terms were used for "surface," "color," and "skin." Cf. Parmenides, *Vorsokr.* 28 B 8, 41 (quoted *supra*, p. 10) with *χρῶς* = "color"; Aristotle says (*De Sensu* 439 a 30): τὸ γὰρ χρῶμα ἢ ἐν τῷ πέραςί ἐστιν ἢ πέρας, διὸ καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν χροῖαν ἐκάλουν. *χροὴ* is "skin" in Homer but in classical Greek *χροιά* means "color." From *χρῶς* are derived the noun *χρῶμα* "color" and the verb *χρῆζω* which means either "to touch" (= to interfere with the skin) or "to taint" (= to give a new skin, or coating, of color). Similarly Lucretius writes (IV, 266): *tangimus extremum saxi summumque colorem*.

<sup>71</sup> For the sake of simplification Zeno makes the point only with reference to the succeeding front surfaces, instead of carrying it through for both front and back.

<sup>72</sup> What is the subject of *ἔστιν*? Simplicius in his two references to the fragment (*supra*, p. 17) gives different indications (cf. W. A. Heidel, *A. J. P.*, LXI [1940], p. 22, n. 46). On p. 141 he makes Zeno refer to τὸ ὅν, and on p. 139, 16 he states, more specifically, that Zeno is speaking of *ἐκαστον τῶν πολλῶν*. No doubt the latter explanation is more accurate, and the former cannot be considered as a direct quotation from Zeno's text (as Diels took it, see *supra*, note 67). The subject of *ἔστιν* is the same *ἐκαστον* which is also the subject of the following apodosis and the same *ἐκαστον τῶν πολλῶν* of which the preceding passage (b) had hypothetically assumed that it was without magnitude and consequently non-existent.

<sup>73</sup> Note the change in grammatical aspect from the aorist *εἰπεῖν* which sets the ball in motion to the present *λέγειν* which keeps it rolling. With *ὅμοιον* Zeno seems to mean either that each new application of the principle is "analogous" to the first, or that the principle, if applied once, is "equivalent" to an endless series because logic does not allow us to stop anywhere.

skin) of it will be ultimate, nor will it happen that the one (part of the thing) cannot be set against the other (i. e. that it is impossible to distinguish, within the thing, two sides, viz. front and back).<sup>74</sup>

The argument is now sufficiently clear in itself, and so is its connection with the preceding point (b).<sup>75</sup> From (b) it followed that surfaces do not exist unless they have some depth. It now follows that, on the premise that all surfaces do possess depth, we never can reach an ultimate surface to limit the extension of a body. The limiting ultimate surface would have to be a plane, and planes do not exist. Thus, in trying to measure the thickness of an object, we have the perplexing experience of finding that something always remains to be added to it, and the object seems to expand without end.

It goes without saying, however, that each subsequent skin would be thinner than the preceding one (by a constant ratio, presumably), so that the total extension, as modern mathematicians express it, converges to a certain sum. The object, though not possessing an actual and existing plane surface, still has a potential limit for its extension. While the construction may go on indefinitely, and the object may continue to stretch out and increase, yet, at any stage of the operation, the thing could be put into a crate which is larger than it is or can ever become.

All commentators, however, ascribe to Zeno the contention that the object would increase to infinite magnitude—an obvious fallacy. The reason is that Zeno, in the following sentence, will say that the objects would be *μεγάλα ὥστε ἀπειρα εἶναι*. Do these words, if we disregard the context in which they occur, necessarily imply such a contention? It is true that *ἀπειρος* ordinarily

<sup>74</sup> The last words cannot be translated adequately. The preposition *πρὸς* can be used for any kind of relationship. Here it is applied to the relation between *ἕτερον* and *ἕτερον*, and that relation constitutes the topic of the statement. In this case then *πρὸς* refers to the differentiation by virtue of which one thing can be split up into two *ἕτερα* which are distinct, or distinguishable, from one another. The idea that the ultimate unit, if there were any, would have to be free from internal differentiation has occurred already in point (a), see *supra*, p. 15.

<sup>75</sup> Although we took the precaution of determining the most probable meaning of each fragment separately and independently, it has turned out that in a strictly complementary manner both fragments deal with the surfaces of solids.

means "infinite," i. e. transcending all bounds and limits.<sup>76</sup> The term in itself, however, indicates no more than lack, for whatever reason, of a *πέρας*, and thus it was not restricted to the connotation "infinite." Anaximander used it for that which is both infinite and indefinite, and the word was given the meaning "indeterminate, vague" by Philolaus<sup>77</sup> and Plato.<sup>78</sup> And even Aristotle, who otherwise uses and explains the term *ἄπειρος* in the sense familiar to us, for once rediscovers, as it were, another possible meaning: *Συμβαίνει δὲ τὸ ὑπερβαίνειν εἶναι ἄπειρον ἢ ὡς λέγουσιν. Οὐ γὰρ οὐ μὴδὲν ἔξω (that which stretches out so far that nothing remains beyond) ἀλλ' οὐ ἀεί τι ἔξω ἐστίν (that some part of which always remains beyond), τοῦτο ἄπειρόν ἐστιν.*<sup>79</sup> Aristotle illustrates the kind of *ἄπειρον* he has in mind by an example which closely resembles Zeno's dichotomy. Let a distance be given, and let us try to build it up in the following way. We first take some part of the whole (one half or less); then we add the same part of the first part, then the same part of the first addition, then the same part of this addition and so on ( $\frac{a}{2} + \frac{a}{4} + \frac{a}{8} \dots$ ). In this way we can never cover the whole original distance, but "some part of it remains always beyond" the point we have reached.<sup>80</sup> Thus Aristotle uses the word *ἄπειρον* for an infinite series with decreasing terms converging to a certain sum. The depth of the object in Zeno's fragment is such a series. Each new skin is smaller than the preceding by the same proportion, and with its addition the depth of the thing will increase, without ever reaching an actual limit. The magnitude of the object therefore could accurately be called by Zeno *ἄπειρον* "unlimited."

We have completed our explanation of Zeno's point (c). Its reasoning resembles in some respect that of fragment B 3 (*supra*, pp. 3 ff.). In both cases, within a certain region of an object some part of the region is singled out, and so on in endless succession. One difference, however, is that fragment B 3 poses the question of number, and point (c) of extension; another is

<sup>76</sup> Cf. e. g. Gorgias, *Vorsokr.*, II, p. 280, 20: *τοῦ ἀπείρου οὐδὲν ἐστὶ μείζον.*

<sup>77</sup> Cf. *Vorsokr.* 44 B 11 (*ἄπειρος* in contrast to fixed and determining numbers): *τὰς τῷ ἀπείρῳ καὶ ἀνοήτῳ καὶ ἀλόγῳ φύσιος, καὶ ἄνευ δὲ τούτας (scil. τὰς δεκάδος) πάντ' ἄπειρα καὶ ἄδηλα καὶ ἀφανῆ.*

<sup>78</sup> Plato, *Philebus* 23 c ff.

<sup>79</sup> Aristotle, *Physics*, III, 6, 206 b 34.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 206 b 7 ff.

that fragment B 3 goes at every step deeper into the interior of the object, while (c) proceeds from the main bulk toward the (evasive) exterior limit. If for the indefinite "interior" we substitute the center, we might express the essence of both fragments combined in the one statement that an object, under the premise of plurality and infinite divisibility, has neither an ultimate center (fragment B 3) nor an ultimate beginning and end (c).

For the statement "no center" we had quoted above (p. 6) a parallel from a passage in Plato's *Parmenides*. As a matter of fact, the passage deals both with the center and with the beginning and end, and it is thus capable of confirming and illustrating what we found in Zeno's point (c) also. This is what Plato says: Οὐκοῦν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον ὄγκον (indefinite quantity) πέρασ ἔχων (scil. ἕκαστος ὄγκος), αὐτός τε πρὸς αὐτὸν οὔτε ἀρχὴν οὔτε πέρασ οὔτε μέσον ἔχων;—Πῇ δὴ;—"Οτι ἀεὶ αὐτῶν ὅταν τίς τι λάβῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ ὥς τι τούτων ὄν, πρὸ τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄλλη ἀεὶ φαίνεται ἀρχή, μετὰ τε τὴν τελευταίαν ἑτέρα ὑπολειπομένη<sup>81</sup> τελευταίη, ἐν τε τῷ μέσῳ ἄλλα μεσαίτερα τοῦ μέσου, σμικρότερα δέ, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐνὸς αὐτῶν ἐκάστου λαμβάνεσθαι, ἅτε οὐκ ὄντος τοῦ ἐνός.<sup>82</sup> Plato reasons here on exactly the same lines we assumed for Zeno,<sup>83</sup> and his words are especially illuminating with respect to the sense in which Zeno used the term *ἄπειρος*. We had found by inference that in Zeno the term denies a limit (*πέρασ*) to the object not with reference to other contiguous objects but only with reference to the object's own structure. Plato now in explicit words states precisely the same thing: καὶ

<sup>81</sup> With this *ὑπολειπομένη* cf. Aristotle's "some part of it always remains outside" as a definition of the *ἄπειρον* (*supra*, p. 197).

<sup>82</sup> Plato, *Parmenides* 165 a-b.

<sup>83</sup> Plato's discussion differs from Zeno's mainly in three respects. 1) Plato's premise is not *Εἰ πολλὰ ἔστι* but *Εἰ ἐν μὴ ἔστι*. The change, though not affecting the conclusions, influences the way in which they are reached. 2) Plato combines the ideas of two of Zeno's arguments. 3) The styles in which Zeno and Plato present the same idea differ on the same lines as the styles in art of their respective periods. Zeno is bent on *ekplexis*; he "uses all his resources . . . to break down the resistance of his audience . . ." (T. B. L. Webster, *Greek Art and Literature*, p. 57). Though possessing all the suppleness of an experienced fighter, he hides it under self-assertion and violence. Plato, on the other hand, makes Parmenides give his playful performance in the bland spirit of persuasive benevolence and with the quiet, elegant, unobtrusive dignity of an acknowledged master.

πρὸς ἄλλον ὅγκον πέρας ἔχων, αὐτός τε πρὸς αὐτὸν . . . (οὐ) πέρας . . . ἔχων.

Before analyzing the last and concluding point (d) of Zeno's arguments, we now muster again, in the light of what we have found, the whole sequence from (a) to (c) which leads up to (d) :

(a) In a world of plurality, the hypothetic ultimate elements, in order to be really ultimate, must be indivisible units and therefore unextended.

(b) (There is e. g. a doctrine contending that things with full extension, i. e. solids, originate from things lacking full extension, i. e. planes; and that planes, if arranged in certain tri-dimensional configurations, can produce solids bounded by them.)<sup>84</sup> As soon as we put the question of depth and mass, however, we find that the unextended (e. g. a plane surface), not possessing either one, cannot contribute (or create) either one. From the point of view of depth and mass, the unextended thing (a plane, or line, or point) is a nullity and nonentity.—By means of a verbal manipulation, Zeno manages to drop the qualification "from the point of view of depth and mass" and unreservedly contends: The unextended is not. Implicitly it follows from (a) and (b) that there is no plurality: the plural things are not.

(c) We disregard the argument under (a), which had compelled us to deny the units both divisibility and extension, and make a fresh start from the juncture at which now, after the completion of (b), we happen to find ourselves. It has turned out that elements with no extension (e. g. surfaces with no depth or mass) cannot exist. This compels us to assign three-dimensional extension even to surfaces. Proceeding on this assumption, we analyze the depth of any solid, which obviously must be equivalent to the distance of its opposite surfaces.<sup>85</sup> It results that the depth of the object will be an infinite series. (Since the object is not bounded by any of its successive surfaces, its magnitude is ἀπειρον "boundless.")

As our review indicated, the chain of arguments from (a) to

<sup>84</sup> Our analysis in the text above is arranged in such a way that it makes sense both with and without the insertions in parentheses. By this device I endeavored to indicate that Zeno, even if he did have that particular doctrine in mind, yet took care to cover with his refutation any and all theories operating with unextended units.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. e. g. Plato, *Timaeus* 53 c 6: Τὸ δὲ βάθος πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τὴν ἐπίπεδον περιελιγμένα φύσιν (= ἡ ἐπίπεδος φύσις περιελίφε τὸ βάθος).



(c) involves some palpable fallacies. Nevertheless, when read in its original form, it appears to be forceful and very clever. Conclusions are displayed in rapid succession, or even several at a time, some of them acutely accurate and the rest having a show of precision. The trail on which we are led, though tortuous, is coherent. The whole exploratory expedition into a maze of arduous hypotheses is skilfully arranged and, though being only short, it gives us rich experiences which are in part illuminating and in part perplexing, but all of them absorbing.

We have not yet reached the end of the trail, however, and the eventual panorama which it opens still remains to be studied and enjoyed. This is the last segment:

(d) Thus, if there are many things (if there is plurality) they (the single things) must of necessity be both small and great: small so as to have no magnitude, and great so as to be unlimited.

(For the Greek text see *supra* p. 193.) The view is in fact a surprise. For one thing, we had not expected a "both" but an "either—or," viz. "The units of a plural universe would be either (a) of no magnitude and (b) consequently non-existent, or (c) of unlimited magnitude." Zeno, however, reaches a different conclusion. Ignoring point (b) in which (a) had been refuted, he restates (a), and in the same breath he also maintains point (c), although (c) follows only if (a) is rejected and (b) accepted.<sup>88</sup> Thus, from the thesis of plurality which he is attacking, Zeno contrives to deduce a blatant contradiction with reference to the magnitude of its primary units. Moreover, he uses a phrasing which makes the conclusion sound far stronger than it really is. First, Zeno has made the sly little adjustment "small so as to have no magnitude." The logic is rather precarious. Smallness, i. e. little magnitude, can hardly be ascribed to a thing which actually possesses none, and the inaccuracy is rather incongruous for a man who otherwise is very particular about the distinction between smallness and lack of extension. Secondly, the expression "great so as to be unlimited" is misleading. Wherever the term *ἄπειρος* appears it will first of all suggest the idea of infinity; and here, in its contrast to smallness

<sup>88</sup> There is some justification, however, for the curious twist, since the destruction in (b) of (a) had disproved the result only, without touching on the reasons which produced it.

and lack of magnitude, the wording inevitably insinuates the conception of infinite greatness. The word in its context proves so perfectly delusive that no scholar seems to have questioned its meaning, though many have wondered how Zeno could commit so gross an error. Now, however, it has become clear that the term *ἄπειρος* should and can be taken in a very different sense, and that Zeno, in using it here, was technically correct. But it would be hard to believe that by sheer accident, negligence, or inadvertency Zeno stumbled on a phrasing which is unimpeachable under close scrutiny but otherwise gives the final conclusion a singularly forceful, though deceptive, ring. Rather it looks like a man walking a tight rope with ease and gusto. This number four in the series of arguments is an outstanding piece of intellectual acrobatics.

After this experience we have reason to wonder how careful and how wily Zeno may have been in the wording of his famous four paradoxes on motion. Did he, e. g., really say that Achilles will "never" (*οὐδέποτε*, Aristotle, *Vorsokr.* A 26) catch up with the tortoise, or perhaps rather that it will take him an "unlimited time" (*ἄπειρος χρόνος*)? Aristotle, in criticizing the paradoxes, connects with the word *ἄπειρος* only the one notion of something exceeding any limit,<sup>87</sup> and thus he was liable to fall into the trap which Zeno might have set for his readers. This is of course only a speculation, but the Achilles resembles so closely point (c) that one can hardly fail to ponder the analogy. In both cases a goal recedes in proportion as one comes nearer it. In both cases we find the term *πρόχειν* used.<sup>88</sup> To explain the Achilles, it has been said: ". . . if they (Achilles and the tortoise) meet at any point, it must be beyond every point given by the construction,"<sup>89</sup> and to explain fragment B 1 we had to take recourse to a definition describing the *ἄπειρον* as that "a part of which remains always beyond (*scil.* every point given by the construction)." All these single parallels illustrate the basic identity of the two constructions. It is therefore easy to assume that Zeno took advantage of the same ambiguity in both.

<sup>87</sup> As applied either to the extension of the object or to the number of its parts, *Physics* VI, 2, 233 a 24.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Zeller (note 12 *supra*), p. 751, n. 1; Calogero, p. 128.

<sup>89</sup> Prof. Broad, "Note on Achilles and the tortoise," *Mind*, N. S., XXII, p. 319, as quoted by Lee, p. 77.

Though it would hardly be proper to urge a conjecture like the last and make it appear more than a remote possibility, it might nevertheless have been well to experiment for a moment with a mere guess in order to get once more the feeling of the shaky ground which we are treading whenever we set our foot on secondary evidence. Our understanding of early Greek philosophy depends on playing off the few scraps of authentic text against all the rest of the material. Anything second-hand should be approached with a rational distrust, most of all second-hand philosophy. There are only two chances in many for a mere report to be fairly reliable: either the reporter should be a man with no creative powers of his own, but interested, intelligent, and conscientious; or he should be akin in spirit to the author and his particular ways and problems.

In Zeno's original texts we have found a spicy blending of the profound with the sportive which may be compared to certain characteristics of Plato's dialogues. Though *magnis componere parva* is always awkward and precarious, we might venture to say that, if any one we know, Plato should have been the man whose kindred spirit responded to Zeno's as we now know it. Now Plato avowedly wrote his *Parmenides* in the vein of Zeno's book, and in the better part of that dialogue he used, and elaborated, Zeno's own methods, applying them to Zeno's problem. Apart from the original fragments, there is nothing to give us a more convincing general idea of Zeno's work than the latter part of Plato's *Parmenides*, if only we make the necessary allowances which the difference in time, author, and purpose involves. For one thing, Zeno was trying to prove a certain doctrine in which he believed, while Plato was rather testing and practicing methods. Nevertheless, the systematic approach to the problem of divisibility and the style of reasoning must have been very similar for both; and we have actually found some instances in which the views, the conclusions, and the very words were all but identical.

We can thus feel sure that the main part of Plato's *Parmenides* reflects the character of the older work with some fidelity and some creative freedom. The same dialogue is fittingly opened by Plato with a critical discussion of the nature of Zeno's work. This evidence remains to be examined.

Plato has Socrates state that Zeno's book is filled with pairs of

contradictory conclusions, all of them drawn from the one premise "If there are many things." The first pair of conclusions was "they are alike, and unlike, one another."<sup>90</sup> Socrates then wonders about the real intention of the work. Outwardly, so he says, it appears as an independent philosophical study, but closer examination reveals the fact that every single argument in the book serves to corroborate Parmenides' doctrine of the (indivisible) One. It looks as if Zeno had tried to mystify the public. Zeno, in answering the charge, acknowledges that his book is subsidiary to Parmenides' philosophy but denies that he has attempted to pose as an original thinker of high ambition. According to him, the actual purpose of the book can be understood only from the conditions under which it was written. Parmenides' teachings had been ridiculed<sup>91</sup> by opponents who pointed out absurd consequences to which his views led. Zeno countered in his own book, attacking the assumption of plurality in the same manner and deducing from it still more flagrant absurdities. The youthful age at which he wrote it, so he pleads, and the heat of strife between philosophical factions, should be taken into account. Moreover, Zeno says, he was not even responsible for the publication. Before he had time to decide whether or not he should publish it, it was "stolen" from him.

This is, in a dry summary, Plato's story. We can unconditionally believe what he says about the content of Zeno's work; all the rest may be conjecture and imagination. No doubt correct is the view that the book was based on Parmenides' philosophy and was meant to confirm it.<sup>92</sup> But the other con-

<sup>90</sup> For "alike and unlike" see *supra*, note 36. Other conclusions were, as we are told by Plato in his *Phaedrus* (see *supra*, note 6, no. 3), "they are one and many" (for this cf. also Philoponus [*supra*, note 7], *Phys.*, p. 43, 1-4 = Lee, no. 8), and "they are at rest and moving."

<sup>91</sup> The word *καμωδεῖν* suggests a rather gross type of derision, though it was not necessarily quite as arbitrary and irresponsible as in the *Nubes*. Cf. *Republic* III, 395 e 9 and V, 452 a 10-d 1.

<sup>92</sup> This does not mean, however, that Zeno's book had no significance except with reference to Parmenides' theories and that it was unrelated to anything else. Zeno's analysis of the infinite, as it is embodied in his arguments against plurality, was an important contribution in its own right. It has manifestly influenced Anaxagoras and probably many other thinkers; especially the Atomists are likely to have greatly profited from it.

I am not competent to discuss the question whether a close relation-

tentions ought not be taken literally. Obviously it is a lame, and none too earnest, excuse for the airier elements in his pamphlet when Zeno pleads that it was written long ago in his youthful days and under provocation and that perhaps it would have been better if it had not been published: have we not just heard that, far from being ashamed of it, he is still reciting it to an eager audience? Furthermore, the story of the theft implies that the book, once written (*γραφέν*), spread far and wide immediately and that an enthusiastic public had made it common property even before the author had the time to sanction, or forbid, its publication. This is a boastful apology. Plato seems to have invented the tale in order to indicate that in his opinion Zeno's treatise should be taken *cum grano salis*.<sup>93</sup> We may well wonder

ship is to be assumed between Zeno's arguments and Pythagorean theories. It seems to me, however, that his demonstrations, which, if correct, would sweep out of existence the whole of our universe, cannot without careful qualification be called an attack on Pythagoreanism. There was much more at stake for Zeno than the possible deficiencies of one specific school doctrine. "Die ganze Form der Argumente beweist ferner, dass dies nicht geschieht, um . . . an dem *Verfahren* Kritik zu üben, sondern dass gerade das Verfahren als durchaus einwandfrei betrachtet wird, und vielmehr dazu dient den *Augenschein* einer Welt der Vielheit . . . zu widerlegen. Das hindert freilich nicht, dass seine Argumente *ohne* die gleichzeitige Mathematik nicht denkbar wären . . ." (K. von Fritz, *Gnomon*, XIV [1938], p. 103). Quite recently (in *A. J. P.*, LXI [1940], pp. 1-33) W. A. Heidel has pointed out with great vigor how little, on the one hand, we actually know about the early Pythagoreans; and that, on the other hand, Zeno's arguments are comprehensive and universal. Zeno does not seem to take up and refute some stray views but rather to set up strict and inescapable dilemmas in order to exhaust and destroy all possible constructions of a plural world. In our study of point (b) we thought to have reasons for assuming that Zeno was referring to a certain theory of certain of his opponents; but we have also noted that he took all precautions to couch his refutation in generic terms so as to make it apply equally to any similar theory (see *supra*, notes 64 and 84). He was trying to defeat, not the particular proposition, but the principle from which it was derived.—Only after completing this article did I see the article by B. L. van der Waerden, "Zenon und die Grundlagenkrise der griechischen Mathematik," *Mathematische Annalen*, CXVII (1940), pp. 141-61.

<sup>93</sup> This, in turn, necessarily also holds for Plato's own dialogue which adopts and perfects Zeno's methods in order to apply them to Zeno's problem (cf. Otto Apelt, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie* [Leipzig, 1891], p. 47). The charming prelude to the *Parmenides* gives the

how much authentic information Plato did possess about the real Zeno's actions and intentions and how much he, or his readers for that matter, would be interested in problems of mere historicity. Rather he seems to have dramatized the various ways in which an acute reader might interpret the text of Zeno's perplexing dissertation, and a conservative critic will look in this part of the dialogue for information on the spirit of Zeno's book rather than for data of its author's personal experiences.

In the whole passage Plato never voices any doubt of the seriousness of Zeno's arguments. Socrates' statement that they are "very many and very grave" (128 b 2) does not sound ironic, paralleling as it does the expression of Plato's sincere admiration for Parmenides' own arguments. Nevertheless, there is an unmistakable touch of humor in the whole discussion,<sup>94</sup> and the ultimate intention of Zeno's work is made to appear in a colorful iridescent light. From the allegations, denials, and pleas, no matter whether candid or otherwise, admitted or refuted, there emerges a strange mixture of impressions.<sup>95</sup> We hear of devotion to the master's cause and of high personal ambition, of pugnacious zeal in one particular day's battle, and of lofty sublimity of purpose. The book as a whole, so we are given to understand, is not what it seems to be, and its real essence is beyond the reach of an ordinary person.

reader to understand that the *πραγματειώδης παιδιά* (137 b) of the dialogue should be looked upon, much like its model, as an experimental play of *φιλονικία* rather than a pretentious product of *φιλοτιμία*. For the purpose of the whole dialogue cf. H. Cherniss, *A. J. P.*, LIII (1932), pp. 122-38.

<sup>94</sup> E. g. when Socrates charges that Zeno's position *in toto* pretends not to be, but actually is, the same as Parmenides', he is playing on the antinomy of sameness and otherness, which will be amply exploited in the course of the dialogue and no doubt also was mentioned in Zeno's book (see point (a) *supra*, pp. 15 f.).

<sup>95</sup> In the argument between Socrates and Zeno, the latter twice admits that Socrates has explained the text with great acumen (128 b 8-c 2 and e 3). He flatly contradicts, as a mere inference (*τῶν συμβεβηκότων τι* 128 c 6, cf. e. g. *Philebus* 35 c 2), only the allegation of fraudulent intentions. As to the rest, his defense amounts to little more than a plea of extenuating circumstances. Thus Plato indicates that none of the various explanations as both Socrates and Zeno propose them is unreasonable. And why should he have mentioned any of them in the first place unless he thought there was an element of truth in it? He evidently felt that there was more than one strain in Zeno's book.

Just such a dual character has been borne out by our detailed investigation into the scanty lines of authentic text that have survived. It is a dazzling and fascinating spectacle to watch Zeno's brilliant mind perform and deploy his reasoning. Sometimes a deft trick lends splendor to a shabby trifle; and then again the conjurer achieves much more than his swift legerdemain allows us immediately to realize. It is next to impossible to disengage the lighter aspect of his art from the deep significance of his ideas. He was very well aware of the gravity and profundity of his problems,<sup>96</sup> and, nevertheless, while handling them, he often playfully, lustily, and defiantly deceives and mystifies his reader.

In conclusion, we may again adopt one of Brochard's remarks (p. 12), meant for a certain aspect of the four paradoxes of motion but applicable as well to all the rest: "C'est cette plaisanterie innocente, mise au service d'une idée profonde, qui n'a pas été comprise, et qui a valu à l'argument et à son auteur leur mauvais renom. Peut-être il ne faudrait jamais plaisanter en métaphysique."

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<sup>96</sup> B. Russell (see *supra*, note 1) proclaims the four paradoxes to be "immeasurably subtle and profound" (§ 327).

## A PYTHAGOREAN IDEA IN JEROME.

In St. Jerome's letter to Fabiola is a passage which is highly interesting on account of its cultural background. Speaking of baptism he says:

praeceptis dei lavandi sumus et, cum parati ad indumentum Christi tunicas pelliceas deposuerimus, tunc induemur veste linea nihil in se mortis habente, sed tota candida, ut de baptismo consurgentes cingamus lumbos in veritate et tota pristinorum peccatorum turpitudine celetur.<sup>1</sup>

He contrasts here the old garments which the candidates who are going to be washed in baptism have to take off with the baptismal vestiture which they will receive immediately after the rite of baptism has been performed: "And when, ready for the garment of Christ, we have taken off the tunics of skin, then we shall be vested with a garment of linen which has nothing of death in itself but is wholly white, that, rising from baptism, we may gird our loins in truth and the entire shame of our prior sins may be covered."

The most important words here are *veste linea nihil in se mortis habente*. Why has this garment of linen nothing of death in itself? The answer is given as soon as we compare it with the old clothing which the candidates wore formerly. These former garments are called *tunicae pellicae*. We have here nothing else than the contrast between wool and linen. The old clothing which the candidates have taken off was made of wool, in other words, of material which comes from animals.<sup>2</sup> Therefore it has

<sup>1</sup> *Ep.*, 64, 19 (*C.S.E.L.*, LIV, p. 610 Hilberg).

<sup>2</sup> As Ovid tells us, it was forbidden to bring anything made of animal skin into a temple, because it would be a reminder of death. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, I, 629 f.: *Scortea non illi fas est inferre sacello, ne violent puros exanimata focos.* *C.I.L.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 1, p. 231: *Partus curat omniaque futura, ob quam causam in aede eius cavetur ab scorteis omnique omine morticino.* See furthermore Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, VII, 84 (p. 149 Spengel): *Scortari est saepius meretriculam ducere, quae dicta a pelle; id enim non solum antiqui dicebant scortum, sed etiam nunc dicimus scortea ea quae e corio ac pellibus sunt facta; in aliquot sacris ac sacellis scriptum habemus "ne quod scorteam adhibeatur," ideo ne morticinum quid adsit.* F. Richter, *Latcinische Sacralinschriften (Kleine Texte, LXVIII* [Bonn, 1911]), p. 4, No. 3 = *C.I.L.*, IX, 3513: *Sei quei ad huc templum rem*



something of death in itself because it reminds us of creatures which are mortal, destined to die. That is the reason that these garments cannot be worn after baptism, the sacrament of regeneration.<sup>3</sup> Death and life do not go together. On the other hand, the white garment is made of linen, the product of a plant, and has therefore nothing of death in itself. Nothing could be more fitting for the sacrament which was called "the garment of immortality."<sup>4</sup> We are here in the middle of an interesting world of ideas, centering around "wool and linen," which goes back to the Pythagoreans and Egypt. And here we have again an example which proves that the ecclesiastical writers cannot be understood without a thorough knowledge of ancient culture.

Iamblichus tells us<sup>5</sup> that Pythagoras always wore a white and pure garment and had only clean white linen spread over his bed, but never skins of animals. This custom was taken over by his followers, as he remarks. This sounds almost like a

divinam fecerit Iovi Libero aut Iovis genio, pelleis coria fanei sunt. Cf. T. Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche u. Vorarbeiten, IX, 1 [Giessen, 1910])*, pp. 98 f.

<sup>3</sup> The Romans used to wear a white garment on their birthday. Cf. Horace, *Satires*, II, 2, 60: ille repotia natalis aliosve dierum festos albus celebret; Ovid, *Tristia*, III, 13, 14; V, 5, 7; Persius, I, 15; Lampridius, *Vita Severi*, 60. The *vestis alba* for the day of rebirth receives new light from this ancient custom.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, VIII, 6, 6 (p. 478 Funk): βεβαίωση δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, ἐνώση καὶ ἐγκαταριθμήσῃ αὐτοὺς τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ ποιμνίῳ καταξιώσας αὐτοὺς "τοῦ λουτροῦ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας," τοῦ ἐνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας. Gregorius Naz., *Oratio*, 40, in sanctum baptismum (P. G., XXXVI, p. 361), 4: Δῶρον καλοῦμεν, χάρισμα, βάπτισμα, χρίσμα, φῶτισμα, ἀφθαρσίας ἔνδυμα. Cf. J. Quasten, *Liturgia quae dicitur Clementina Constitutionum Apostolorum (Florilegium Patristicum, VII, 4 [Bonn, 1936])*, p. 200. For other passages see F. J. Doelger, *Sol salutis (Liturgiegeschichtl. Forschungen, IV-V [Münster, 1925])*, 2nd ed., p. 370. The same author, *Sphragis, Eine altchristliche Taufbezeichnung (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, V, 3-4 [Paderborn, 1911])*, p. 193. Staerk, *Der Taufritus der griechisch-russischen Kirche* (Freiburg, 1903), pp. 80, 125, 151. C. Bauer, *Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit* (Munich, 1929), I, p. 64. Theodore of Mopsuestia, *On Baptism*, IV (A. Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, VI [Cambridge, 1933]), p. 54: "After you have taken off your garments, you are rightly anointed all over your body with the holy Chrism: a mark and a sign that you will be receiving the covering of immortality which through baptism you are about to put on."

<sup>5</sup> Iamblichus, *De Vita Pythagorica*, 28, § 149 (p. 109 Nauck).

parallel to the report which Eusebius<sup>6</sup> gives us on the baptism of the Emperor Constantine. At the conclusion of the ceremony Constantine arrayed himself in white imperial vestments, shining as the light, and reclined on a bed of the purest white, refusing to clothe himself with the purple any more. V. Sesan<sup>7</sup> is greatly mistaken in assuming that this passage means that the Emperor resigned from his imperial throne to serve God alone, i. e. to become a monk. We have here the same idea as in Jerome's letter to Fabiola. Purple made of wool cannot be worn by the Emperor after he has been cleansed in baptism. His garment and his bed are now of white linen which has nothing of death in itself.

Apuleius of Madaura provides us with a passage in his *Apology* which gives us the best commentary to the text of Jerome. In chapter 56 he remarks:

Etiamne cuiquam mirum videri potest, cui sit ulla memoria religionis, hominem tot mysteriis deum conscium quaedam sacrorum crepundia domi adservare atque ea lineo texto involvere, quod purissimum est rebus divinis velamentum? quippe lana, segnissimi corporis excrementum, pecori detracta iam inde Orphei et Pythagorae scitis profanus vestitus est; sed enim mundissima lini seges inter optimas fruges terra exorta non modo indutui et amictui sanctissimis Aegyptiorum sacerdotibus, sed opertui quoque rebus sacris usurpatur.<sup>8</sup>

Apuleius gives here an explanation why linen is used in the cult of the gods. He calls it a *purissimum velamentum* for divine things. The reason why there is such a difference between wool and linen is their entirely different origin. Linen comes from the most pure seed of one of the best plants which the earth produces. And therefore this material is used for sacred vestments by the priests of Egypt. For the same reason it is most fitting for objects of cult. But wool is "the excretory product of a slug-

<sup>6</sup> Eusebius, *Εἰς τὸν βίον Κωνσταντίνου*, IV, 63, 1 (G. O. S., I, p. 142 Heikel).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. V. Sesan, *Kirche und Staat im römisch-byzantinischen Reiche*, I (Czernowitz, 1911), p. 355.

<sup>8</sup> See A. Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei* (*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, IV, 2 [Giessen, 1908]), pp. 288 ff.; E. Maass, *Orpheus* (Munich, 1895), pp. 164 ff.; F. Cumont, *Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum*, 3rd ed. (Berlin-Leipzig, 1931), p. 87, n. 77.

gish body," taken from an animal. No wonder that the Orphics and Pythagoreans regarded a woollen garment as profane.

This passage of Apuleius is most important for an understanding of Jerome's idea. It leads us to the homeland of this "theology of clothing," Egypt. We cannot be surprised to find in another work of Apuleius, his *Metamorphoses*, the garment of linen mentioned as the vestment of the initiated in the mystery cult of the Egyptian goddess Isis: "Then came the great company of men and women of all stations and of every age who had been initiated into the divine mysteries, shining in the pure brilliance of linen garments."<sup>9</sup>

Moreover, his statement regarding the Egyptian priests is in complete agreement with Herodotus who in the second book of his *History* reports of them:

The priests shave their whole body every other day that no lice or other impure thing may adhere to them when they are engaged in the service of the gods. Their dress is entirely of linen and their shoes of the papyrus plant; it is not lawful for them to wear either a dress or shoes of any other material.<sup>10</sup>

In another chapter of the same book, Herodotus gives more exact details of this sacred custom:

They wear tunics of linen fringed about the legs which they call *calasiris*; over these they have garments of white wool thrown on afterwards. Woollen garments however are not taken into the temples, nor are they buried with them for this is not permitted by their religion. In these points they

<sup>9</sup> Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI, 10 (Helm): tunc influunt turbae sacris divinis initiatae, viri feminaeque omnis dignitatis et omnis aetatis, linteae vestis candore puro luminosi. Cf. Th. Hopfner, *Fontes historiae religionis Aegyptiacae* (*Fontes historiae religionum ex auctoribus Graecis et Latinis collectos*, ed. C. Clemen, II [Bonn, 1925]), p. 930, index s. v. *vestibus linteis*. In a similar way the initiated in the cult of Demeter and Persephone received a white garment. Cf. the inscription of Andania (ca. 90 B. C.): Οἱ τελοῦμενοι τὰ μυστήρια ἀνυπόδετοι ἔστωσαν καὶ ἔχοντες τὸν ἐματισμὸν λευκόν (H. Sauppe, *Die Mysterieninschrift aus Andania* [*Abhandlungen der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, VIII, 1859], p. 229). L. Ziehen, *Leges sacrae*, I, 1 (Lipsiae, 1906), p. 167, No. 58, § 4. The initiated of the mystery cult of Zagreus says of himself: Πάλλευκα δ' ἔχων εἴματα, Euripides, *Frag.* 472.

<sup>10</sup> Herodotus, II, 37. Regarding the shoes cf. F. J. Doelger, *Antike und Christentum*, V (1936), pp. 95-108.

are in agreement with the observances called Orphic and Bacchic and also with those of the Pythagoreans. For one who takes part in these mysteries is also forbidden by religious rule to be buried in woollen garments; and about this there is a sacred story told.<sup>11</sup>

Apuleius' reference to the mysteries of the Orphics and Pythagoreans is here proved to be correct. Wool is regarded as impure and unclean.<sup>12</sup> Therefore a sacred rule bans it from the temple. But why is it forbidden for the Egyptian priests as well as for the initiates of the Orphic, Bacchic, and Pythagorean mysteries to be buried in woollen garments? It is regrettable that Herodotus does not give us the "sacred story," the *mythos*, which in his time existed about this custom; for here we are again very close to Jerome who connects wool with death and calls linen *nihil in se mortis habens*. We know, however, that these mystery cults had a highly developed doctrine of immortality. For the immortal soul of the mystic, wool is not suitable, especially when his body is dead. His garment is linen, the garment of immortality. That this is the leading idea behind all the philosophic and theological speculation about wool and linen is stated by Plutarch in his treatise on "Isis and Osiris":

It is a fact, Clea, that having a beard and wearing a coarse cloak does not make philosophers, nor does dressing in linen and shaving the hair make votaries of Isis; but the true votary of Isis is he who, when he has legitimately received what is set forth in the ceremonies connected with these gods, uses reason in investigating and in studying the truth contained therein.

It is true that most people are unaware of this very ordinary and minor matter: the reason why the priests remove their hair and wear linen garments. Some persons do not care at all to have any knowledge about such things, while others say the priests, because they revere the sheep, abstain from using its wool, as well as its flesh; and that

<sup>11</sup> Herodotus, II, 81. Cf. Silius Italicus, *Punica*, III, 24 (Bauer): *velantur corpora lino et Pelusiaco praeifulget stamine vertex*. Hieronymus, *Comment. in Ezech.*, XIII, 44 (*P. L.*, XXV, p. 44): *Vestibus linteis utuntur Aegyptii sacerdotes non solum intrinsecus, sed etiam extrinsecus; porro divina religio alterum habitum habet in ministerio alterum in usu vitaeque communi*. See R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistisch-mystischen Mysterienreligionen*<sup>3</sup> (Leipzig, 1927), pp. 224 f.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. J. Pley, *De lanæ in antiquorum ritibus usu* (*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, XI, 2 [Giessen, 1911]).

they shave their heads as a sign of mourning, and that they wear linen garments because of the color which the flax displays when in bloom, and which is like to the heavenly azure which enfolds the universe. But for all this there is only one true reason, which is to be found in the words of Plato: "for the Impure to touch the Pure is contrary to divine ordinance." No surplus left over from food and no excrementitious matter is pure and clean; and it is from forms of surplus that wool, fur, hair, and nails originate and grow. So it would be ridiculous that these persons in their holy living should remove their own hair by shaving and making their bodies smooth all over, and then should put on and wear the hair of domestic animals. We should believe that when Hesiod said,

Cut not the sere from the green when you  
honor the gods with full feasting,  
Paring with glittering steel the member that  
hath the five branches,

he was teaching that men should be clean of such things when they keep high festival, and they should not amid the actual ceremonies engage in clearing away and removing any sort of surplus matter. But the flax springs from the earth which is immortal; it yields edible seeds, and supplies a plain and cleanly clothing.<sup>13</sup>

After this theologico-philosophic commentary on the garment of linen we do not need any further explanation, for Jerome's *nil in se mortis habente*. The garment of linen is the garment of immortality according to religious and philosophic considerations of antiquity. There is one line going from Jerome to Apuleius, Plutarch, and Herodotus.

In a refined way we find these speculations again in the works of the Neoplatonists. The garments of daily life are no longer interpreted as a symbol of death coming from animals which are destined to die. But the belief which we have found already in Pythagorean circles that they are unclean and impure continues among the Neoplatonists, as we shall see.

We are again on Egyptian soil when we read in Philo's works that the *χρών δερμάτινος* of Gen. 3, 21 is a symbol of the mortal body with all its passions.<sup>14</sup> Of these we have to strip ourselves

<sup>13</sup> Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 3-4 (Loeb Cl. L., V, pp. 13-14).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Philo, *Quaestiones in Genes.*, I, 53, § 36A; IV, 1 § 240A; *Leg. Alleg.*, II, 56 ff.; *Deus Immut.*, 56; *Quod Det. Pot.*, 159; *Post. Caini*, 137; *Gigant.*, 53; *Migrat. Abrah.*, 192, 668M.

because they cover the soul like an unclean garment and drag it down: "For our soul moves often by itself, stripping itself of the entire encumbrance of the body and escaping from the noisy pack of these senses, and often again when clad in these wrappings."<sup>15</sup>

Philo reproduces here an idea old in Greek philosophical circles. Empedocles calls the body the *σαρκῶν χιτῶν* of the soul.<sup>16</sup> According to Plotinus there is no raising of the soul possible until she has been stripped of these garments of passions and sins:

ἐπιστραφεῖσι καὶ ἀποδυσμένοις, ἃ καταβαίνοντες ἡμφιέσμεθα· οἷον ἐπὶ τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἱερῶν τοῖς ἀνιοῦσι καθάρσεις τε καὶ ἱματίων ἀποθέσεις τῶν πρὶν καὶ τὸ γυμνοῖς ἀνέναι.<sup>17</sup>

It is very significant that Plotinus in the last words refers to the mystery cults in which the candidates had to take off their clothes to be initiated.<sup>18</sup> We see here again how religious ceremonies influence philosophical doctrines. In the same way as for Philo and Plotinus, so for Proclus tunics are symbols of passions which we have to take off:

καὶ ἀποδυσμένοις τὰ πάθη καὶ τοὺς χιτῶνας, οὓς κατιόντες προσεὐλόφωμεν, ἔσχατος χιτῶν ἐστὶ ἀποδυτέος ὁ τῆς φιλοτιμίας, ἵνα γυμνοί τε, ὥς φησι τὸ λόγιον, γεγονότες ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ προσιδρύσωμεν . . . ταῖς θείαις ζωαῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐξομοιώσαντες.<sup>19</sup>

These garments of sin hinder the complete union with God, who is One:

συννεύουσα γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἔνωσιν καὶ τὸ κέντρον συμπάσης ζωῆς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀποσκευαζομένη καὶ τὴν ποικιλίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ παντοδαπῶν δυνάμεων, ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀνεισι τὴν ἄκραν τῶν ὄντων περιωπὴν καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς τῶν τελετῶν ἀγνωτάταις φασὶ τοὺς μύστας τὴν μὲν πρώτην πολυειδέσι καὶ πολυμόρφοις τῶν θεῶν προβεβλημένοι γένεσιν ἀπαντᾶν, εἰσιόντας δὲ ἀκλινεῖς καὶ ταῖς τελεταῖς πεφραγμένους αὐτὴν τὴν θείαν, ἑλλαμψιν ἀκραιφνῶς ἐγκολπίζεσθαι καὶ

<sup>15</sup> Philo, *De somniis*, I, 43 (Loeb Cl. L., V, p. 317).

<sup>16</sup> Empedocles, Frag. 126. Cf. J. Bernays, *Theophrastos' Schrift über die Frömmigkeit* (Berlin, 1866), pp. 143 ff.; P. Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur* (Tübingen, 1912), p. 172.

<sup>17</sup> Plotinus, *Enn.*, I, 6, 7 (I, p. 93 Volkmann).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. J. Heckenbach, *De nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis* (*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, IX, 3 [Giessen, 1911]), pp. 64-67.

<sup>19</sup> Proclus, *In Alcibiadem*, 2, 296.

γυμνίτας (ὡς ἂν ἐκεῖνοι φαῖεν) τοῦ θεοῦ μεταλαμβάνειν, τὸν αὐτὸν οἶμαι τρόπον καὶ ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ τῶν ὄλων.<sup>20</sup>

Similarly Porphyry demands the mortification of sensuality under the figure of removing the "tunics of skin," i. e. the passions.<sup>21</sup> According to Seneca Posidonius used the same figure.<sup>22</sup>

These Neoplatonic ideas influenced again the explanation of the baptismal rite given by the ecclesiastical writers.<sup>23</sup> Cyril of Jerusalem says for instance:

As soon then, as you entered, you put off your tunic; and this is an image of putting off the old man with his deeds. Having stripped yourselves you were naked. . . . For since the adverse powers made their lair in your members, you may no longer wear that old garment; I do not at all mean this visible one, but the old man which waxeth corrupt in the lusts of deceit (*Eph.*, IV, 22).<sup>24</sup>

Ambrose, Cyril's contemporary in the West, has the same thought: *Accepisti post haec vestimenta candida, ut esset indicium, quod exueris involucrem peccatorum: indueris innocentiae casta velamina.*<sup>25</sup>

But the Neoplatonic influence is nowhere so clearly visible as in the works of Pseudo-Dionysius. His commentary on the ceremony of taking off the garments before baptism reminds us immediately of Plotinus and Proclus. According to him the ceremony of stripping before baptism means nothing else than the putting aside of all bad passions, the taking away of all division and discord in the soul, and the return to the "divine

<sup>20</sup> Proclus, *In Platonis Theologiam*, I, 3. Cf. J. Kroll, *Die Lehren des Hermes Trismegistos (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, XIII, 2-4 [2nd ed., Münster, 1928])*, pp. 297-99.

<sup>21</sup> Porphyry, *De abstinencia*, I, 31 (p. 109, 14 Nauck); cf. II, 46. For other passages see the indexes of Kroll and Diehl to Proclus, *In Remph.* and *In Timaeum*, respectively, s. vv. *χιτών* and *περίβλημα*.

<sup>22</sup> Seneca, *Epist.*, 92, 13.

<sup>23</sup> These ideas influenced also the symbolism attached to monastic clothing. Cf. P. Oppenheim, *Symbolik und religiöse Wertung des Mönchkleides im christlichen Altertum* (Münster, 1932). J. Quasten, *Oriens Christianus*, XXX (1933), p. 236.

<sup>24</sup> Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses mystagogicae*, II, 2 (p. 81 Quasten). *Nic. and Postnic. Fathers*, VII, p. 147.

<sup>25</sup> Ambrosius, *Expositio in Lucam*, V, 25 (*P. L.*, XV, p. 1642).

unity.”<sup>26</sup> Just as Proclus regarded the vestments of passions and sin as obstacles to a reunion with the “divine unity,” so Dionysius explains the removal of the old garments as taking away these various obstacles, as making free the way for the final return to God, the One.<sup>27</sup>

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### AMBROSIAI STELAI.\*

To the many variants of the Planktai legend assembled by A. B. Cook in the latest volume of his monumental *Zeus*<sup>1</sup> should be added the following brief version of the Vedic Soma myth:<sup>2</sup> “Gāyatrī brought Soma from the sky. It was placed between two golden blades; these two were razor-edged and closed together at every winking of the eye.”

<sup>26</sup> Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, II, 3 § 5 (p. 287 Quasten).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. H. Koch, *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita in seinen Beziehungen zum Neuplatonismus und Mysterienwesen* (Mainz, 1900), pp. 165-68.

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<sup>1</sup> III, ii, *Appendixes and Index* (Cambridge, 1940); Appendix P: “Floating Islands,” pp. 975-1016.

<sup>2</sup> *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 3. 6. 2. 8, 9: . . . sā gāyatrī divaḥ somam āharat. (9) hiraṇmayyor ha kuśyor antaravahita āsa. te ha sma kṣurapavī nimeṣam nimeṣam abhisamdhatto. *Kuśyor* (nom. *kuśī*) is difficult. On the evidence of other *SB* passages (e.g. 4. 5. 10. 6, where *kuśī* is a plant which may, in emergency, be substituted for Soma itself; 5. 3. 2. 7, where the sharpness of its blade is clear) I stress the cutting edge of the leaf or stalk in my translation. But if *kuśī* = *kośa* (cf. *RV* I, 135, 2 and especially *RV* IX, 86, 2: *kośam adrimātaram*), then the two razor-edged objects are the “rock-sprung containers” themselves, and the parallel with the “ambrosial rocks” is even more exact. It is worthy of mention, however, though hardly capable of proof, that the *Brāhmaṇa* passage may contain the true kernel of the whole story. *πέρπος* (alas, not *πέρπα*!) can be the name of a reed (*Periplus Maris Rubri*, 65, cited in Liddell and Scott, s. v.: . . . καλύμους τοὺς λεγόμενους πέρπους); likewise *kuśī*. Cf. then the ambrosiai petrai, whence flows the water of life (Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 978-983; figs. 783-789); the significance (almost certainly erotic) of the reed in the Prometheus fire-legend; and the discussion of dancing and floating reeds by Cook (*op. cit.*, pp. 988-991) in connection with this particular subject.



This Indian account is a good five hundred years earlier than anything quoted by Cook; since Soma is explicitly mentioned, "the suspiciously Hellenistic look . . . of this ambrosial business"<sup>3</sup> must be rejected in favor of a much more radical origin: for the Indo-European speech-community, therefore, the union of the ambrosia myth with the "clashing rocks" motif appears to be a heritage held in common. The wide-spread attestation of the whole complex, however, as well as its astonishing divergence, suggests that we have to consider a far more ancient "ur-mythos," quite possibly ante-dating any known records of man.

From the Sanskrit point of view the link to "Indo-European" legend is important for the assurance that this version of the Soma story is authentic and not merely the later product of fertile Brahmin inventiveness.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 982. Cf. also Sir J. G. Fraser in his edition of Apollodorus (London-New York, 1921), p. 358: ". . . the Greek tale of the clashing rocks . . . probably . . . is a mere creation of a storyteller's fancy."

<sup>4</sup> Gāyatrī (a Vedic metre) is, of course, an Indian intruder; and the theological interpretation of the myth which immediately follows must be held suspect.

## REVIEWS.

WALTER OTTO and HERMANN BENGTON. Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches. (*Abhandl. der Bayerischen Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Neue Folge, XVII.) Munich, Verlag der Bayer. Akad. der Wiss., in Kommission bei der C. H. Beck'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1938. Pp. 244. M. 25.

This book deserves the motto *ex fumo dare lucem*. The history of the Ptolemaic house in the latter part of the second century B. C. "has seemed merely a repellent and meaningless jumble of murders and civil wars; Otto has achieved the seemingly impossible feat of making it profoundly interesting, through his careful method of investigating down to bedrock every scrap of detail"—to quote W. W. Tarn's review.<sup>1</sup> To this, and to the discussion by C. B. Welles, *C. W.*, XXXIII (1940), pp. 279 ff., I must refer the reader for the brilliant and solid reconstruction of the political history and for the most interesting treatment of the dating of the discovery of the direct sea-route to India; what follows is confined to the work's contribution to our understanding of ruler-worship and of syncretism.

(1) This period of Ptolemaic history is marked by an abundance of new divine titles and fresh priesthoods for the royal cult, and O.-B. are clearly right in emphasizing the deliberate character of all this: e.g. the naming of Ptolemy X, when a younger son, as Alexandros and after his accession as ὁ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος or ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Ἀλέξανδρος—an unprecedented type of royal double name; his designation of his own son as Alexandros (pp. 15, 165 f.); the earlier ascription to Ptolemy VIII of titles of Ptolemy III (pp. 42, 48); the revival of *Soter* by Ptolemy IX (p. 175); the deification of Neos Philopator twenty-six years after his death (pp. 110 f.);<sup>2</sup> the styling of Cleopatra III as "Great (or 'greatest') Isis, mother of the gods"; her borrowing of the title Thea Philometor Soteira which Cleopatra II had earlier assumed (pp. 140, 61); the epithet *nikephoros* and its probable linkage with the celebration of Nikephoria (pp. 150 f.), etc.; the cumulation of epithets to the point of resembling a hymn (p. 157). The use or revival of names and epithets which are not primarily cultual, the variations of terms of relationship (pp. 31 ff.; 62, n. 5), and the practice of *damnatio memoriae* (p. 182)<sup>3</sup> make it certain that this whole development

<sup>1</sup> *J. H. S.*, LIX (1939), pp. 323 f. Hereafter references without title are to the pages of Otto-Bengtson.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. pp. 32, 55, 61, 76, 158, 175 for other attempts to recall and to appropriate the glories of the early Ptolemies, p. 152 for a Seleucid analogy.

<sup>3</sup> There was, it seems, also unofficial *damnatio* (p. 66).

was a matter of royal policy.<sup>4</sup> Further, its formulation is primarily in Greek,<sup>5</sup> and not directed to the native element.<sup>6</sup>

O.-B. recognize an element of pathological self-assertion, such as we see later in Caligula and Commodus, which is compatible with the unnatural domestic life of the dynasty; and a note of strident self-assertion can accompany weakness as well as strength: "les peines édictées contre les fonctionnaires se font d'autant plus sévères que les édits sont moins efficaces."<sup>7</sup> At the same time O.-B. insist that the main factor is the desire to make propaganda—which is by no means inconsistent with what may be loosely termed megalomania; Caligula, while puzzled at the failure of the Jews to recognize his divinity, took many steps to emphasize it. Propaganda is not always well-directed and successful. In fact, O.-B. urge that the protracted discontinuance of datings by the priest of "Great Isis, mother of the gods" suggests that this formula went too far and excited animosity (pp. 92 f.). This may be true, but I do not feel sure of contemporary susceptibilities:<sup>8</sup> certainly no Ptolemy took the epithet *eusebes*.<sup>9</sup> Further, except in so far as Cleopatra III asserted herself in opposition to Cleopatra II, the divine titulature is not primarily propaganda for one ruler against another. It is an emphatic statement of the way in which these rulers wished to be regarded (just as with *Philhellen*, *Philoromaïos*, or *Philantonios* a king nailed his colors to the mast).

Deification provided an etiquette for the relation of monarch and dwellers within his sphere of influence: on their side homage, on his side a divine pose which admitted of a wide range of variation between moderate and exaggerated forms. We may readily agree with C. B. Welles that "subtle and far-reaching implications of this

<sup>4</sup> Cf. again pp. 145 and 185 for striking evidence of the deliberate choice of the formulas used as preambles; pp. 186 f. for a dating which shows how the language of the Serapeum at Memphis echoed royal wishes.

<sup>5</sup> One priestly title (p. 42) is interpreted as resting on Egyptian or Graeco-Egyptian thought; but it is the title of a priesthood at Ptolemais and must be understood as clumsy Greek (cf. the ponderous language of *Or. Gr. Inscr. Sel.*, 383). Cf. also W. Otto, *Ptolemaica* (*Sitzungsb. München*, 1939, No. 3: a supplement to the work reviewed).

<sup>6</sup> A list of persons with an exemption in *P. Tebt.*, 5, 168 f. mentions Greeks serving in the army before priests.

<sup>7</sup> C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, p. 524; cf. her study in *Atti del IV Congresso di Papirologia* (1935, publ. 1936; Publ. d' "Aegyptus," Ser. Scient., V), pp. 183 ff. of the weakness of the enforcement of law in Ptolemaic Egypt at all times. (Apropos of the divine titulature, reference may be made to M. Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges*, pp. 68 f. on the significance of Pepin's unction; p. 81 and *passim* on quasi-political insistence on the magical powers of the King's Touch; pp. 174 f. and *passim* on royal weakness as a principal factor in the development of this and of cramp-rings.) For stridency cf. the development of the Asiatic school of rhetoric, and Nock, *Conversion*, pp. 200 f.

<sup>8</sup> J. G. Milne, *J. E. A.*, I (1914), p. 99, publishes what may be a caricature of Antony and Cleopatra in their divine rôles; but that would be sarcasm rather than protest.

<sup>9</sup> The description of Ptolemy IV by priests (*Or. Gr. Inscr. Sel.*, 90, 2) and Ptolemy VI by allies as *eusebes* in Cyprus (*ibid.*, 116: M. Holleaux, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, VI [1920], pp. 10 f.) is not in point.

or that term can hardly have been drawn by the general public, when the cumbersome formulae were impossible even for the professional scribes to keep straight."<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, the general tenor of the policy must have been realized: in effect, what the Ptolemies did was not so much to appropriate divine prestige as to pose in the rôle of super-gods.<sup>11</sup> *P. Tebt.*, 5 (118 B. C.) has two very significant phrases: money is to be sought from the crown-revenues for the burial of Apis and Mnevis just as in the case of those deified—that is, of deified kings (ll. 76 ff.); and "(the linen-workers) shall use their implements in the temples themselves for what is due to the sovereigns and for the vestments of the other gods" (ll. 245 ff.). This precedence appeared much earlier in the formula of the so-called "royal oath" and in the Demotic statutes of cult associations.<sup>12</sup> An echo, in all probability of this time, may be remarked in *S. E. G.*, IX, 5, 21 ff., a Cyrenaic decree providing that the magistrates shall sacrifice on behalf of the city to king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra his sister, Savior gods, and to their son Ptolemy and to their parents and to their ancestors *and to all the other gods*.<sup>13</sup> People may have been bored with all this, but it hardly seems that they were shocked.

Definite royal purpose is certain in at least two instances, at Alexandria: the new hierarchy of annual priesthoods created by Cleopatra III (p. 153), which is comparable with the provincial priesthoods and the municipal sevirate of the Roman Empire, as a device to use the desire for distinction as a reinforcement of loyalty; and the naming of rival priests by Euergetes II when he was excluded from Alexandria (pp. 95 f.).

This propaganda was, as Otto says (*Ptolemaica*, p. 15), political rather than religious. O.-B. call for an investigation of Hellenistic propaganda in general. This is much to be desired and should give some account of earlier analogies in the Near East, e. g. the various temples erected by Thutmose III at Semma, the sculptures and titulature of Hatshepsut,<sup>14</sup> the exceptional activity of Akhnaton, and in general royal buildings and inscriptions: the last show a passion for self-justification as well as for magnificence. Temple-building, sculpture, inscriptions (sometimes in two languages) remained in vogue during the Hellenistic period, which added the use of coins and their

<sup>10</sup> *C. W.*, XXXIII (1940), p. 281. Luke 22, 25 shows popular awareness of the implications of *euergetes*.

<sup>11</sup> Κλεοπάτρας θεᾶς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς καὶ Φιλομήτορος (*Ptolemaica*, pp. 5 ff.) perhaps implies that Cleopatra is called Aphrodite on one plane, Philometor on another.

<sup>12</sup> E. Seidl, *Der Eid im ptolemäischen Recht* (Diss., Munich, 1929), pp. 12 ff. (*ibid.*, pp. 33 ff. on Wilcken, *Urk. Ptol.-Z.*, 110, ii, 39 f. as rating an oath by the royalties above oaths in temples); Roberts-Skeat-Nock, *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XXIX (1936), pp. 80 f.

<sup>13</sup> On the date cf. *Ptolemaica*, pp. 16 ff. (on the other side P. Roussel, *Rev. Ét. Anc.*, XLI [1939], pp. 5 ff.). For earlier Ptolemaic parallels cf. *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, XLI (1930), pp. 51 f. Flamininus is twice mentioned before a deity in a dedication (*ibid.*, p. 52, n. 3), but I do not know parallels in ruler-worship.

<sup>14</sup> J. H. Breasted, *C. A. H.*, II, p. 85; K. Sethe, *Abhandl. Preuss. Akad.*, 1932, No. 4. Some divine titulature of kings in earlier Egypt is intended to glorify the cult of the god concerned (H. Kees, *Ägypten*, p. 174).

legends,<sup>15</sup> epithets, fictitious genealogies, the circulation of prophecies, and court poetry. The supreme master of the art was Augustus, and his successors continued the tradition.<sup>16</sup>

So far as our scanty evidence goes, there are indications of court-historiography<sup>17</sup> but none of court-poetry in this later Egypt, till we come to the lost poem of Theodorus (Suidas, *s. v.*) on the great Cleopatra. The lack, if such it be, can be explained from the fact that the later Ptolemies had no cause to appeal to the sentiment of the Greek world in general: court-poetry, like costly gifts to Delos and Samothrace, belong to an earlier phase.

(2) The issue of syncretism is raised in connection with the Alexandrian priestly title, found between 131 and 104 B. C., *ἱερός πῶλος Ἰσιδος μεγάλης μητρός θεῶν* (pp. 71 ff.). O.-B. emphasize that this comes from a time of sharp conflict, that it must designate Cleopatra III, that the ascription to a queen of a priest and not a priestess is exceptional:<sup>18</sup> that in fact the official divine honors of Cleopatra III are altogether out of the ordinary (e. g. this recondite term<sup>19</sup> in place of *hierous*, the omission of any mortal name for the queen, and the ranking of the priesthood after that of Alexander and of the deified kings but before those of the deified queens). They are probably right in arguing that the primary meaning is "Great Isis, mother of the gods" rather than "Isis, great mother of the gods" (p. 86) and certainly right in maintaining that identification with Cybele is directly suggested. Further, if Wilcken's generally accepted restoration of *P. Petrie*, III, 1, ii, 6 f. is correct, Berenice, probably Berenice II, had been called "Isis, mother of the gods" (p. 77)—perhaps in accordance with court usage and not from the whim of an individual dedicator (p. 79): and "mother of the gods" does not refer to Berenice's two sons. (I agree, but, since the title appears in the tenth year of Ptolemy III, might it not at one and the same time refer to Cybele and also make a delicate allusion to the deification of the small daughter who died in his ninth year?)<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Cf. J. G. Milne, *Ancient Egypt* (1928), pp. 37 ff.; Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 131 f., 181; the "municipal issues" of Antiochus Epiphanes (B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, 2nd ed., p. 763); the lengthy legends of Parthian coins, etc.

<sup>16</sup> No Hellenistic monarchy had any sustained singleness of loyalty that bears comparison, and no Hellenistic epithet had the effectiveness of Augustus. Cf. in general M. P. Charlesworth, *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, XXIII (1937); L. Berlinger, *Beitr. z. inoffiziellen Titulatur d. röm. Kaiser* (Diss., Breslau, 1935); H. Mattingly, *O. A. H.*, XII, pp. 715 ff. (above all his remark, about the programmatic character of coins, that there were far fewer rival claims on people's attention then than now).

<sup>17</sup> O.-B., pp. 118; 145; 178; 177, n. 1; 179.

<sup>18</sup> Isis had priests, and this may have been meant to emphasize Cleopatra's identification with her.

<sup>19</sup> Which suggests Alexandrian learning—just as some themes of the Pergamene Altar point to men of erudition. Scholars presumably returned after the enforced flight at the beginning of the reign of Euergetes II: cf. *P. Oxy.*, 1241, ii, 16 ff. (with the comment of Grenfell and Hunt, X, p. 100).

<sup>20</sup> *Or. Gr. Inscr. Sel.*, 56.

Isis was called "great" and "mother of the god (i. e. Horus)," <sup>21</sup> but she could not be "mother of the gods," except in an honorific sense <sup>22</sup> or in virtue of an identification with some other goddess. <sup>23</sup> Borrowing of Cybele's title is more likely than coincidence, and O.-B. suggest that Timotheus may be ultimately responsible (p. 80), since he had been concerned with Sarapis at Alexandria and with Cybele at Pessinus, and since there are frequent references to the Mother in Alexandrian poetry <sup>24</sup> as contrasted with few indications of her cult in Egypt—which argues for court rather than popular interest (p. 79).

This may be true. Yet (1) if Timotheus had established this equation, we should expect to find the Mother in some form among the deities equated with Arsinoe II; (2) these poets do not use the forms *μεγάλη μήτηρ* and *μήτηρ θεῶν* and, furthermore, they have very little to say about Sarapis and Isis and nothing about Alexander—which suggests that they were concerned with matters of interest to the literary world in general and, while glorifying the Ptolemaic house, did not emphasize its domestic preferences; <sup>25</sup> (3) references in Philo (p. 224, n. 40 *infra*), *P. Oslo.*, I, 158 (= Preisendanz, *P. Gr. Mag.*, XXXVI, 158), <sup>26</sup> and astrological texts <sup>27</sup> to *galloi* make it probable that there was more Cybele-worship in Egypt than we know; <sup>28</sup> (4) "Mother of the gods," and "Great Mother" were fairly well known in earlier Greece, and their attachment to the cult at Pessinus is probably just part of its hellenization; accordingly, we do not here need to attach much importance to Pessinus. <sup>29</sup>

<sup>21</sup> O.-B., p. 19; cf. R. V. Lanzone, *Diz. mitol. egiz.*, 829, 833, 813, 825. (But O.-B., p. 20 on the etymology of *Μεθύει* is at best doubtful; Professor William F. Edgerton favors "great flood.")

<sup>22</sup> E. g. Dionysius Periegetes, 355 f. *Ῥώμην . . . μητέρα πασῶν πολιῶν* (and the description of Zeus as "father of gods and men").

<sup>23</sup> In A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, Third Series, I (Chester Beatty Gift), pp. 82, 93, Isis is mother of Amun. Nut is naturally mother of the gods (Lanzone, 394); but we find also Thueris called "die die Götter gebär" (G. Roeder in Roscher, *Lex.*, V, cols. 890, 902). Neith is "Göttermutter in Denderah" (A. Rusch, *R.-E.*, XVI, col. 2217; cf. Drexler in Roscher, III, cols. 435, 440 for her as mother of kings and of dead men); Hathor is "die Mutter der Mütter" (Drexler in Roscher, I, col. 1857).

<sup>24</sup> Add Callimachus, *Ep.*, 40, *ἱερὴν . . . Διὸς μητέρα*.

<sup>25</sup> E. Visser, *Götter und Kulte im ptolemäischen Alexandrien*, pp. 49 f.

<sup>26</sup> Coupled with *περικαθήρης* (cf. Eitrem's note, p. 75 and *Didache*, 3, 4; also W. L. Knox, *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, XL [1939], pp. 146 ff.).

<sup>27</sup> F. Cumont, *L'Égypte des astrologues*, pp. 132 f.; Nock, *Gnomon*, XV (1939), p. 364. (In the *Gnomon* of the *Idios Logos*, § 112, l. 244, *γάλλος* probably means just "eunuch," as P. M. Meyer thinks [*Jurist. Pap.*, p. 344]; but the religious sense seems certain in the astrological texts.)

<sup>28</sup> Cf. also W. Weber, *Ägypt.-griech. Terrak.*, p. 170. O.-B., p. 85 raise the question of the possible relevance of the *Phrygia grammata*. I suspect that it was a learned Euhemerizing work, bearing on the old problem (Herodotus, II, 2) of the claims of Egypt and Phrygia for priority in culture: for continued interest in this, cf. Wendland's note on Hippolytus, *Ref.*, V, 7, 4 (p. 79) and Tertullian, *Nat.*, I, 8.

<sup>29</sup> For p. 80, n. 3 note ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΠΕΣΣΙΝΕ(Ι)ΑΣ on coins of Pessinus assigned to the second or first century B. C. (Head, p. 748; *ibid.*, p. 649, ΜΗΤΗΡ ΘΕΩΝ at Briula).

The equation of Isis-Cybele was certainly made, e. g. at Delos and in the Madinet Madi hymns,<sup>30</sup> I, 20:

μητέρα δὴ κλήζουσι θεῶν καὶ Θρήκες ἄνδρες

"The Thracians *also*—as well as other people in general, or other men in Egypt<sup>31</sup>—invoke thee as mother of the gods." O.-B. are probably right in arguing that the reference is primarily to Thracians settled in Egypt.<sup>32</sup> I, 15: Θράκες καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ ὅσοι βάρβαροί εἰσι emphasizes "Thracians" and distinguishes them from barbarians; we hear later of Syrians, Lycians, Thracians, Greeks, and Egyptians—all from the Ptolemaic orbit as it had been.<sup>33</sup> Further, III, 30-31 describes the men of the Arsinoite Nome as of all races. The author, though knowing Egyptian tradition or what passed as such,<sup>34</sup> may well be a hellenized Thracian who thought of

<sup>30</sup> *S. E. G.*, VIII, 548-551; Preisigke-Bilabel, *Sammelbuch*, 8138-41.

<sup>31</sup> Unless καὶ was inserted *metri gratia*. In any case, Chaldaeans and Egyptians were commonly said to assign this or that planet to a god with a Greek name—presumably the native equivalent: cf. F. Cumont, *Ant. Class.*, IV (1935), pp. 5 ff. Ptolemy, *Tetr.*, II, 3, speaks of the inhabitants of Ariana, Gedrosia, Parthia, etc. as worshipping the planet Venus as Isis. In I, 18 Ἀστάρτην Ἀρτεμὶν σε Σύροι κλήζουσιν Ἀναίαν read κλήζουσιν *Navalan* (for Nanaia cf. E. Visser, *op. cit.*, p. 44; F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, pp. 196 ff. Σύροι has a wide enough range of meaning: cf. Pape-Benseler, s. v.). A noteworthy aspect of these hymns is the repeated emphasis on the description of Hermouthis as Agathe Tyche and of her companion—here Sokonopis (a form of Suchos)—as Agathos Daimon (so Suchos himself, IV, 24). His association with Hermouthis made it particularly natural to give him a title early applied to Psos; but this is another warning against the belief that the term Agathos Daimon remains specific. As applied to Helios or Crates or Nero, it has its adjectival aspect "luck-spirit, good genius" (cf. P. Perdrizet, *Terres cuites . . . Fouquet*, pp. 73 f.; W. W. Tarn, *J. H. S.*, XLVIII [1928], pp. 213 f.) and states a function, not an identity. So various goddesses—and, at Dura, Zeus Olympios transformed into Ba'al Shamin—bear the title "Tyche (or God) of the city"; so again the much-discussed term Aion acquired specific attachments in later Alexandria and, it seems, in Phoenicia, but is in general primarily qualitative or abstract or sonorous.

<sup>32</sup> But their argument from the use of Θράξι, not Θράκη in *P. Oxy.*, 1380, 101 is not strong: we find there Ἰνδοίς, Θεσσαλοίς, Πέρσαις, Μάγοις.

<sup>33</sup> Yet neither this passage nor III, 12 ff., with its reference to the good king's power over Asia and Europe, points decisively to an original in the third century B. C. The latter combines the Hesiodic concept of the good king with a traditional desire to revive Alexander's empire and with an age-long Egyptian aspiration: cf. U. Wilcken, *Urk. Ptol.-Z.*, 106, 14.

<sup>34</sup> Above all I, 23, with an Egyptian etymology, and IV, 17-20. *S. E. G.*, VIII, 568 indicates a type of man able to play a part in continuing this work of interpretation; so also *P. Oxy.*, 1381 where, as here, a god and an early king are involved. References such as that in IV, 18 to Egyptian records call for some scepticism: thus Diodorus Siculus, I, 55, 8 appears to preserve genuine Egyptian tradition (cf. C. H. Oldfather *ad loc.*), but I, 96, 2 is an obvious fiction (cf. F. Jacoby, *R.-E.*, VII, col.

his fellow-nationals as worshipping the Mother of the gods—whether he meant Cybele or some Thracian goddess designated by a descriptive epithet.<sup>85</sup>

What he says of Isis and the Mother is no reflection of ruler-worship, old or new, but an equation, and such equations are commonly classified under the formula of syncretism. We may use it: but we must, I think, reject the common assumption that such syncretism involved a widespread fading of divine individualities, and in particular that it made the pantheon less Greek. Some fading there was, some fusion: not to speak of Hermanubis, weaker deities had always been liable to be absorbed by stronger ones (as Priapus absorbed or replaced phallic deities earlier worshipped<sup>86</sup> and as Curetes, Corybantes, Cabiri approximated to one another). But, in name and appearance at least, the Greeks were not the losers: the goddess of Ephesus retained her native characteristics, but was called Artemis; Ammon even came to be regarded as a Greek god.<sup>87</sup> *Interpretatio graeca* meant this, that the Greek nomenclature was central; so the art-types of the Greek gods remained and exercised influence: the tale of Demeter was applied to the Phrygian mother, but not *vice versa*. (At Dura there was *interpretatio* of Artemis in the opposite direction, but that was in consequence of a considerable change in population and culture, and in any event the name Artemis survived.)

After all, the Hellenistic age is marked by the rise of cults of "all the gods" which implies their distinctness;<sup>88</sup> and under the Roman Empire, when syncretism is supposed to have grown so much, Greek and foreign deities are different entities in the dream-book of Artemidorus, and pious men receive one initiation after another. Individuality remained even when various deities were recognized as constituting a group of kindred figures, *M[at]ribus omnium gentium*.<sup>89</sup> "Great Isis, mother of the gods" was the easier for that

2726, 22, and, for the whole problem, W. Jaeger, *Diokles von Karystos*, pp. 125 ff.), as is [Maneth.], V (VI), 1 ff.; cf. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, I, 70-1 (stelai erected by offspring of Seth with prophecies of world-destruction by fire and flood). I do not believe in the "mostly obliterated" inscriptions of Diodorus, I, 27, 6.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. "Hpsw.

<sup>86</sup> H. Herter, *De Priapo*, pp. 9 ff.; also A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III, p. 12, n. 3 on the gradual equation of Erechtheus with Poseidon at Athens, and P. Clement, *Hesperia*, VIII (1939), p. 200 on the possible absorption of an Enodia by Artemis.

<sup>87</sup> Roberts-Skeat-Nock, *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XXIX (1936), p. 71, n. 95: contrast Arrian, *Ind.*, 35, 8 for earlier feelings. Antiochus Epiphanes appears to have acted as though Hadad were Zeus.

<sup>88</sup> On this cf. O. Kern, *Religion d. Griechen*, III, p. 126 (and p. 159, *θεοὶ τοῖς πανταχοῦ* at Pergamon).

<sup>89</sup> *C. I. L.*, VII, 887; cf. texts, quoted by A. Götze, *Kleinasien*, p. 124, "alle Wettergötter," "alle Hepits," "alle Istars." Babylonia anticipated the Greek practice of equating deities (e.g. W. F. Albright, *Journ. Bibl. Lit.*, LIX [1940], p. 103). Cf. in general A. Bertholet, *Götterspaltung und Göttervereinigung*. Dura provides instructive illustrations of the independent cults of kindred deities.



"mother of the gods" is after all a descriptive phrase, even if it is a descriptive phrase which usually belonged to Cybele.<sup>40</sup>

The identification of deities was largely a matter of propaganda (as in earlier Egypt, where we have to reckon with the rivalry of priesthoods),<sup>41</sup> or of the magical cumulation of power, or of theory. In spite of *interpretatio*, foreign gods were foreign gods, for Cicero and Lucian alike: identity reached by defining deities in terms of the *physikos logos* was identity on paper, and *panthea signa* have an element of theory or jeu d'esprit.<sup>42</sup> We should not take these things too seriously, any more than we should regard the acclamation *There is one Zeus Sarapis* (which means "There is no one like Zeus Sarapis") as in any sense a denial of the reality of other gods.

(3) Space forbids a detailed discussion of other important issues raised in this book. It is full of valuable suggestions,<sup>43</sup> and throughout solid as well as brilliant. All workers in the Hellenistic field are deeply indebted to Otto and Bengtson for what Tarn rightly calls "one of the most important works on Hellenistic history which have ever appeared."

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<sup>40</sup> A closer fusion of Cybele and Demeter might be inferred from Philo, *Spec. Leg.*, III, 40-41, where male prostitutes and eunuchs are mentioned in connection with the solemn rites of Demeter. Yet Philo does not show much acquaintance with the religious practices of paganism; and the main "mysteries" in literature were those of Demeter; I prefer to suppose a confusion on his part.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. G. Roeder, *Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten*, p. 139, "Ich habe viele Namen und viele Gestalten. Meine Gestalt ist in jedem Gotte. Atum und Horus-Heknu ('Horus der Jungendliche') werden (in mir) angerufen"; A. Rusch, *R.-E.*, XVI, col. 2201; H. Kees, *ibid.*, IV A, cols. 551 ff.; A. H. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 35 ff.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Nock, *C. A. H.*, XII, pp. 437 f. and A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III, p. 139 on the representation of Tritons with various divine attributes. On Hellenistic syncretism, T. A. Brady makes some excellent observations in *Philological Studies in Honor of Walter Miller* (Univ. of Missouri Studies, XI, 3 [1936]), pp. 17 ff.

<sup>43</sup> E. g. p. 42, n. 5 on *princeps magnus* in Apuleius, *Met.*, XI, 17 as perhaps reflecting late Ptolemaic usage (add that according to XI, 30 the *collegium* of Isiac *pastophori* at Rome was founded in the time of Sulla and that the cult at Cenchræe near Corinth might well have been based on that at Rome); p. 49, n. 1 on *duce Tryphone* (which may be compared with *impulsore Chresto* in Suetonius, *Claud.*, 25); p. 58, n. 3 on the attenuated survival in the Alexandrian mob of the old prerogative of the Macedonian military assembly; p. 66 on II Macc. 1 (on which cf. now C. C. Torrey, *J. A. O. S.*, LX [1940], pp. 119 ff.); pp. 131 and 149, n. 2 on the status of queens before the great Cleopatra; p. 137 on the conservatism of native scribes; pp. 138 f. on the relationship of the Philometores to the southern border; pp. 143 f. and 150 on Isis-Dikaio-syne; pp. 154 f. on the ceremonial use of fire and light.

EDUARD NORDEN. Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern. (*Skifter utgivna av kungl. humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund*, XXIX.) Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup; London, Milford, 1939. Pp. xiv + 300. 18 s.

Words have their meanings. The cheap taunt about "bigger books about smaller subjects" is as damnable in the world of scholarship as the doctrinaire cynicisms which, to their sorrow, have misled simple souls in the world at large. For words have their meanings.

In his new big book, I will say his great book, announced previously, the bibliographers should note, under the title of *Altlateinische Studien*, Norden interprets for us the meanings of the words in two, and only two, short, and very short, Latin texts. To do this he has mustered a lifetime's learning of Greek and Latin—language and literature, life and religion. He would be well within his rights in taking it for granted that a reviewer will at least try to follow his author's example. But I declined to review this book twice, and the Cox to my Box will be Nock's (in *Classical Philology*).

It is known from scripture that a prophet is not unknown save in his own land. Professor Thomas Fitzhugh now comes into his own (p. 229, n. 1 and p. 235<sup>1</sup> with n. 2) in a work written by a German scholar in exile, published at Lund, and its preface dated from Zürich—this apropos of Norden's discussion of the metrical and rhythmical structure of the song of the Arval brethren: "Die Wiederaufnahme von Untersuchungen über die Wesensbeschaffenheit des Accents im Saturnier ist zu erwarten . . . ; dabei wird sich eine Prüfung der Arbeiten Fitzhugh's empfehlen." Commendable indeed; commendable too Norden's insistence, in the words of Bickel, on the fact that "Die grundsätzliche Stellung des Versbaus auf das quantifizierende Prinzip bedeutet bei den Römern niemals (my italics) die gänzliche Ausserachtlassung des akzentuierenden." He continues with the hope that "die Kymographie, die jüngste (my italics again) technische Erfindung der Experimentalphonetik" will lead us from the known (the modern) to the unknown (the ancient). The experimental phoneticians doubtless must be flattered by this sign of attention and respect to their doings, at least those of them who have not heard of anything more recent than the kymograph, which some of them now regard as very old stuff. Norden, however, commits himself to Pasquali's theory of the saturnian, which, as I see it, must be the result of a desperate attempt to adapt native Italic verse to Greek principles (*A. J. P.*, LVIII [1937], p. 487).

Norden's latest work, which, if he had written no other, would have made him famous, falls into two parts in the proportion of about one

<sup>1</sup> One of the too numerous misprints is here: Fitzhug. On p. 190: for 1920 read 1930; and for *OGL* VI 55 alterplicem read *OGL* VI 56 altriplicem (v. l. artiplicem): duplicem, dolosum. P. 4: for *utigne* read *utique*. P. 19, n. 1: for H. Olzcha read K. Olzcha. Misprints are in fact more numerous than is usual in works of the series to which this belongs. But the difficulties of printing must have been great, and Norden himself is aware of it. So I have not thought it worth while to make a list of all those that I have observed.

to two. The second, and larger, part (pp. 109-280) expounds in minute detail the *carmen aruale* according to an interpretation which has been maturing over many years in Norden's mind, and which has from time to time been given to scholars on a smaller scale more than once, most recently at the Harvard tercentenary celebration. Judgment may now be passed not on the four-page summary of his address given in 1936 (disfigured by the misprints of one of our own University presses in Oscan, which I can though I ought to be the last to forgive, in Greek, to which perhaps we shall have to become reconciled, and even in Latin, about which I will say nothing) but on a closely knit argument sustained by a wealth of illustration which is as rich as anything ever put together by J. E. B. Mayor, and which is not only put together, but also (something which Mayor never did) put to use.

Obiter dicta Norden bestows freely as he goes. Two quotations in Paulus, hitherto adespota, are now assigned by him (p. 193), acting upon a hint of K. O. Müller, to the *Sabinae* of Ennius. This is much happier than his conjecture (p. 175) that Φῆστοι, ostensibly a local name of Latium in Strabo, V, 230, is a mere ghost of Latin *F esto*, standing for *finis esto*, the reading which Norden (p. 32), acting upon a hint of Th. Bergk, advocates in the augural formula in *Arce*, Varro, *De L. L.*, VII, 8, *templum tescumque mea finis esto*. It is a pity that Kent, whose text and translation of this passage are roughly handled by Norden (p. 280), had not the opportunity of reading Norden's reconstruction of the formula before he made his own; perhaps he might have handled it roughly. And it is amusing to observe that the metre of the *Sabinae* fragments, of which Norden writes "Das trochaeische Metrum . . . scheint ein dem Vorgang angepasstes troch. System 'numeris conceptis' gewesen zu sein," was for Lindsay (*Gloss. Lat.*, IV [1930], p. 123) rather Saturnian.

But of course Norden is acquainted, and deals faithfully, with all that has been written on the *carmen aruale* (A. Kilgour, *Mnemosyne*, Ser. 3, VI [1938], pp. 225-240 probably appeared too late for him to use, but adds little). In his argument he takes hardly a single step for which he fails to furnish authority. The conclusion of it all is that the *carmen aruale*, he contends, is a *carmen graecianum*, Greek in descent and inspiration (p. 248: nicht Konvergenz . . . vielmehr Descendenz), in form and structure, in everything except language, so forcibly withal that dissent will have to command even superior force if it is to be heard. And not the *carmen aruale* merely, but also the Twelve Tables, the Forum inscription, the *leges sacrae*. That the earliest era at which Rome was brought under a full stream of Greek influence was actually more remote than used to be supposed is one of the conclusions toward which impressive evidence of many kinds has been tending in the last two decades, and Norden's evidence and conclusions are only in line with this present tendency, which makes it appear that even the ancient Romans, had they not been brought in good time within the orbit of Greek civilisation, precocious and rapidly decadent as this early Greek influence is maintained to have been, would have emerged upon the page of history as bloody-minded bullies, brutes, and barbarians. This extreme conclusion will doubtless lead to a reaction.

Inevitably Norden had to appeal again and again in this book to "Sprachwissenschaft." But here he is a master in his own right, at least within the two classical languages, and his method in combining linguistic evidence with the evidence furnished by the history of religion is beyond all praise. It is a shining example of what these outlying disciplines can do for the history of Greek and Latin literature. The combination is one that has been promised and attempted before, but the contrast between the performance of Norden and some unfulfilled hopes, or between the modesty with which he exhibits it and immodest pretension elsewhere, is of the strongest. Any new consideration of the *carmen aruale*, for some generations of scholars, will start from Norden's; and his is not likely to be bettered unless new materials are first discovered.

Of course, there are weaknesses. The explanation of *aduocapit* as *aduocabitis*, with the ancient termination *-te* (whence *-t*) of the second person plural (cf. *φέρετε*), later changed by analogy to *-tis* (for *-e* instead of *-is* in 2 pl. cf. Paelignian *lexe*<sup>2</sup> "legistis" ?), may leave some readers unconvinced, but I cannot number myself among them. Then *berber* "there, there" may arouse doubts among the "cautious," but "caution" has been known to deny the truth as readily as a falsehood. Norden's rendering of this word is, in fact, better supported than many guesses that have gone before, and at least as well as any that I could offer.

There can be no question that he is right in tracing the meaning of *limen* from "threshold" to "boundary" (not "boundary" to "threshold"); but the etymology that he favours goes back to Corssen (for Curtius 365 in Walde-Hofmann 803, which he cites, read Curtius 368), literally "cross-beam," cf. *limes* "cross-road" and *limus* "athwart." Norden condemns *deus Limentinus* (Tertullian, Arnobius) as late, and presumably, therefore, also *Lima* (Arnobius), whom he does not mention: but we now have an interesting Raetic text, in the Magrè alphabet, from the Val Camonica *leima iuvila* (see *C. P.*, XXXV [1940], p. 187) i. e. "Lima Iouia," pre-Roman in date, in which Lima is associated with Jupiter, just as *Zeús* is *ἐπεϊός*. Whether *Iuno sororia* is also to be compared in this connexion, I am not sure; Norden naturally brings in the *tigillum sororium*, and the German *Schwelle*, O. H. G. *swelli* beside Latin *solum* (French *seuil* from \**solea*, O. Fr. *suele* means "beam, lintel" as well as "threshold," see Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Etym. Wtb.*), suggests that *tigillum sororium* (*sor-*: *sol-*, older \**suer-*: \**suel-*) is literally *limen superum* "lintel" as contrasted with *solum*, *limen inferum* "threshold, Schwelle," conflation with *sororiare* "swell" (see *Mnemosyne*, Ser. 2, LIII [1925], p. 413), and also, aetiologically at least, with *soror*, being inevitable. Again, beside *leima iuvila* one would set not merely *prestito Ioui* (*C. I. L.*, III, 4037, Poetovio) but also the Umbrian *Prestota qerfia* (on which Conway remarked "for the formation cf. Lat. *antistita*, where the verbal is active, as here"), and (Tertullian, *Ad Nat.*, II, 11, p. 115, 19) *Praestitia dea*. *Prestota*, moreover, is associated with *Qerfus martius*, and the *carmen aruale* addressed to Mars.

<sup>2</sup> It must not be inferred that I have not seen or read other explanations of this form, merely because I do not mention them.

So far, however, from using the Iguvine Tables not enough, Norden, I fear, has in one place used them too much. He appeals (p. 191, n. 1) to *Tab. Iguv.* V a 15, VII b 1 as evidence for believing that the college of the Atiedian brotherhood was twelve in number. But at V a 15 there is no mention of the number twelve, and the appeal to VII b 1 seems to imply that Norden has construed the acc. pl. *desenduf* as if it were gen. pl. The only other place in which I have seen this mistake made is Miss Rosenzweig's *Ritual and Cults of Pre-Roman Iguvium*, pp. 38, 102 (with n. 1). In the Umbrian *desenduf* refers to the number of victims, not of brethren, and there is nothing to suggest that there was one victim offered by each brother. Nor can the meaning that the brotherhood had twelve members be extracted from II b 2 (*pumperias* XII). The actual number of the brethren, even if it had been stated to be twelve, would not be vital to Norden's argument; it is enough for his interpretation of *alternei* (adv.) in v. 4 of the Arval song that their collegium (actually twelve in number, Gellius, VII, 7, 8) carried out some part at least of its ritual as a collegium, like the Atiedian college at Iguvium, which is also named in the plural (*frateer, fratrum, fratrus*). Any ritual value or mystical value which the number 12 may otherwise have had is not strictly relevant.

In this matter Norden has gone beyond the evidence; in some others he has been unduly sceptical. He doubts (pp. 204, 205) the connexion of *Semo* with *semen*, and of *serfe, -ie* (hence also of Pael. *Cerfum*) with *Ceres*. This latter doubt rests upon Schulze's assertion that it is "Willkür" to regard the identity of *Cerf-* and *Cer-* as obvious. But is it? Umbrian has *parfa* and *trahuorfi* with *rf-* corresponding to an older *-rs-* (cf. Osc. *-rr-* in *kerri*); so in Latin *sobrinus -br-* passed from *-sr-* through the intermediate stage of *-fr-*. In the Paelignian, *semmu* is better taken as an appellative of *Cerfum*, but Norden (pp. 205, 217) follows Buecheler in interpreting *sua(d)*, which must be construed with *aetatu* in the next line, as "'so,' im Sinn von 'so auch,' 'sowie.'" As for the form *Marmor* beside *Marmar*, about which Norden (p. 225) refuses to commit himself, Walde (*Lat. Etym. Wtb.*, 2nd ed., p. 467) suggested that *-or* arose after *-m-* from the secondary *r*, but that cannot be the whole story. Assimilation and dissimilation of vowels in adjacent syllables in spoken Latin (cf. *carcer*: *κάρκαρον*) is a subject about which we need to know more, and about which, if I mistake not, there is more to be learned from vulgar Latin inscriptions. P. 238: in the fragment of the *Acta* of 240 A. D., discovered in 1914, sense can be made out of *humis* without emendation, but the method is a desperate one and would leave a word otherwise unrecorded; nevertheless *humor* Varro, *De L. L.*, V, 24, Lucilius, *ibid.*, *humidus* Pacuvius justify a non-etymological spelling also in *humis* if that is to be construed as the adjective *\*umus*, here used (in the neuter?) substantivally, whence *umeo*, *umor* must derive (Walde, 2nd ed., p. 849): cf. *Tab. Iguv.* II b 15 *pune . . . vinu . . . utur* (*poscam . . . unum . . . aquam*) or II a 19 *veskla snata* "*uascula umeeta*." P. 297 (Index) s. v. *limen*: "vgl. bei II 'Grenze.'" But on p. 295 in Index II "*Grenze*" is not there. In the *Nachträge*, the addition that was promised on p. 70, n. 1 is not there.

Turning now to the first part of the book (pp. 3-106), I can best indicate Norden's treatment of the augural formula by giving his reconstructed text (p. 97):

templa tescaque m(eae) fines ita sunt  
quoad ego easte lingua nuncupauero.

ollaner arbos quirquir est quam me sentio dixisse  
templum tescumque m(ea) f(inis) esto in sinistrum.  
ollaber arbos quirquir est quod me sentio dixisse  
templum tescumque m(ea) f(inis) esto dextrum.

inter ea conregrione conspiciene cortumione  
utique ea f(ini) rectissime sensi.

In his preface Norden tells us how his first attempts to grapple with this formula of the augur began half a century ago when at Bonn he sat at the feet of Buecheler (to whose memory the present work is dedicated), and how he has renewed those attempts again and again until he finally reached the conclusions which he now sets forth with a powerful array of evidence and argument.

The merit of his restoration is not merely that he has changed the corrupt text recorded by Varro, in such a way as to make sense; that is an easy matter, and it has been done I do not know how many times before; but that the changes are convincing. They all fit together, like the pieces of a puzzle, even the repeated *fines*, *finis* (fem.), abbreviated each time it occurs. If the text had been transmitted on stone instead of in manuscript the abbreviation and the gender would have been remarked, but not questioned. As it is Norden makes out a strong case both for the abbreviated F (p. 33), for the feminine *finis* in a technical sense (p. 38), and (pp. 4-6) also for believing that the source from which Varro took the formula was, in the proper sense of the word, primary. He has overlooked (p. 3) Rose's discussion of *templum*, and he clings to Buecheler's etymology of *augur* (: *augustus*, p. 10, n. 1), which, as has often been pointed out, *auspex* makes improbable. But his account of the word *templum*, which is not new, is borne out by the history of Latin *caelum* beside Oscan *kaila*- "shrine, temple," and he wisely leaves guesses about the etymology of *tescum*, older *tesquom*, strictly alone (p. 20). The form and meaning of this word, in the n. pl. also written *tescua*, point to a quasi-gerundival adjective, used in the neuter as a noun (cf. *aruom* . . . *pascuom*), to be analysed as \**te-sc-uo-m*, in which *te-* stands alone, without any convincing etymology.<sup>3</sup> It is clear, however, that the sense required is that of a verbal base meaning "to consecrate, set aside for religious purposes; and hence leave unworked, in the rough" or the like. From *tescuom*, *tesquom* the change to *tescum* is regular, and *tesca* followed analogically.

The nominatives in

templa tescaque meae fines . . . sunt  
templum tescumque mea finis esto

<sup>3</sup> Relationship with *te-* in *templom* would be more tempting than discreet.

Norden takes as being in a "sog. parataktisch-appositiv Konstruktion," equivalent to *templorum tescorumque fines, templi tescique finis*, and he compares *C.I.L.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 756 *ueicus Furf(ensis) m(aior) pars fifeltares* (where the last word is doubtless cognate with *fideles*). Such a use of the nominative, standing as an "undefined" case, rather than as the *casus rectus*, is easily defended not merely in Latin but in all the Indo-European languages. The new form *easte* must be welcomed into the Latin historical grammars. And the forms *ollaber*, *ollaner* find their explanation with the help of the suffixes *-ber* (as in *berber*), *-ner* (as in Osc. *nertrak* "sinistrā," Umb. *nertru*), and the indefinite *quirquir* (by comparison with Goth. *hwar* "where," Lith. *kuř* "where," Latin *quor*, *cur*, so that its repeated *r* also needs no change nor any hypothetical derivation from *s* or *d*). The very simplicity of this explanation tells heavily in its favour.

Finally Norden's discussion of the structure of the formula not only fulfils all the expectations which we might have of the author of *Die antike Kunstprosa* but, incidentally, supports strongly the expansions of *m. f.* as *mea finis*, *meae fines*, through the identification of the eight-syllable and twelve-syllable or thirteen-syllable members which are conspicuous in the construction of the formula as Norden has re-written it. The whole of this first part of Norden's book, although it too like the second, is open to criticism in some points of detail, proceeds step by step with a rigorously compelling logic. It is the most brilliant contribution to the interpretation of a difficult Latin text that I have read in many a day, or expect to read in as many more. If I have dwelt upon some items of doubt or disagreement it is because to do so is one of the most useful services that can be performed in reviewing a work of such importance, the readers of which will be many for years to come.

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MAURIZ SCHUSTER. *Tibull-Studien. Beiträge zur Erklärung und Kritik Tibulls und des Corpus Tibullianum.* Wien, Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1930. Pp. v + 201.

That a book which appeared in 1930 should be the subject of a review published in 1942 needs a word of explanation. My first intention was to discuss Paul Pöstgens' recent monograph on Tibullus entitled *Tibulls Ambarvalgedicht*. But as I studied its character and background it became increasingly clear that Pöstgens' work was concerned with an aspect of Tibullian scholarship of which Mauriz Schuster's *Tibull-Studien* was a far more important representative. I say "representative" advisedly because, apart from the elements which may be attributed directly to Schuster's personal ability as a scholar and critic, the book as a whole represents the culmination of a critical method which had its beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century and inaugurated a new phase in the study of Tibullus. This method, I believe, is capable of producing better results than any other when it is competently han-

dled, and, since Schuster develops its use to the fullest possible extent, his book deserves the serious attention of all students of Tibullus. From it one can look back profitably on what has been achieved and forward to what remains to be done and in this sense as well as because of its intrinsic value it represents a milestone in Tibullian scholarship.

Schuster's book, however, does not appear to have received the recognition it deserves in this country or abroad. It has not been reviewed in *Classical Philology* or in this Journal, and references to it in articles on Tibullus within the last ten years are scarce. Hence there seemed to be justification for calling it to the attention of classical scholars now in spite of the relatively long time which has elapsed since its publication. I gratefully acknowledge the space accorded me by my fellow editors which has made historical and critical treatment possible. But generous as it is, I could not do justice to both Schuster and Pöstgens within its limits. It therefore seemed advisable to devote the present discussion entirely to Schuster's book and to reserve Pöstgens' monograph for the next issue of this Journal. The fundamental principles of both scholars are essentially the same and an adequate discussion of them here will permit succinctness in dealing later with the more recent work.

Schuster begins his book with a critique of recent Tibullian scholarship. Presumably he did not go back to the work of Joseph Justus Scaliger and his critical heirs, because Scaliger's approach to the basic problem of interpreting Tibullus has been thoroughly discredited since the end of the nineteenth century. Yet the problem itself remains and has been the chief concern of every critic since the Renaissance who has attempted to elucidate Tibullus' train of thought and method of composition. Hence a few words about Scaliger will serve to present this problem as it was first conceived as well as the first attempt at its solution.

In the first place Scaliger detected confusion in the traditional order of the verses. In many elegies he missed an even flow of verse and thought, a continuity and integrity, which could reasonably be expected of a poet distinguished for his purity and elegance. To explain this flaw, Scaliger assumed that the text had suffered violent dislocation in transmission and his assumption furnished his remedy. It was to transpose verses and groups of verses in such a way as to eliminate the confusion and produce elegies which possessed the qualities which had been found lacking. In carrying out his method Scaliger was so generous in his transpositions that he was left ultimately with eleven poems instead of ten in Book I and seven instead of six in Book II. Indeed, of the sixteen poems of the first two books, Scaliger reproduced less than half according to the manuscript tradition.

Now, had Scaliger been able to explain how the traditional text had become so completely confused as to require his numerous and radical "restorations," for that, of course, is what he considered his transpositions, his work would still deserve serious consideration. But he himself offers no adequate explanation and on close examination his whole method turns out to be wholly unjustified and purely arbitrary. Yet he had discerned a real problem which had escaped previous editors, including Muretus, and, although Volpi in



his edition of 1749 rightly expelled Scaliger's transpositions from the text (they had been retained by Broekhuysen as right and obvious) with the words: *si veterum codicum ordo servatur, omnia perspicua, nitida, facilia esse (ostendi)*, the fundamental problem still existed: how to explain the apparent lack of logical continuity in Tibullus' train of thought.

Of subsequent scholars, some returned to Scaliger's method of transposition. Of these, each justified his particular transpositions by a hypothesis of dislocation expressly elaborated for his immediate purpose and hence of no general validity. Others approached the matter by assuming interpolations or dividing the elegies into parts which balanced each other with arithmetical precision. Others, more lenient, were content to point out a more general symmetry and in this they came nearer to a certain aspect of the poet's art, his inherent feeling for a harmony which is far removed from any self-imposed arithmetical formula. But all this work contributed very little to the problem of understanding the chief peculiarity of Tibullus' poetry.

In the meantime Moriz Haupt had shown that the problem with which Scaliger and his successors had dealt mechanically was subject to a radically different approach. In a paper delivered before the Berlin Academy in 1857 (*Opuscula*, III, 1, pp. 30-41) he makes the following statement: *aber nötig ist es anlass und absicht, grundgedanken und grundstimmung der elegien sich zu heller anschauung zu bringen, gleichsam das bette zu erkennen in dem die bewegliche welle der gedanken, von wechselndem lichte beschienen, hinströmt*. In other words, the new approach was to be preponderantly psychological.

The method suggested by Haupt was adopted by Vahlen and Leo, to name but two of many, with positive results. Where others had attempted to impose their preconceptions upon the poetry of Tibullus, the new school accepted it as it was and attempted to understand it as such. They studied the poet's mental processes, the motives that dominated his mind, native and foreign literary influence, and the technique of construction and language through which the final product of poetry was achieved. The results which can be obtained by this method of investigation stand forth conspicuously in Schuster's work and I return to it now.

As I mentioned before, Schuster begins with a critique of recent Tibullian scholarship. After proclaiming his allegiance to the method of Leo and Vahlen he devotes some ten pages to the work of Jacoby, van Wageningen, and Witte, the three scholars since Leo who have broken most conspicuously with his method. I need not go into Schuster's detailed refutations, for his own conclusions are diametrically opposed to theirs, and if his are fundamentally correct, as I believe, theirs are not. Here I would only indicate that Jacoby finds in most of Tibullus' poems a vague and unskillful patchwork of borrowed ideas, the work of a talented dilettante; that van Wageningen considers Tibullus an "Ideenflüchtiger und als solcher gehört er zu den Menschen mit mangelhafter zerebraler Secundär-Funktion"; that Witte returns to the long discarded method of purely mathematical analysis.

Schuster defines the first part of his program on page 14. He will investigate 1) the character of Tibullus' method of composition in general and the development and working up of his poetical motives in particular; 2) the influence of Greek poetry, particularly Hellenistic, on Tibullus' method of composition; 3) the relation between Tibullus' poetry and one of the other arts.

With regard to the first, it is Schuster's contention that the germ concept ("Keimzelle") of an elegy is an idea, emotion, or event which serves primarily to put the poem into motion and not to bind it together as a whole. Consequently he is reluctant to use such terms as "Hauptgedanke" or "eigentliches Thema" since they imply the integrated treatment of a single theme. Even where Tibullus returns to his first motive, as in I, 1 and 7; II, 5, at the end of an elegy, the return serves more as a reminder of the original point of departure than as the final development of a main theme, for between the motive's presence at beginning and end the poet may have abandoned it completely. Furthermore in several elegies there is no return to the first motive, but the poet ends on a scene which furnishes a suitable climax by its brilliance and charm (I, 3 and 10; II, 1). From the introductory motive, Tibullus' thought glides easily from subject to subject and image to image without abrupt or offensive transition. For the germ of each new conception lies in its predecessor and the transitions are often clearly indicated in transitional words or verses. As Schuster emphasizes, we have no right to call these various images digressions, as is generally done, for they are integral parts of the poem and in length and importance they outweigh the initial motive.

All this, I believe, is substantially correct, but the question of general integrity remains. Have we in an elegy of Tibullus nothing more than a series of separate parts, each of which is connected directly with its immediate predecessor and successor alone? Or is there something else, apart from the literary style in which they are expressed, to make the parts into a coherent whole?

Schuster's answer lies in his detailed analysis of I, 7 and 3. In I, 7 he sees a poem all parts of which are connected, in fact or spirit, with the personality of Messalla to whom the poem is addressed. This is quite clear except for the Bacchus-Osiris myth, the part of the poem which is furthest removed from the first cause, the birthday and triumph of Messalla. Schuster explains it by assuming that Egypt was the land of Messalla's most glorious activity. But his reasoning is feeble. For, even if this were so (and there is no evidence that it was), the description of the Osiris myth *per se* can hardly be thought to stand in close relation with one of Egypt's Roman conquerors. Recalling, however, that Messalla appears as one of the speakers in Maecenas' *Symposium* where he speaks fervently in praise of wine (Servius on *Aeneid*, VIII, 310), we understand the personal connection. Tibullus moves from Egypt, a scene of Messalla's military activity, to Osiris, an Egyptian god. He identifies him with Bacchus and praises the civilizing force of wine, a discovery of Bacchus-Osiris. Here he is on a subject dear to the heart of his patron and particularly suited to the genial occasion of the poem: Messalla's birthday. This is the real connection, I be-

lieve, and once established it completes the argument that every part of the poem is directly related to Messalla's achievements, circumstances, or interests.

In I, 3, on the other hand, Schuster shows that the common element is the poet's state of mind. He is lying sick in Corecyra. The various moods which he expresses flow out of and away from each other easily so that the last, a joyous excitement of the imagination, is the antithesis of the melancholy expressed in the first. Yet each thought or twist of the imagination is in keeping with the shifting moods of the original situation and they are all reflections or aspects of the same state of mind. The poem has a psychological integrity to balance the variety of the parts.

Schuster adds briefer analyses of I, 4 and II, 6 to those just mentioned and states that all elegies of the first two books except II, 2 confirm the conclusions which he has already drawn. This I would not dispute in so far as the general movement of thought is concerned. But as to the element which gives each poem its larger coherence, an investigation of each along the lines followed in the investigation of I, 7 and 3 would have been illuminating. To say nothing of II, 1 and 5 which present particular problems, a comparison of some of the love poems such as I, 5 and 6 which spring essentially from the same situation (disappointed love) yet are quite different in the moods into which the poet falls and in the general tone would surely have helped us to understand Tibullus' mentality more profoundly.

On page 33 Schuster begins his search for manifestations of the same method of composition in other poets. In Vergil he finds a number of short passages in the *Eclogues*, but the similarity is fundamentally weak because the problem is not to find occasional examples in other poets of image slipping into image in a manner reminiscent of Tibullus but to find other poems written throughout in this way. In this regard Schuster points to three odes of Horace (I, 3; II, 13; III, 4), adding that these three are substantially all.

The similarity is valid, I believe, but not the limitation. Granting that in the odes mentioned by Schuster the thought glides easily from image to image away from the initial motive, I would question whether this is more conspicuous in I, 3, for instance, than in IV, 9 where the power of poetry to confer immortality leads to an encomium of Lollius in particular, followed by the general definition of the man who may rightly be called *beatus*. Or than in IV, 4 where the labored lines on Drusus' campaign give way, through mention of an ancestor, to the incomparably fine passage on Roman tenacity. I could name many other examples but these must suffice to illustrate my opinion that the possibility of legitimate comparison between the odes of Horace and the elegies of Tibullus with regard to composition is much greater than is admitted by Schuster.

Schuster begins his treatment of Alexandrian influence on page 37. He rightly sees very little similarity between the highly artificial structure of Catullus, 68 which he assumes to be Hellenistic and that of a Tibullian elegy. But in the elegiac hymn, εἰς λουτρὰ τῆς Παλλάδος, of Callimachus, Schuster discerns a similarity to Tibullus in the way the thought flows away from the main subject, Athena, in the digression of lines 17-28. This is quite so, but, as Schuster

recognizes, we have here a real digression, introduced purely for the sake of variety and embellishment and not constituting an integral part of the whole. Also, when the fact is considered that Hellenistic digressions usually serve to display the author's recondite learning, it becomes clear that Tibullus was little influenced by this aspect of Hellenistic poetry. For least of all the great poets of his age was Tibullus concerned with literary abstruseness.

Coming now to anaphora as a device which Tibullus uses frequently to introduce a new thought or image, Schuster does not see in it a particular sign of Hellenistic influence. He points out that Callimachus in his Hymns uses it mostly in the rhetorical manner to emphasize a particular thought or some aspect of it and denies that it is found in the early Greek elegists used as Tibullus uses it. This last contention, however, is subject to another point of view. Granted that the use of anaphora in Tyrtaeus, frag. 9, 1-9, Diehl<sup>2</sup>, not mentioned by Schuster, is part of a priamel or catalogue of examples chosen to illustrate and enforce a particular point, the anaphora nevertheless plays no small part in binding the different images into a whole and its use in this fashion is as old as Homer (*Iliad*, IX, 378-87). Hence in its general use to emphasize the relationship between different images Tibullus had examples before him from the beginning of Greek literature.

On the problem of Tibullus' material indebtedness to other authors Schuster seems to me to exercise admirable discretion. It is obvious that Tibullus was well acquainted with Greek and Latin literature and that he often drew consciously or unconsciously on the common thesaurus of *loci communes*, notions, conceits, and even phrases which had become part of his intellectual equipment. But it is equally obvious that he used this material to fashion poems which are original in conception and execution and Schuster does not fall into the common error of "Quellenforschung" of mistaking reflections of a common literary inheritance for slavish imitation.

Finally Schuster terminates the first part of his book by comparing Tibullus' method of composition with the art of music. This comparison, first suggested by Crusius in 1888 and resumed by Ponchont in 1930 (*Mélanges Paul Thomas*, p. 573), is developed to its fullest extent by Schuster. He emphasizes the way in which the poet's motives follow each other through transitional passages and represent variations on a limited number of themes; he analyzes what little we know of types of ancient music which present a similarity; and he lays modern musical forms under contribution. Such comparisons are apt to be hazardous because of differences in the essential nature of the arts which are compared. Yet they can be instructive and Schuster's exposition leads to profitable reflection and finer understanding of the poet's mentality.

In the second part of his book (pp. 65-112) Schuster studies the limited number of motives in Tibullus' poetry in an attempt to form a conception of the poet's personality. He argues that Tibullus represents an idyllic conception of country life which he associates with the sentimental city dweller and that the poet's actual participation in rough country work was limited to vagaries and dreams. That his attitude is idyllic cannot be denied, but neither can the fact that he owned a place in the country. Is it impossible, then, that Tibul-

lus with his genuine love of the country should not have derived pleasure from working about his own place and so have increased the feeling of intimacy with the land which we find idyllically expressed in his poetry? At least Horace did more on his Sabine farm than to lie in the shade and write poetry about it (*Ep.*, I, 14, 49) and yet he can be quite idyllic when writing of his Sabine farm. In other words, I am somewhat suspicious of the theory that some time spent behind the plow would cure a poet who genuinely loved the country from ever speaking of it poetically.

There is little to be said on Tibullus' attitude toward war. Schuster holds rightly that the poet went off to war with Messalla in spite of a natural aversion. It is clear that he had a sincerely peaceful character but could also do his duty as well. An interesting question remains, however, which Schuster does not touch: in what capacity did Tibullus accompany Messalla? Was he a member of the *cohors amicorum* of the latter as suggested by the word *contubernalis* in the *Vita*, and, if so, to what extent did the cohort participate in actual hostilities? Also what of his *dona militaria*? Were they bestowed on anyone who had not won them on the field of battle? When we are dealing with a poet's personality these things may be important.

There follow treatments of Tibullus' *pietas* and *paupertas*. The treatment accorded the latter is eminently sane in that Schuster realizes that few things depend more on the personal point of view than the evaluation of material possessions in general terms. The right conclusion is drawn that Tibullus was as far removed from penury on the one side as from the great fortunes of his day on the other. As to the poet's candid *pietas* toward the traditional rites and gods of old Roman religion in an age of enlightenment, I share Schuster's opinion that it had very little or nothing to do with the "revival" fostered by Augustus. It sprang, rather, from the poet's natural inclination toward the simple and the traditional, the close association of the old paganism with the country life which he loved, and the nostalgic aura which surrounds age-old institutions in the eyes of those who favor them when they see them losing their influence. I cannot agree, however, that Tibullus in his treatment of magic was a "ganz Romantiker, der uralte Vorstellungen in seiner Poesie lebendig werden lässt." Apart from the fact that many of the concepts are "literary" in that they had been the *loci communes* of the subject for centuries, Schuster's definition seems to imply that Tibullus realized the primitive position of magic in man's spiritual development and was attracted to it for somewhat the same reasons which caused him to dwell on the Golden Age. But the fact is that Tibullus was interested in magic only in so far as it affected the immediate concern of a love affair and his words are singularly untinged by the yearning with which he generally speaks of things past.

Finally, Schuster comes to the erotic motive in which the problem of distinguishing the experienced from the imagined occupies first place. After pointing out factual inconsistencies between the various poems, Schuster argues that we have no good reason for doubting the reality of Delia, Nemesis, and Marathus but that the episodes in which they figure are a mixture of reality, imagination, and the

commonplaces of ancient erotic poetry. He will not grant Tibullus the capability of profound and shattering emotions and attributes his recourse to extraneous material to a lack of personal experience.

It is true, of course, that Tibullus does not show the passionate intensity of Catullus with whom Schuster compares him. But it is worth noting that in comparing these poets we are also comparing different literary forms. Catullus' normal means of expressing his love is the epigram, a form suited by its brevity to the concentrated treatment of a single emotion. But, when he writes a longer poem in the elegiac meter (68 B), the complete concentration on his own emotions which we associate with his epigrams is cast aside, although the poem begins and ends with his own love affair, and much material is introduced which does not derive from personal experience. In this matter I believe that the length of the poem had a great deal to do with the change of character in the poetry (Cahan's chapters on Callimachus' epigrams and elegies are illuminating in this regard) and we should not expect an emotional intensity from Tibullus which Catullus could not or would not sustain in his longer poem in the elegiac meter, that is, in an elegy as we generally define it. Here we may also observe that Propertius too, who was emotionally more profound than Tibullus, does not give us so pure a concentration upon self even in his shorter erotic elegies as we find in Catullus' epigrams. So I hesitate to attribute Tibullus' introduction of non-personal material to the assumption alone that he needed to do so in order to fill out his lack of personal experience. Surely the form in which he was writing had something to do with the matter.

Schuster treats the subject of Marathus and Tibullus' *Μοῦσα παιδική* with plain common sense and protests against pudibund attempts to purify the poet's memory of an immorality which was not immoral in his own time. I also find his arguments convincing that the Marathus elegies were written earlier than those concerned with Delia.

Schuster's third section (pp. 115-179) is entitled "Beiträge zur Textkritik des Corpus Tibullianum." After reviewing the editions of Levy (Teubner, 1927) and Calonghi (Corpus Paravianum, 1928), he states his own views as to the MS tradition. He agrees with Levy that the Vaticanus (V) cannot be a simple copy of the Ambrosianus, rightly emphasizes the value of the Fragmentum and the Excerpta Frisingensia, and indicates the importance of the second hand in V. He then proceeds to deal with some fifty disputed readings of which thirty-two belong within the first two books of the Corpus. In his method he combines respect for the MS tradition, careful examination of the context, and general considerations of style. The results on the whole are attractive, although by the very nature of the problem the conclusions are often too subjective to win general approbation. Nevertheless, Schuster's influence on Levy's second Teubner edition (1937)<sup>1</sup> is well worth noting. Twenty-two readings suggested by Schuster which are not in the text of the first edition are adopted in the second and seventeen defended by Schuster which appear in the first are kept unchanged in the second. Eight readings of the first edition appear again in the second in

<sup>1</sup> At this time Levy had changed his name to Lenz.

spite of Schuster's proposed changes and only three which appear in the first and are defended by Schuster are changed in the second.

The book ends with a chapter on Tibullus' influence on German poetry with emphasis on the poets of the "Göttinger Dichterbund" (pp. 183-201). It is, as Schuster confesses, a supplement to Wilhelm's discussion in *Satura Viadrina Altera*. In mentioning it, for lack of space precludes discussion, I would call the attention of those who are interested in the poet's "Nachleben" to the many references scattered throughout the outstanding commentary of Kirby Flower Smith. They do much to complete the picture of which only one aspect is treated by Schuster.

In closing this review I would like to express the hope that the importance of Schuster's *Tibull-Studien* has been demonstrated. In spite of strictures and differences of opinion, it may well be considered one of the very best books in the long history of Tibullian scholarship. Its method is sound, its scholarship comprehensive, and the author's literary taste and common sense constitute no small part of its excellence. The student of Tibullus cannot afford to neglect it.

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WOLF STEIDLE. *Studien zur Ars poetica des Horaz. Interpretation des auf Dichtkunst und Gedicht bezüglichen Hauptteiles* (Verse 1-294). Würzburg-Aumühle, K. Triltsch, 1939. Pp. 147. RM. 4.50.

Except its introduction (pp. 1-9), this Berlin dissertation is written throughout in the form of a regular commentary, following the order of the lines in its text and using no principle of organization but that of the *Ars poetica* itself; to the clearer establishment of which, indeed, a great part of the comment is devoted. The introduction is a forceful assertion of Dr. Steidle's distrust of what he considers excessive dependence upon Greek analogues for an interpretation of Horace's work, and especially of its arrangement and organisation. "Alle griechischen Analogien," says Steidle (p. 7), "haben . . . nur insoweit Sinn und Zweck, als sie dem unmittelbaren Verständnis Horazens dienen." The difficulty about such a statement of principle is that nobody would contest it; whereas there must be great disagreement as to what it should mean in practise, since the crucial word, *unmittelbar*, is left to individual definition. Actually, the principle so stated is the one which guided the researches the results of which Steidle questions or condemns; and in fact its application in this commentary is not at all such as to differentiate the work generically from that of other commentators since Norden, with whom Steidle is in fundamental disagreement only upon points of detail. His own use of the principle, which is not uniform or wholly consistent, apparently requires that it be generalised to exclude *all* extraneous material except where the text studied itself establishes its relevance. This is in theory excellent, of course; but

its unnecessarily rigid application occasions some inconveniences. The most important and most inexplicable of these is Steidle's frequent and apparently methodic neglect of relevant statements of Horace himself which occur after verse 294 of the *Ars poetica*, where the formal commentary ends. It is true that there is danger in an exclusive recourse to Horatian usage to explain Horatian terms,<sup>1</sup> but it is also dangerous to interpret any single occurrence without reference to all others, and correspondences in thought where there are no verbal parallels require the same treatment as words. The problem before the interpreter of a theoretical work like the *Ars poetica* is that of penetrating beyond all single and contextually limited expressions to the total thought in which the ideas so particularly expressed are component parts, intelligible at last only as such, only in their relation to *that* context, of the author's thought as a whole. Steidle's commentary by no means lacks suggestiveness in this respect, but too often he interprets his methodic commitments as confining him to suggestion; notably for example when he rejects the hypothesis of a stoic element in the *Ars poetica* (p. 65 and n. 68) and speaks in contrast of its "peripatetic orientation" (p. 66, n. 69). One would willingly hear more of such things; but because "von Quellenanalyse hier abgesehen worden ist," Steidle excuses himself for obtruding even so much. Yet, if these adjectives are at all relevant to Horatian theory, the fact that they are not exclusively so is not a proper reason for leaving their meanings unprecise, and it is hard to agree that expansion here would not serve "dem unmitteilbaren Verständnis Horazens" at least as well as the rather over-explicit paraphrases with which at some other places Steidle glosses his text (e. g. pp. 14-16, on *aegri somnia* in v. 7, or pp. 63-64, on the structure of v. 102); for, in spite of principle and theory, Steidle may fairly be judged to have exceeded the limit of legitimate removal from his text quite as often as the average of his predecessors.

He makes a good deal of Vahlen's axiom that the *Ars poetica* is a *Kunstwerk*, and to be approached as such. To approach it so would doubtless be to take it as a whole; but this emphasis upon *Kunst* is in any case unsatisfactory, since the concept is neither unambiguous in itself nor consistently applied. In one sense it is evident that anything written by Horace is the product of art; but in this sense art includes that from which apparently Steidle wants to distinguish it.<sup>2</sup> What he must mean by *Kunstwerk* is *poem*; and it is one of the problems of Horatian theory whether Horace conceived his epistle as a *Kunstwerk* in this sense. One does not demand of this commentary a solution of this problem, though a discussion of it would not be outside its legitimate bounds; but it is questionable whether if he does not attempt to solve it a commentator should introduce it, and it is certain that to introduce it with the assumption that it is not a problem only complicates and confuses what it is intended to clarify.

<sup>1</sup> P. 61, n. 58: "Es ist ein bedenkliches Prinzip, in Bezug auf die Terminologie Horaz nur aus sich selbst erklären zu wollen."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. B. Croce, *Conversazioni critiche*, II (2nd ed., Bari, 1924), p. 188: "... la forma artistica di un catalogo è il catalogo, la forma artistica di una bibliografia la bibliografia," etc.



The real issue here is not that Horace is or may be producing a *Kunstwerk*, but that he is writing an epistle. Of this Steidle is in practise generally conscious, and most of his comments on technique and the style of the *sermo* are conceived with this in mind though they are not expressed in these terms. But a full understanding of what Horace was doing would have precluded, for instance, the concern which Steidle (p. 95 and n. 1) shares with Immisch<sup>3</sup> over supposed breaks in the address to the Pisos. There is no need to assume any such break,<sup>4</sup> for each apparent case can be satisfactorily explained in terms of continuous address; but it should not in any case be thought that such variations, if by a lapse they occurred, would make the difference for interpretation which Immisch and Steidle suppose, that of a shift from private address among friends to public address "zu den römischen Dichtern." For the private address is nowhere to be interpreted literally; it is only a conventional fiction, a medium throughout for, precisely, public address. The whole work, and not parts only, is addressed not indeed even to contemporary poets alone but to the general public.

This matter of address is of cardinal importance to Steidle's interpretation of the *Ars poetica*. From its general tenor and from such references as that of *damus* in v. 11 he concludes (pp. 17-18, 42-44, 127-128) that Horace's address is not solely that of a poet to poets, but quite as much and possibly more that of a critic to critics; and from this he makes a single step to what is perhaps his chief thesis, that the *Ars poetica* cannot be, as all commentators since Norden have supposed, an *εἰσαγωγή*.

Die AP wendet sich an Dichter und Kritiker. Künstlerische Gesetze werden zur Debatte gestellt, und Horaz nimmt dabei auch für seine eigene Person die Stellung eines Kritikers in Anspruch. Alle diese Tatsachen lassen sich mit der Auffassung, dass die AP eine isagogische Schrift sei, schlechterdings nicht vereinen. Wäre sie dies, so dürften Horazens Ausführungen nur an den Dichter gerichtet sein, müssten aber diesem eine wirkliche Anleitung zum Dichten geben. Einer besonderen Diskussion der Gesetze bedürfte es dann nicht (p. 44).

<sup>3</sup> *Horazens Epistel über die Dichtkunst* (Leipzig, 1932), pp. 142-143.

<sup>4</sup> Nor, one may add in passing, to suppose with Kroll (in his admirable *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur* [Stuttgart, 1924], p. 200) that in vv. 9 and 326 an interlocutor is introduced, so that there is a reversion to the dialogue form of some of the satires. Any such interruption of the established address would be a departure from Horace's habitual practise in his other works, where the total lack of inconsistency in this respect (perhaps significantly common in the poems of Catullus) suggests that Horace consciously avoided it; and the introduction of quoted bits without a formula of quotation is in fact, like the oscillation between singular and plural, precisely suited to the conventional informality of the epistle, the direct address of which it varies indeed but does not abandon. (On the conventions of the epistle, see my article on that form in the forthcoming *Dictionary of Literary and Dramatic Criticism*, ed. J. T. Shipley [New York, Philosophical Library].)

But would that not depend upon the disposition of the *Anleiter*? It is a question of *Kunst*, which Steidle here seems wholly to neglect. There is no such *a priori* scheme for either critic or poet as this argument requires. Horace's weaving of *damus* with *petimus* and his discussion of general principles are perfectly proper isagogic procedures. One does not need the evidence of other ancient isagogic pieces to establish this, though that is available, for practical precept inevitably merges with abstract theory and the critical operation is involved in the artistic. The only function of a *τέχνη* or *εἰσαγωγή*, in fact, is to make the artist a better critic (of his own practise). There is more in the *Ars poetica* than an introduction to the elements; but that it is all modestly cast into the isagogic form Steidle's argument does not seem to me to diminish the difficulty of denying. For the distinction upon which it rests does not involve the difference in procedure or necessitate the exclusions which he assumes.

If the *Ars poetica* is not isagogic in plan, then we are left without the principle for understanding its organisation which has been generally approved since Norden suggested it at the beginning of this century. Steidle believes, nevertheless, that the general structure of the epistle is as Norden described it; he objects only to the various internal divisions which Norden or subsequent writers establish within the major parts, and since there has been no general agreement about these a reader will perhaps not feel that Steidle fulfills the promise of radical heterodoxy contained in the theoretical professions of his introduction. It may nevertheless surprise him to find on the page following that from which I have quoted in my last paragraph the conclusion that the *Ars poetica* "immerhin an gewisse Grundvorstellungen und Hauptteile der *τέχνη* anknüpft, wenn auch in sehr lockerer Form. Der Nordensche Aufsatz befand sich also durchaus auf der richtigen Spur. Zu weit gegangen war es nur, die AP Stück für Stück einem technischen Schema eingliedern und auf diese Weise ihre Komposition verstehen zu wollen." One may agree with all this without feeling that it does much to support the argument I have quoted above.

It is impossible here to summarise Steidle's suggestions for the detailed division of the first half of the *Ars poetica* into particular units of thought, though these are often very interesting. Steidle considers the *Grundaxiom* of Horace's poetic theory to be "das . . . Prinzip des Natürlichen" (p. 98). If the natural be that which is opposed to the monstrous and the eccentric this is true, though perhaps it is not an adequate expression of the truth; but if it be that which is opposed to the conventional, as it often is in antiquity and as Steidle seems usually to take it where there is opportunity for this contrast, then I think several most important considerations require that one dissent. The complex at the heart of Horatian theory is well assembled by Steidle on p. 102: "die innere Beziehung zwischen Naturwahrheit, Angemessenheit, Glaubwürdigkeit und psychagogischer Wirkungskraft." Among these, however, *Angemessenheit* is preëminent; it is involved in all the others and in their relation to each other, and to it everything else in the Horatian scheme is in

the end subordinate. Steidle criticises (p. 129) Professor Pohlenz and Miss Labowsky for not sufficiently emphasising the importance of the concept of the *πρέπον* throughout the *Ars poetica*, but though he refers to it often it would not be unjust to say of him too that he "hat die Rolle des *πρέπον* vielfach nur ungenügend oder überhaupt nicht erkannt," for he treats it as an isolated by-concept incidental to the main sequence of thought and never as the pervasive fundamental principle which it is. This is not due to oversight; on p. 8 Steidle after considering the importance of the principle rejects it as a key to the epistle because it is in itself empty of content, being a concept merely of relation, not of any property of the related things. It is true that it is such a concept; but its capacity to serve as the cardinal principle in an aesthetic system is not compromised but strengthened by this fact, since it is thus assured the universal applicability, the receptivity to all "contents," which is precisely what is required of so general a principle. And if it is true that for this reason it does not furnish an immediate clue to the sequence of concrete matter treated by Horace, it is not less illuminating for furnishing, by this very indeterminacy, an explanation of the fact—from which all the problems relative to the organisation result—that Horace's choice of concrete subjects for discussion often appears to lack logical consecutiveness. But it has particular advantages apart from this general one. For example it helps one to see that the idea behind *simplex et unum* in v. 23 is not that of unity simply (as Steidle and commentators generally take it) but that of fitness of part to part and of the whole to its end; and so enables us to conceive this line in intelligible relation to what precedes it, and what it is evidently intended to summarise. This is not the place to attempt to establish the more or less continuous flow of all the rest of the *Ars poetica* out of this significant beginning; but what Steidle regards as impossible, the use of the concept of the *πρέπον* as a key to the epistle, may on the contrary be the only satisfactory possibility. To establish another principle, like that of the natural, in its place is at any rate unnecessary, and it can in practise be misleading. For though the concept of the fitting seems by implication always inevitably to direct us to the natural as its own foundation, actually the relativity of the principle itself and the difficulty of determining the absolutely natural in a relative world are bound to result sometimes in confusion of the conventional with the natural and sometimes in acceptance of convention as a satisfactory alternative criterion of fitness; and perhaps we miss much in the *Ars poetica* if we ignore the possibility that the sensitive Horace understood this and was himself willing to accept convention as at times a sufficient guide. This distinction between convention and nature cannot of course be made absolute, for convention in turn presumably has its foundation in nature; but it is a nice question whether it is not to convention rather than to nature that Horace appeals when out of concern for the *πιθανόν-πρέπον* he requires Medea to kill her children offstage. (That the *πιθανόν* in such a passage as vv. 182-188 is a variety of *πρέπον* Steidle well observes, p. 101.) Steidle in a stimulating discussion of vv. 73 ff. (pp. 46 ff.) insists that Horace's prescriptions for the

various forms in that passage are founded upon the (Aristotelian) conviction that nature dictates the formal structure to correspond with the idea. There is certainly such a notion of correspondence there; but that it is natural and not merely conventional correspondence I am not convinced. Horace recognises that these are things which a man must learn, and can be ignorant of (vv. 86-88); and though this can be reconciled with a view that nature teaches them, it is oddly emphasised in this context. But what I think most significant is that this passage comes immediately after the lines (71-72) that make *usus* the *ius et norma loquendi*. Steidle takes *usus* to mean *need*, as is now common; but apart from other objections to this, I suggest the implications of its being followed so closely by the recital in vv. 73 ff. of the conventional decorum of the genres. Horace's use of a key word in a transition to indicate a topic is well known, and I take *usus* here to mean very nearly *convention* simply, and the whole of vv. 73-88 to be an application of this generalised *norma* to the various genres.<sup>5</sup> In any case it is, as Steidle seems to understand, of the greatest importance to establish whether there is or is not in the *Ars poetica* an explicit treatment of convention or conventional fitness, for it makes a difference to our whole conception of Horace as a critic and of his place in the history of criticism; and indeed to our notions of the relevance of his work to concrete critical problems in our own time.

There is not room here for a report of even the most interesting of Steidle's other particular comments. I have, I believe, sufficiently indicated the general character of his work, and I hope that in noting some of its limitations I have not failed to suggest its many virtues. It is a stimulating and useful addition to the body of commentary on the *Ars poetica*.

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<sup>5</sup> This account of the decorum imposed by convention is then followed in vv. 89-118 by a consideration of that which is more directly founded upon nature. (Since Steidle has been good enough to criticise at length some former statements of mine about *pulchrum* and *dulce* in v. 99, I take this opportunity to say that the position I took in the paper to which he refers is not very well represented by the sentences he quotes, the context of which he seems to have misunderstood. But I am far from satisfied with either that attempt or any other known to me to explain the precise meaning of these words in this place. I think they must evidently be more radically differentiated than Steidle in this commentary makes them; and in particular I find it impossible in spite of his arguments to conceive the *et* of v. 100 as other than "explicative." I agree wholly that if vv. 99 and 100 are ever truly understood it will be by reading them deeper into their context than has yet been done. If one accepts the distinction I have just made between the intention of vv. 73-88 and that of 89-118 [perhaps the division should be 73-92 and 93-118], there is ground for interpreting *pulchrum* as a description of what is provided by convention, and *dulce* as what nature directly provides, or demands: the distinction would then be related to, though not identical with, that of the dichotomy *ars et natura*.)

ARTHUR S. HUNT, J. GILBERT SMYLY, and C. C. EDGAR. The Tebtunis Papyri, Volume III, Part II. (*University of California Publications, Graeco-Roman Archaeology*, IV.) London, Cambridge University Press, 1938. Pp. xxiii + 345; 4 plates.

My review of this volume comes very late, but the limited appeal of the material which here brings to a close the publication of the great English collection of Tebtunis papyri does much to mitigate my fault. Editions of papyri, because of their largely documentary character, do not claim the attention of any large number of students, and this condition applies with special force to *P. Tebt.* III, ii, since Grenfell and Hunt, after the manner of all editors, saved for the ultimate effort the most unlikely pieces, the most fragmentary and the most difficult to decipher. As one leafs through the part under consideration, there comes the realization that with few exceptions it is a volume of larger and smaller scraps, definitely not an attractive morsel for the non-specialist, who cannot be expected to overcome his aversion to exceptionally dry, superficially lifeless survey lists, tax receipts, tax registers, and public and private accounts. Perhaps it will console him to learn that even papyrologists find this book hard going. Only a very small number of the specialists are sufficiently specialized in Ptolemaic papyri and the economic history of the period to do anything constructive with the material.<sup>1</sup> Nor is the situation any better on the palaeographic side. A careful study of the four plates at the end of the volume, especially the nice-looking, typical second-century cursive on Plate IV, produces a painful lesson in humility not easy to forget. On the other hand, the book represents a kind of work from which professional papyrologists cannot excuse themselves, and in this instance it has been done with the supreme competence of genuine experts. The last volume of Tebtunis papyri, like the three which preceded it, is the creation of great masters, who possessed the patience and the power to complete without loss in quantity or quality what must toward the end have become a repugnant task.

The book has been so long in the making and so many hands have contributed to bring it to its present form that a few words on its history will not be wasted. The whole of Vol. III rests on first transcripts prepared long ago by Smyly, who appeared as joint editor in Vol. I and in the first part of Vol. III, and Lobel as usual worked over the few literary fragments. Their labor was taken up by Grenfell alone during the latter part of the first World War, for Hunt was then away from Oxford. When Grenfell died in 1926,

<sup>1</sup> The most penetrating review that I have seen is from the hand of the Belgian papyrologist and historian, Mlle. Claire Préaux, in *Chronique d'Égypte*, XXVIII (July, 1939), pp. 386-393. Her extensive knowledge of the economic history of Ptolemaic Egypt has recently found expression in a masterly work entitled *L'Économie royale des Lagides* (Brussels, 1939), in which *P. Tebt.* III, ii has been laid under contribution. Other informative reviews have come from Prof. Ulrich Wilcken, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, XIII, ii (1939), pp. 215-218, and Dr. Naphtali Lewis, *Classical Weekly*, XXXII (1939), pp. 222 f.

his manuscript was far from finished, and the burden of carrying on fell to Hunt. On the latter's death in 1934 Edgar took over and with the collaboration of Smyly brought the work of years to a conclusion. Edgar's equipment for the study of the Tebtunis papyri included an intimate knowledge of the Zenon archive, and this meant that he had been occupied for over a decade in the reading and interpretation of early Ptolemaic documents. No more worthy successor to Hunt could have been found, and to Edgar belongs the lion's share of the credit for the long-awaited appearance of the second part of *P. Tebt.* III.<sup>2</sup> Edgar signed his preface in August, 1937, and himself survived only into the following year.

Now for the papyri themselves. Published under the numbers 826-1093, they were originally obtained from the cartonnage of Ptolemaic mummies dug up at the necropolis of Tebtunis by Grenfell and Hunt. The damage suffered by these texts has been so extensive that almost two hundred of them (896-1093) have been disposed of briefly in little over sixty pages. Of these, Nos. 896-901 have literary connections but are much mutilated, and 901 is obviously a school exercise. The papyri in the volume as a whole range in date from the middle of the third century B. C. through the second, but the bulk of the material stretches from the late third through the first half of the second.

The texts published more or less in full are classed under headings familiar from earlier Tebtunis volumes: Land Survey (826-834), Tax Receipts (835-843), Taxation Returns and Accounts (844-883), and Private Accounts (884-894). Among the documents pertaining to the survey, reports of unproductive land (826-828) are especially in evidence. It is interesting to observe in 831 that the survey was effected in the presence of a local commission: the village secretary, the comarch, two officials of the association of Crown cultivators, and two police officials whose special duty was the protection of the crops. In 833, a list of small landholders whose plots range from 5 to 25 arouras, expressed always in multiples of 5, the persons concerned are government servants, donkey drivers probably connected with government transport, artisans and retailers, and contributors to a government monopoly. All these are arranged in separate groups, and seven ἀλλόφυλοι constitute a category of their own. No. 834, a list of house property in an unknown village of some size which lay on both sides of a μέγας ποταμός, seemingly an important canal, has attracted attention because such lists are uncommon. A few of the houses are said to be unoccupied, and the description of a large number is accompanied by the phrase ἀπελύθη ὁμοίως, which follows on a statement of the value of the property. The verb is susceptible of more than one interpretation. While the editors feel that it may mark payment of the appropriate tax, Miss Préaux sees in it an exemption from taxation of most of the property, despite the fact that the neighborhood is a good one, and relates this

<sup>2</sup> Edgar's unusual modesty did not allow him to claim his due share, but Skeat, who was in a position to know, has assured us in his review of the volume (*Classical Review*, LIII [1939], pp. 218 f.) that this is the fact.

sign of depression to the troubled conditions of the period.<sup>3</sup> She has herself, however, stated the dilemma into which we are thrown by her interpretation: "on évoque l'image d'un quartier qui devrait être le plus florissant et qui paraît abandonné."

The tax receipts also have their points of interest. No. 835 was issued by a *sitologus* for payment of rent in wheat, and *sitologus* receipts on papyrus are not abundant in the Ptolemaic period. No. 836 illustrates in a small way the complexity of the operations accomplished by the Egyptian bureaucracy even at this early date. The *sitologus* in charge at Mouchis acknowledges receipt of grain at Eleusis for rent on land at Oxyrhyncha. This is not the original, but a copy; there is a heading with the words ἀντίγραφον συμβόλου. Despite the use of σύμβολον and the mention of the person to whom the payment is credited, the editors believe that the text is in reality an inter-departmental statement. They are right, at any rate, in extending this definition to 837 and 838. In 837 no individual payer is mentioned and the quantity of grain is very large; this document is a report from *sitologi* on wheat received in payment of rent on a single day at Alabanthis.<sup>4</sup> In 838 the wheat is in payment of the φυλακτικόν, and the verb ἀναφέρει identifies the text as a report. Nos. 986-992 are of the same type. In 839, a receipt for the tax of a third on dove-cotes, we see the government represented at the bank by agents of the οἰκονόμος and the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς; the picture is the same in 985. No. 842 is somewhat more important since it brings the earliest attestation (140 B. C.) of the corporate responsibility of the village for the collection of taxes. In it the comarch and the representatives of the Crown cultivators of Oxyrhyncha are credited with the year's dues of chaff. No. 843 is of mixed content. The first part belongs to an account dealing with Crown land; the second consists of copies of two receipts in which Lysis, keeper of the royal horses and *antigraphus*, acknowledges that he has received specific quantities of hay. Immediately before the first receipt, on a line by itself, stands οὐδε, which seems not to make sense. Is this by chance to be completed <χόρτου δέ?

The bulk of the volume is taken up by tax returns and related accounts. Superficially these look very unpromising, but they will be of incalculable assistance to the qualified student of Ptolemaic taxation. The editors' introductions and commentaries exhibit a richness of detail and an occasional novelty that nothing short of a minute and prolonged scrutiny of the texts could reveal. I can give only a general view of some of the more important materials. No. 844 provides an insight into the operation of an oil factory situated in the Aphroditopolite nome and almost contemporary with the Revenue Laws of Philadelphus. The account is compiled on the basis of the financial year, which began in Mechir. Of considerable interest is

<sup>3</sup> *Chronique d'Égypte*, XXVIII, p. 387; *L'Économie royale des Lagides*, p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> *Sitologus* reports covering the receipts of a single day are scarce. Cf., for the Roman period, *P. bibl. univ. Giss.*, VI, 50 (221 A. D.) and *P. Lond.*, II, 439, p. 91 (*Berichtigungsliste*, I, p. 249; late 2nd cent.). These I have recently made the subject of a note to be published in *A. J. P.*

the introduction to 848, where the metrological implications of the text with respect to *δνος* and *σάκκος* and the probable equivalence of *ἐπίμετρον* and *φόρετρον* are discussed. Nos. 852 and 853 are noteworthy inasmuch as they contain four indirect statements of *διαγραφαί* in accordance with which the price of property is discharged in terms of wheat. "In all four cases," in the view of the editors, "it was the revenue in kind that had suffered a loss, and therefore satisfaction was required not in money but in kind."<sup>5</sup>

No. 869 is a detailed statement of land belonging to a certain Sosandra and of the value of its parts. It was compiled *κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα*, and the editors believe it to have been based on a formal declaration. "If this conclusion is right, the text is the first indication, apart from the case of the *ἀπόμνηρα* (Rev. Laws, col. 36), that in the Ptolemaic period declarations of *κτῆματα* as well as of houses might be demanded." Nos. 870 and 871 are concerned with forced sales of property effected to satisfy dues owing to the government or to private creditors. Whereas 870 takes the form of a list of names, each followed by a description of the property and its value, 871 presents fragments from a roll which contained abstracts of bank receipts covering payment of the price of property sold at auction.

The importance of 882, with which may be grouped 1019, 1075, and 1077, for the history of the Jews in Egypt is unmistakable. It is a list of sheep and goats belonging to Jewish inhabitants of Samaria in the Fayum, "a village which is frequently mentioned in early Ptolemaic papyri and which was probably founded as a Jewish settlement in the third century B.C. The present text shows that its racial character had suffered little change in the course of a hundred years. . . ."

Even the private accounts are not devoid of interest. No. 886 provides information on the price of labor at the beginning of the second century B.C. Two to three obols on the silver scale seem to be a normal day's wage, and this is considerably higher than the average of the earlier period. The accounts preserved in 887 show that foreign oil was imported into Egypt in large quantities in the second century, and in this respect Egypt was much less self-sufficient than it had been in the preceding century. The bank accounts of 890 furnish early evidence of the transfer of credits from one account to another within the bank; these operations were purely on the books and involved no movement of money.

In a class by itself is 895, which is a revision of a petition previously published under the number 778. The value of the text is much heightened by Skeat's discovery that the *epistrategus* to whom it is addressed is the well-known Hippalus and by Edgar's identifica-

<sup>5</sup> The term *διαγραφή* properly pertains to a payment in money through a bank. Wilcken (*loc. cit.*, p. 217) is astonished that it should be used in connection with payments in grain. Although *διαγράφω* normally implies a money transaction, it does occasionally turn up with payments in kind. *O. Mich.*, Inv. 9814, e.g., employs this verb although it concerns wine turned over for the *annona*. The text of the ostrakon may be consulted in *T. A. P. A.*, LXXI (1940), p. 638.



tion of fragments of three further columns pertaining to the same affair.

This presentation of the contents of *P. Tebt.* III, ii, could be continued almost endlessly, and it is certain that the texts, although "exceedingly dry," as Edgar himself remarks, will grow in importance as they are more closely studied. And from this estimate I do not exclude the great mass of papyri that have been gathered together at the end under the discouraging rubric "Minor Documents." These have at least one advantage over the more fully edited texts: they show an unlimited diversity of content. As one reads the pages, innumerable aspects of Egyptian life pass in review. They are the kind of thing out of which many a papyrologist, not endowed like our English colleagues with an embarrassing abundance of papyri from which to choose, might have been content to make an independent publication. I must not resort to illustration, for this review is already overlong. I shall call attention here only to what may be overlooked,—the important supplementary "Note" on p. 247, where the difficulty raised by 1022 with regard to the sense of *πρὸς καθαρὸς* in the accounts is briefly mentioned. The astonishing statements in 1022, by which additional charges appear to be deducted from *π. κ.*, are not easy to reconcile with the conventional treatment described by the editors in their note to 837, 10.

The editors have done everything that could be done to increase the utility of a volume that is almost perfect technically. On p. xix is a list of the mummies and the papyri recovered from the cartonnage of each. The generously proportioned indices which follow the texts provide an adequate verbal guide to both parts of Vol. III, and, in view of the numerous textual corrections scattered through the notes, the final index, a list of the passages discussed, is especially welcome. The book is brought to a suitable and useful conclusion with the four plates to which I have already referred.

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MARGARETE BIEBER. *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater.* Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1939. Pp. x + 465; figs. 566. \$7.50.

It is a comparatively simple task to analyze, to take apart and scrutinize the component parts of any object, idea, or work of art. It is easy to build attractive theories on a particular phase of any phenomenon, so long as one can avoid the conflicts incurred by looking at the same phenomenon from a different angle or in a different light. In this new book Miss Bieber has undertaken the difficult task of a synthetic treatment of the Greek and Roman theater and of the evolution of ancient stagecraft. Out of a bewildering multiplicity of sources, literary, sculptural, architectural, ceramic, coroplastic, pictorial, she has gathered her material with infinite care and with a sympathetic understanding of the subject in

all its phases and has reconstructed in a convenient and attractive volume the history of the ancient theater. It is no mean achievement in a subject of this nature to steer a straight course between the Scylla of argumentative speculation and the Charybdis of ignoring existing difficulties. No branch of classical scholarship has been so theory-ridden as that of the ancient theater, and the amount of literature on the subject is truly appalling. It is a refreshing experience for once to lay theorizing aside and to follow the author's account of the development of ancient dramatic art from its humble beginnings in the sixth century before Christ through its phenomenal progress in the fifth century and its subsequent decline to its final deterioration in the late Roman period.

We need not minimize the importance of the work of other scholars, of the philologists who have edited and made intelligible the texts of the ancient dramas, of the excavators and architects who have laid bare the extant remains and reconstructed out of seemingly insignificant walls and architectural débris the playhouses of Greek and Roman times, or of the numerous other investigators who have offered solutions to many of the problems involved in a study of the ancient theater. Without their efforts a synthetic account such as Professor Bieber has given us could not have been written, and this fact is clearly pointed out in the author's preface.

In a comprehensive study of this nature it is natural that specialists will find many things to which they can raise objections. The author has in some cases gone too far in attempting to make use of the contributions of other scholars, even to the extent of presenting with acquiescence mutually exclusive theories. She accepts, for example, the unsubstantiated theory of Doerpfeld that the orchestra in the earliest period was circular, and yet she believes that in Athens as at Thorius the earliest form of the auditorium was the flat type. The existing blocks from the base of the early proedria in Athens, which she does not mention, cannot easily be combined with a circular orchestra. She also subscribes to Fiechter's theory of the *skenotheke*, although she suggests a later date for its origin. Even more serious is her adherence to Fiechter's unhappy conclusion that the earliest permanent theater in Athens was similar in form to the theater at Epidaurus, and she reproduces Fiechter's section of the lower seats and orchestra passage (Fig. 190) to show that the early form of gutter in Athens was of the broad shallow type. She states categorically (p. 240) that "the revered classical theater of Lykurgos was given a proskenion not earlier than the second century B. C., and perhaps only after the destruction of Athens by Sulla in 86 B. C." This improbable hypothesis is one of the many obfuscating contributions of Bulle. Fig. 170 is incorrectly labeled "Oldest Foundation for Skene." It shows the reduced paraskenia, whereas the earliest skene had the deeper paraskenia, the foundations of which are partly preserved.

The book is written in an easy and readable style, rarely marred by obscure or meaningless expressions. Occasionally, however, one finds such statements as these: (p. 47) "Sophokles must have allowed his figures to appear against the skene—in sharply defined silhouette, unlike Aeschylus' figures which were seen in the round"; (p. 235)

"The ramps (in the Theater at Eretria) are slightly inclined, for they run parallel to the slanting analemata, the supporting walls of the auditorium. The ramps are laid out horizontally," etc.; and (p. 238) "If at the same time the upper wall in Oiniadae was opened into five thyromata, there would be proof that this late form came very early from the East to Macedonia."

There is a strange inconsistency in the spelling of Greek words and names. There may be a justification for shifting from "proskēnion" in the early part of the book to "proscenium" in the chapters dealing with the Roman stage, since this change in terms denotes a change in construction. But in many cases the choice of spelling seems to be entirely arbitrary as in the following examples picked at random: Athenaïos the engineer, but Athenaeus the author; Herakles and Asklepios, but Dionysus and Silenus; Alkaios, Sophokles, Peisistratos, Archelaos, Demetrios, Brygos, but Aeschylus, Herodotus, Archilochus, Epictetus, Duris, and Epicurus; Pentelikon and Pergamon, but Olympus and Byzantium; dadouchos and Chytroi, but diadochi and Lenaea. Hybrids such as Lykosura, Oiniadae, and Lykurgos occur frequently.

But these are slight defects which detract but little from the real value of the book.

The illustrations are exceedingly well chosen and interpreted with ingenuity and understanding. By comparing Professor Bieber's book with many of the older treatises in which the texts of the dramas were used as the chief or only source for the reconstruction of the classical theater, we realize the importance of archaeological investigations for a proper understanding of ancient authors. If the major part of the book has been devoted to an interpretation of the material remains and the literary evidence has been less fully treated, this is perhaps justified by the fact that the archaeological material is less well known than the texts of the dramas. Repeated reference is made to the leading works on the ancient drama in which the philological aspects are fully discussed. An adequate handling of the literary sources would have added unduly to the bulk of the book, and the author's purpose to discuss this material in a supplementary volume seems to me a wise choice.

Professor Bieber's book will constitute an indispensable companion to classroom study of ancient drama, and to the specialist on the theater it furnishes a convenient integration of the scattered and fragmentary material on which his work is based. But it deserves to be used by the wider circle of readers who are interested in the evolution of the modern drama and stage. It is to be hoped that it will find its way not only into the hands of classical scholars but also into the library of every theater in which attempts are made to present Greek plays to modern spectators.

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H. D. F. KITTO. *Greek Tragedy; A Literary Study*. London, Methuen, 1939. Pp. x + 410. 15 s.

As the title suggests, this is a consideration of the extant plays as literary creations, with slight reference to external conditions. There is no mention of the archaeology of the theatre; and the author repeatedly rejects the view that circumstances compelled a dramatist to write as he did, in favor of the view that the great dramatists wrote what they wanted to write as they wanted to write it. Kitto distinguishes four types of Greek Tragedy. The first, Lyrical Tragedy, a tragedy of situation, is represented by Aeschylus' *Suppliants*. Old Tragedy, midway between tragedy of situation and tragedy of character, is represented by Aeschylus, except for the *Choephoroe* and *Eumenides*. Middle Tragedy is the Aristotelian norm, best represented by Sophocles' plays through the *Electra*, but also, in an almost independent sub-category, by Euripides' tragedies through the *Trojan Women*, with the *Medea* and *Hippolytus* representing an intermediate variety. New Tragedy, defined as drama fundamentally non-tragic, but containing many elements of tragedy, appears with the *Philoctetes* and *Trachiniae*, and with the plays of Euripides from the *Electra* to the *Iphigenia in Aulis*; the *Alcestis* is considered as a forerunner of this type. The *Oedipus at Colonus* and the *Bacchae* are placed together as valedictories, each with a special message and hence a special form. The *Cyclops* and *Rhesus* are not considered; but each of the other plays receives comment. The author then proceeds to sum up with chapters on the art of Aeschylus, the art and philosophy of Sophocles, and the technique of Euripides. An index is included.

A reviewer may traditionally serve as an advanced proof-reader; therefore some trifles may be recorded. At the top of p. 261, the misprint "then" for "them" is momentarily puzzling. Aegisthus was hardly an "uncle" of Orestes. The statement that the chorus speaks the last words of the *Trachiniae* is either an error or a textual innovation unknown to the reviewer. In a footnote on p. 287 the implied adherence to Murray's theory of ritual survivals is a jarring note, at variance with the author's general attitude. That Euripides criticized or made fun of Aeschylus by *Electra's* rejection of the Aeschylean tokens is a view less perspicacious than most of the author's discussions. The appearance of an *aition* does not mark the end of an Euripidean play, since *aitia* may occur whenever handy, cf. the prologue of the *Hippolytus* and a speech of Orestes midway in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. The reviewer is saddened by the fact that the ghost of the Three-Actor Rule haunts this book, too; he is not, however, shocked—the spectacle of his betters offering an Odyssean sacrifice to revivify that spectre is all too common; but fortunately Kitto treats the Third Actor as a dramatic device, used or unused according to artistic principles, which is quite the best way to regard him. The suggestion that Aeschylus learned about the Third Actor from Sophocles is annoying (and not necessarily Aristotelian), but unimportant; Kitto's observations on how and why Aeschylus and Sophocles used the Third Actor are important and sound.

In other matters, too, it is possible to appeal from the author's specific observations to his general attitude. The startling statement that in the *Oresteia* Apollo's command to Orestes was wrong and his system had to be replaced with another is hardly borne out by the penetrating and illuminating analysis of the *Eumenides*. A similar extravagance—"Euripides liked to produce gods, especially Apollo, at the end less to cut the knot than to cut their own throats"—is, fortunately, made more conspicuous as an *obiter dictum* than in the analysis of the individual plays or of Euripides' technique. That Hecuba *must* take up time by means of rhetoric at *Troades* 466 ff. seems to violate a general premise of the book—namely, that a great dramatist is compelled to be undramatic, if at all, only by the necessity of expressing an important idea, not by the minor requirements of play-making.

With other matters, as usual, there is room for disagreement. Not everyone will agree with the following: that Antigone has no ἀμαρτία; that the *Hecuba* is not a character study of Hecuba; that Euripides' Electra is a purely private and personal assemblage of faults; that the ending of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* is as brazenly unreal as that of the *Beggar's Opera*—to believe that, one must assume that a storm always robs of safety any poor devil engaged in a dubious enterprise; that the aetiology of the *Ion* is humorous super-patriotism for the tolerant amusement of both poet and audience; or that, in the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, the Greek army is composed entirely of ogres—the tragic element in the play is that they, and their leaders, are not ogres, but cannot keep themselves from behaving as if they were.

It is possible to enumerate in a review the weak spots of this book; it would not be possible to enumerate the strong ones. Suffice it to say that the strength is far more important than the weakness. Kitto makes an effective presentation, seasoned with a delightfully tart humor—as in the footnote ". . . art, like drainage, undoubtedly performs some function in the state"; or, "unless we see what his (Euripides) real approach to tragedy was, we shall have to . . . suppose that he was so busy dropping warm tears that he could not stay to make decent plays." This latter illustrates a source of strength for the book—Kitto's insistence that a great dramatist wrote as he did because he chose to write that way, and that a critic's business is to show the idea underlying each play and explain the technique as the appropriate means of expression for that idea. Kitto is fair in considering others' views, and refers to much of the relevant literature, though he does not attempt to be encyclopaedic. (In the treatment of the *Persians*, Harmon's view as to the scene might have served a useful turn.) The presentation of the *Ajax* as a play about both Odysseus and Ajax, or rather, about their conjunction, is a valuable bit of salvage-work. So too, the observation that Antigone's borrowing from Herodotus belongs where it stands, because Antigone's tragedy is revealed in that all she has to which to cling, at the end, is "a frigid sophism." Kitto perhaps strains a bit in making Euripides look reasonable, but our appreciation of this fascinating but puzzling poet is bettered by Kitto's classification of the plays and by such points as that the Euripidean ἀμαρτία is

some general element in human nature, which brings suffering, but not necessarily to the doer, and that Euripidean tragedy is a tragedy of concepts, not of character, and hence schematized plays are legitimate vehicles for the poet's views. Good, too, is the remark that Euripides' "rationalism" is not a heretical doctrine to be preached, but a state of mind shared by the audience, and hence a subject for hints and allusions. (Professor Capps once remarked that "*ὃ μέγα σεμνὴ Νίκη . . .*" does not sound like the utterance of the frustrated hierophant of a minority creed.)

This book on Greek Tragedy is penetrating, scholarly, and very valuable; it should be used by everyone, whether scholar, amateur, or beginner.

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JULIUS JUNGE. *Saka-Studien. Der ferne Nordosten im Weltbild der Antike.* (*Klio*, Beiheft XLI.) Leipzig, 1939. Pp. 115; 2 plates. RM. 8.00.

Herodotus says the Persians called all the Scythians Sacae (VII, 64). In the list of provinces on the tomb of Darius I there are three kinds of Sacae: Saka haumavarga and Saka tigrayauda, listed after the Indian nations, and Saka beyond the sea, after the Ionians. The last are plainly the Pontic Scythians invaded by Darius on his famous expedition beyond the Danube. The other two are always mentioned together and occupied the modern Turkestan more or less. The Saka tigrayauda are the Sacae who wore pointed hats,<sup>1</sup> and the Saka haumavarga, i. e. *ultimi*, are identified with the Amyrgioi, though Herodotus confuses this distinction.

Junge's studies treat a number of problems in the geography, ethnology, historiography, history, and nomenclature of these peoples. He believes there was unity among them in language (Iranian), culture (Tierstil), and race (Nordic), but the evidence he cites often suggests wishful thinking. He scrutinizes the notices on the far northeast found in early Greek sources, Homer, Hesiod, Aleman, Aristaeus of Proconnesus, and Hecataeus, and he attempts to enlarge on these meagre indications. The later classical tradition from Herodotus to Ptolemy is also reviewed.

The most interesting and constructive are the last two chapters, which treat the Sacae and their country from the Oriental point of view, relying on Persian inscriptions, native seals and coins, and Chinese historians as well as on classical material. The relations of the Achaemenidae with the Sacae are traced critically. The author identifies a contemporary cylinder seal as representing Darius' conquest of the Saka tigrayauda and connects it with a passage in the Bisutun inscription. The Saka tigrayauda became tributary, but the Saka haumavarga remained more independent. The succession of

<sup>1</sup> If the *Ὀρθοκορυβάντιοι* (Herodotus, III, 92) are the same (Junge, p. 44), it is a strange name for people who wore *κυρβάστας ὀρθάς* (Herodotus, VII, 64).

dominant tribes in the Caspian steppes, Massagetae, Davi, Sarmatae, Aorsi, Alani, brings us down to the appearance of the Huns there in the second century. The eastern Sacae felt the pressure of the Huns much earlier. In the middle of the second century B. C., according to Chinese sources, the Huns drove the Üe-tse (Tocharoi) westward into the territory of the (eastern) Sacae (Sacaraucae), who fled over the mountains into Cashmir. Their dynasty in India is dated from 145 B. C., chiefly by correspondences between its coinage and the Hellenistic coinage of Bactria.

The brochure is not too carefully prepared. The arrangement of the evidence is repetitious. On p. 21 a long reference is repeated in full within two lines. On p. 63 the citation from Herodotus should be VII, 64 (not III, 64), and on p. 74, Strabo, VII, 3, 17 (not VIII, 3, 18), etc. The documentation is ample and up-to-date, but there is no bibliography. It is not always clear just what is the author's own contribution; certainly whole sections of the argument are acknowledged from predecessors.

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## APOLLODORUS AND THE SPEECH AGAINST NEAERA (PSEUDO-DEM. LIX).

The speech against Neaera is written in the loose, rambling, and repetitious style which characterizes the group of pseudo-Demosthenic speeches composed for,<sup>1</sup> and possibly by, an Athenian citizen, Apollodorus of the deme Acharnae, who, though never mentioned by Demosthenes except in the speech which the great orator wrote against him, *On behalf of Phormio*, was a member of the Demosthenic anti-Macedonian party, at least from 349-348 B. C. In that year he performed<sup>2</sup> for Demosthenes the very dangerous service of making the proposal to use the Theatre Fund for military purposes, a proposal which Demosthenes himself desired<sup>3</sup> but feared to make. As Cloché<sup>4</sup> says, Demosthenes must have been "enchanted" when Apollodorus, a member of the Senate in the year 349 B. C., brought the matter before that body. The speech against Neaera is important historically because of the information which it gives about the fate of the proposition to appropriate the Fund, which was then under the protection<sup>5</sup> of Eubulus, the distinguished *ῥήτωρ* and head of the Peace Party. Apart from this political aspect the speech has always enjoyed a scandalous fame<sup>6</sup> for the descrip-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Blass, *Die Attische Beredsamkeit*<sup>2</sup>, III, 1, pp. 482 f.; Sandys, *Demosthenes. Select Private Orations* (3rd ed.), II, pp. xlv ff.; P. Cloché, *Démosthènes* (1937), pp. 88 ff.; W. Jaeger, *Demosthenes* (1938), pp. 39 ff., 244.

<sup>2</sup> [Dem.], LIX, 5. Cf. *R. E.*<sup>2</sup>, X, col. 2235.

<sup>3</sup> Demosthenes, I, 19, 20; III, 13, 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Démosthènes*, p. 86.

<sup>5</sup> Demosthenes, XIX, 291; Cloché, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 f.; Drerup, *Aus einer alten Advokatenrepublik* (1916), pp. 42 f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Athenaeus, XIII, 593.

tions of the career of a *hetaera*, whose lovers were men in high life, and for the unabashed and cynical statement, so often quoted, about the morals of *l'homme moyen sensuel*<sup>7</sup> in Athens.

The speech suggests some problems, both political and social, which deserve fuller consideration than that which they have received. Among these are the real motive for the speech, its date, the fact that the two former political opponents, Eubulus<sup>8</sup> and Demosthenes, both appear as witnesses for Apollodorus and against Stephanus, who had been Eubulus' tool in securing the condemnation of Apollodorus in 349-348 B. C. Further, there is the question of the political influence of a man of the type of Stephanus, as he is represented in this speech, and of his ability to evade the laws of Athens for so many years as successfully as the speaker alleges. Both the speaker, Apollodorus, and the accused, and persons who appear in the course of the speech suggest the low types of the stage of the New Comedy which "dealt with the present; not the past."<sup>9</sup> In particular, the procuress, Nikarete, a married woman with her good Attic name (singularly inappropriate to her profession), a Greek "Mrs. Warren," with an eye for beautiful and clever little girls, whom she trained to be *hetaerae* on a grand scale, calling them her daughters and chaperoning them about Greece, is at once a living person and a character for Menander's stage.<sup>10</sup>

The date of the speech is generally agreed to be not far from 340 B. C.<sup>11</sup> It is later than 343, for the poet Xenoclide<sup>12</sup>, whom Philip banished from Macedonia in that year, is back in Athens, and before the prospect of war with Philip had developed as it had in 339 B. C. The Theoric Fund had not yet been applied

<sup>7</sup> [Dem.], LIX, 122.

<sup>8</sup> *R. E.*, VI, col. 877: "Um dieselbe Zeit erscheint E. als Zeuge im Prozess des Stephanos des Eroiaden, [Dem.] LIX 48"; A. Schaefer, *Demosthenes*, I, p. 214, n. 2: "dieser könnte der Redner sein"; O. Staeker, *De Litis Instrumentis quae existant in Demosthenis quae feruntur posteriore adversus Stephanum et adversus Neeram orationibus* (1884), pp. 44-45.

<sup>9</sup> G. Murray, *Aristophanes*, p. 238.

<sup>10</sup> Macurdy, *Quality of Mercy* (Yale Univ. Press, 1940), pp. 163 ff.; [Dem.], LIX, 18 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Blass, *op. cit.*, p. 477: "Also muss die Zeit der Rede zwischen 343 und 340 als äussersten Termin liegen."

<sup>12</sup> Demosthenes, *De Falsa Legat.*, 331; [Dem.], LIX, 26-28.

to the defense budget. This occurred in 339 B. C. on motion of Demosthenes.

There are two speakers for the prosecution, a young man, Theomnestus, at once brother-in-law and son-in-law of Apollodorus, and Apollodorus himself, appearing as *συνήγορος*. Neaera is accused of being an alien woman married to an Athenian. This was a crime in Athens, the penalty for which was that the convicted person might be sold as a slave. The two speakers allege that their motive is to avenge themselves on Stephanus, who had indicted Apollodorus for illegal procedure, *παράνομον*, because of his proposal to lay before the people the question of the use of the Theoric Fund for military purposes. Although the proposal made in the Senate by Apollodorus in 349 B. C. passed both Senate and Assembly, the court to which it was referred on motion of Stephanus condemned Apollodorus and fined him a talent. Stephanus had demanded the enormous fine of fifteen talents, which would have meant the political and financial ruin of Apollodorus and, so Theomnestus asserts, the ruin of the entire family-connection. This is the consideration which justified Theomnestus in appearing as principal prosecutor, calling in Apollodorus as *συνήγορος*. Apollodorus, in fact, delivers all of the speech except the brief statement of the case, and he is the interested person.

I suggest that the motive alleged by the two speakers, namely, to punish Stephanus for his suit of eight or nine years before, is not the true one and that the appearance of both Eubulus and Demosthenes as witnesses against Stephanus confirms the date 340 B. C., a time when in face of the advancing peril the old Peace Party joined hands with Demosthenes and the opponents of Philip. The question of the Theoric Fund was no longer a high explosive lying about in politics, to destroy anyone who meddled with it. The *διαψήφισις* (purging of the lists) of the year 346 B. C.<sup>13</sup> had cleared the register of many aliens, so reducing the demands on the Fund, and Demosthenes, who in 349 B. C.<sup>14</sup> had declared that only a fool would run the risk of proposing to divert the Fund, was now preparing to make the

<sup>13</sup> *F. H. G.*, I, p. 406 (Philochorus, 133). G. Glotz, "Démosthène et les Finances Athéniennes de 346 à 339," *Revue Historique*, CLXX (1932), p. 393.

<sup>14</sup> *OL.*, III, 13.

proposition himself. If Stephanus, who, acting for Eubulus in 349 B. C., foiled the attempt to divert the Fund, could be thoroughly discredited in 340 B. C., when the war with Philip was daily drawing nearer, it would mean for Demosthenes the removal from politics of one obstacle to carrying through his long-cherished plan. Apollodorus, again his chosen instrument, would no doubt derive much satisfaction from the opportunity to pay off old scores against Stephanus, but he had waited some eight years with all the facts in his possession. It seems highly probable that in this case also he was acting at the instigation of Demosthenes.

Because of his action in 349 B. C. Apollodorus has reaped an undeserved fame. He is mentioned in most modern discussions of the Demosthenic period as "the patriot Apollodorus"<sup>15</sup> and no attempt is made to reconcile the high courage ascribed to him with the bad character of the man, indicated in various speeches delivered by him and in one written by Demosthenes, in which he is repeatedly called *συκοφάντης* and a dishonest, immoral fellow with the stigmata of the upstart. It is a stain<sup>16</sup> on the political record of Demosthenes that he paid Apollodorus for his political service by writing for him a speech marked by incredible violence, attacking the very man for whom he had written his fine speech *For Phormio*. This was a reproach in his life-time<sup>17</sup> and still testifies against him. If every politician has his price, the price stipulated by Demosthenes for selling his private honor was that the buyer should do something to help preserve the freedom of his beloved Athens.

Apollodorus attempted to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for Demosthenes and got badly scorched. It is a disputed question<sup>18</sup> whether the conviction and fining of Apollodorus preceded or followed the delivery of the *Third Olynthiac* in which speech

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Cloché, *op. cit.*, p. 93: "l'initiative patriotique d'Apollodorus."

<sup>16</sup> But cf. Jaeger, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 f.

<sup>17</sup> Aeschines, II, 165. Cf. Plutarch, *Dem.*, 15.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Cloché, *op. cit.*, p. 84, who holds that the pessimism of the *Third Olynthiac* is more comprehensible if this speech is later than the "check given to the important reform proposed by the patriotic orator Apollodorus." Jaeger, *op. cit.*, p. 244 says: "Thus the *psephisma* of Apollodorus cannot have preceded the *Olynthiacs*, but must have followed them, and is certainly connected with Demosthenes' politics."

Demosthenes says<sup>19</sup> that until certain laws concerning the Theoric Fund are repealed no one is going to be such a fool as to rush upon a ruin which stares him in the face by making any proposal to touch it. In 340 the man of straw, Theomnestus, is put forward to state the case against Neaera and to make the attack on Stephanus more plausible by accounts of what would have befallen the whole family had Stephanus succeeded in getting a fine of fifteen talents imposed on Apollodorus, or in having him convicted for murder<sup>20</sup> in another suit that he brought against him. It is clear that Apollodorus was under a cloud in consequence of these attacks, although Stephanus did not succeed in getting him convicted for murder.

The fact that the suggested injuries which Theomnestus claims justify him in bringing the suit never actually materialized and remained "contrary to fact" makes it appear the more probable that the case had a political purpose rather than the "spite" motive alleged by the two speakers. Demosthenes, whom I suggest as the real prompter of the suit against Neaera, is nowhere mentioned in the text, but appears inconspicuously, yet doubtless with great effect, "Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of the deme Paeania," in a list of witnesses<sup>21</sup> who testify that they were in the Agora when Apollodorus summoned Stephanus to hand over four female slaves belonging to Neaera to be tortured, in order to determine the parentage of the children whom Stephanus had declared to be his own. The testimony of Eubulus is also significant. He swears that he used to visit the houses of Stephanus and Phrynion, when the two men alternately possessed Neaera as a *hetaera*, and that she drank in company with them. The occasions mentioned belong to the period of the early connection of Stephanus and Neaera and indicate an old intimacy between the statesman Eubulus, then about thirty-five years old, and his tool Stephanus. Demosthenes in *De Falsa Legat.*, 190 ff. mentions men with whom Eubulus had broken bread and eaten salt whom he afterward accused when they were discovered in treasonable and dishonest actions. This case is entirely different from those cited by Demosthenes, since the dishonorable career of Stephanus and his relations with Neaera were evidently an open book to

<sup>19</sup> III, 13.

<sup>20</sup> [Dem.], LIX, 9-10.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Staeker, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Kirchner, *Rh. M.*, XL (1885), p. 386.

Eubulus. No moral indignation instigated him to testify against Neaera, and the conjunction of Eubulus and Demosthenes as witnesses against Eubulus' old henchman emphasizes the drawing together of the political parties in view of the coming struggle. Cf. Drerup on the coalition of the opposed parties in Athens after the actual declaration of war,<sup>22</sup> "In Athens the Peace Party, now pressed to the wall, since the fatherland was in danger, could no longer shut itself off from its defense. A truce between the parties was proclaimed; the general of the opposition Eubulus-party, Phokion, received the highest naval command, and the personal enemies of Demosthenes, Meidias and Aeschines, were sent as diplomatic representatives of Athens to the Amphiktyonic Council."

Demosthenes had earlier (347) given up his suit against Meidias, friend of Eubulus, in the interests of the peace for which both he and Eubulus were at that moment working. Cf. Cloché,<sup>23</sup> "Vers la même époque, enfin, l'orateur paraît avoir donné un nouveau gage de ses sentiments pacifiques et de l'amélioration de ses rapports avec Eubule, en renonçant à poursuivre le procès qu'il avait entamé contre un ami de cet homme d'État: Midias" (p. 96).—"L'abandon des poursuites entamées contre Midias a pu très bien être un gage de cette réconciliation partielle et intéressée."

So politics, which makes strange intimacies, brought together from 349 B. C. to 340 B. C. to work for the same cause the great orator Demosthenes and the vulgarian, ex-barbarian Apollodorus.

It remains to adduce some further reasons for stripping Apollodorus of the credit for noble patriotism assigned him by modern historians because of the proposal for which he is glorified. This may best be done by citing his "backer" Demosthenes and the opinion that he publicly expressed two years before the famous proposal. He describes him<sup>24</sup> as a man whose life is spent in litigation, and in bringing public suits for dishonest reasons—*δημοσίᾳ συκοφαντῶν καὶ κρίνων τινάς*. He mentions his suits against Timomachus, Callippus, Menon, Autocles, and Timotheus, and most scathingly asks, "It is likely that you, *being Apollodorus*, would undertake public prosecutions to the neglect of your private interests?" He calls him "the perpetual

<sup>22</sup> *Aus einer alten Advokatenrepublik*, p. 127.

<sup>23</sup> *Démosthènes*, pp. 96 ff.

<sup>24</sup> XXXVI, 53 ff.

blackmailer," τὸν συκοφαντοῦντ' αἰεί. This characterization of Apollodorus was written by Demosthenes in 350 B. C. Almost immediately thereafter, in his zeal to get money for military purposes, he saw that Apollodorus, this same venal, unscrupulous, and pushing fellow, who had been elected senator, was just the man to undertake the risk, and he paid him for taking it by writing a speech for him that should help him get more of the estate left by his father, the banker and ex-slave Pasion. In this speech Apollodorus describes himself:—he is not a well-bred man, he says, not up to the standard of the Athenian gentleman; he has an ugly face, a bawling voice, and a rowdy's gait. Evidently this unpleasant personality was, as Apollodorus himself says, unmistakable and notorious, or Demosthenes would not have called attention to it so pointedly. Demosthenes refers to his "shameless shouting" in the speech for Phormio. Although his own father and mother, Pasion and Archippe, were born in slavery, Apollodorus in this speech taunts his step-father, Phormio, because he also had been a slave, and calls him a "barbarian," unable to speak Greek correctly. Phormio's Greek accent was doubtless as good as that of Pasion and Archippe. Twelve years after the death of his mother, to whom, in an earlier speech, he refers in terms of deep love and respect, Apollodorus accuses her of having committed adultery with her second husband, Phormio, during the life-time of her first husband, and says that his brother Pasicles is the offspring of that relation. His speeches bear out Demosthenes' description of him as a brawling, money-loving, brazen upstart, with no sense of decency or of filial feeling—a thoroughly unpleasant fellow. Demosthenes speaks of the money he spends on *hetaerae*, his extravagance and his ostentatious way of walking about the street, with three pages, so that everyone who meets him is struck by his lewd insolence. He is known to have acted as trierarch in 362 B. C.<sup>25</sup> and, in his speech against Polycles whom he sues for the expenses of the extra months that he had to serve (until 360 B. C.) because of Polycles' failure to relieve him, he tells of the great sums which he spent on his ship and his crew, far beyond what the law demanded. In the first speech against Stephanus he says that the adopted citizens should contribute, *λητουργεῖν*, to the expenses of

<sup>25</sup> Also in 356-5, *I. G.*, II, 794, v. 63; as choregus in 352-1, *I. G.*, II, 1238.



the city in a way to show their gratitude for the gift of citizenship, and more lavishly than the native-born.

He appears at his worst in the two speeches against Stephanus and in the speech against Neaera. It is startling to find in the speech which Demosthenes wrote for him such unblushing statements of his low standard of honesty as that contained in XLV, 21, where he declares that he would have suppressed a will left by his father, if he had known that it was against his own interests.

If, as Blass and most other scholars hold,<sup>26</sup> Apollodorus received from Demosthenes the bribe of the first speech against Stephanus for undertaking the task of bringing the matter of the Theoric Fund before the Senate, it is clear that Apollodorus does not deserve to be glorified as a patriot for his action. He was prompted by his desire to discredit Phormio, in order to get more money from the estate of his father, who had bequeathed a large part of it, and also his wife, to Phormio. Since the Senate and the Assembly alike voted for Apollodorus' proposal, he must have had a very good backing, and a good deal of preliminary work evidently had been done for him by Demosthenes and his adherents before the matter was brought up. Cf. [Dem.], LIX, 5: "When the vote was taken, no one voted against the proposal to use the Fund for military purposes, and today, whenever the subject is mentioned, all agree that Apollodorus was unjustly convicted for making an excellent proposal." The statement here made that, whenever the matter is talked of at the moment (i. e. in 340), everyone admits that Apollodorus made a most excellent proposal, indicates that people now dare advocate openly in conversation the change in the law. It is stated in the *Hypothesis* of the *First Olynthiac* that a law had been passed which established the penalty of death for any proposal to divert the Theoric Fund. The state of public opinion had evidently undergone a remarkable change and the time was ripe for the action of Demosthenes which followed in 339. The object of this indictment of Neaera is in fact to clear the way for that action.

Another significant testimony is that of the poet Xenocides,

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Jaeger, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 244: "It is fairly probable that when Demosthenes wrote a speech for Apollodorus to use in his suit against Stephanus he did so, as has been surmised, because of their political connections."

who was debarred from testifying in person because he was still disfranchised, in consequence of a suit brought against him by Stephanus in 371 B. C., many years before this action. He had opposed an expedition to relieve the Spartans made under the auspices of Callistratus, and Stephanus, then in the pay of Callistratus, indicted him *ἀστυπείας*. Apollodorus, after complaining of Stephanus' action in thus depriving of civic rights a man who was by ancestry and birth an Athenian, summons the actor Hipparchus, who seems to testify reluctantly.<sup>27</sup> Hipparchus testified that he and Xenocles hired Neaera in Corinth, where she was a professional *hetaera*, and that she drank with himself and Xenocles the poet. Hipparchus the actor is not mentioned elsewhere and there is no mention of Xenocles the poet except in this oration and in Demosthenes, XIX, 331: "As you know how Philip received Hegesippus and his fellow ambassadors I pass over his other conduct, but he banished the poet Xenocles, who sits yonder, because he received his own countrymen under his roof."

Xenocles, like a famous poet of an earlier century, had found a home in Pella, where the old tradition of welcoming artists was maintained. He had apparently been a wealthy citizen in Athens, since he had bought the privilege of "farming" the customs on imported food-stuffs (*έωνημένος την πεντακοστήν του σίτου*, [Dem.], LIX, 27) and was in a position in Macedonia to welcome the embassy led by Hegesippus in 343 B. C., for which act of hospitality toward his fellow-countrymen he was banished by Philip.<sup>28</sup> It appears from *τουτονί* in the passage cited from Demosthenes, XIX, that Xenocles had returned to Athens, where he was naturally in high favor with the anti-Macedonian party, and his testimony, given, apparently under compulsion, by his old friend and companion the actor, may have been an offering to that party, now in the ascendant. It cannot have been agreeable to him to be dragged into this unpleasant suit and to have the follies of his youth publicly proclaimed, and, though it would be absurd to attribute modern feelings of chivalry to Xenocles the poet, he might well have felt it a rather low

<sup>27</sup> Cf. "Ιππαρχον αὐτὸν καλῶ καὶ ἀναγκάσω μαρτυρεῖν ἢ ἐξόμνησθαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἢ κλητεύσω αὐτόν, [Dem.], LIX, 28.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Cloché, *Démosthènes*, p. 139; Drerup, *Aus einer alten Advokatenrepublik*, p. 103.

action to take part in the attack on Neaera's legal standing at this late day, after she had been living for thirty years as the wife of Stephanus. As he had lost civic rights because of the action of Stephanus, however, he may have been glad to have an opportunity for revenge.

The final testimony, given by five citizens to attest the fact that Apollodorus had challenged Stephanus to hand over for examination by torture four maid-servants belonging to Neaera, contains as second witness the name of the famous orator, the head of the War Party, Demosthenes. His appearance<sup>29</sup> to testify for the man who had undertaken for him nine years before an extraordinary and dangerous political service was not so much payment for that political debt, for which he had already paid, as a blow on his own behalf against the anti-War Party, by helping to discredit altogether their useful though disreputable instrument, who as *συκοφάντης* still had his "nuisance value."

Stephanus who is attacked in this speech is not the Stephanus who was indicted by Apollodorus on the charge of giving false testimony as a witness for Phormio. The two men came from different demes, the Stephanus of this speech being the son of Antidorides of the deme Eroeadae, while the Stephanus of the early speeches is son of Menecles of the deme Acharnae. Stephanus the Eroead had the advantage of Apollodorus in being an Athenian of Athenian ancestry. He is said by Apollodorus to have been originally a *συκοφάντης*, getting his living by bringing suits for pay, in the political service of Callistratus (*ὑπέπεσε τῷ Καλλιστράτῳ*, *op. cit.*, 43). Later he was a *ρήτωρ* and in this capacity he appears in the inscription *I. G.*, II, 109, 5, according to which he is the author of the decree renewing the alliance of Athens with the people of Mytilene, in 347-346 B. C. Apollodorus announces that he intends to tell of Stephanus' discreditable relations with Callistratus after he has finished his argument to show that Neaera is an alien, married to a citizen. This particular attack on the character of Stephanus does not appear in the speech against Neaera. Stephanus had brought into his indictment of Apollodorus *παρὰ νόμων* in 349 B. C. many reflec-

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Kirchner, *Rh. M.*, XL (1885), p. 386: "Dass ferner der an zweiter Stelle genannte Demosthenes für Apollodorus gezeugt habe, ist durchaus glaubwürdig; wir brauchen uns nur zu vergegenwärtigen, wie eng jene beiden zur Zeit unserer Rede verbunden waren."

tions upon the character of the latter <sup>30</sup> and the counter-attack here threatened was perhaps intended to form part of a future indictment of Stephanus alone on various charges.

Stephanus may well have been as corrupt a rogue as Apollodorus declares him to be, but, as Demosthenes remarked in his speech against Phormio, what Apollodorus says is not evidence,<sup>31</sup> and he may not have been as black as he is here painted. His alleged base or illegal acts are (1) he brought the *hetaera* Neaera from Megara to Athens, and married her, although she was not *δοτή*, an Athenian-born woman. (The actual birth-place of Neaera, who is a Greek, is never stated by Apollodorus; Corinth and Megara are mentioned as places in which she lived.) (2) He enrolled as his own the three children of Neaera, whose actual father or fathers Apollodorus does not mention. (3) His object in marrying Neaera is stated by Apollodorus to have been that he might have a beautiful *hetaera*, at no cost to himself, and that she might by carrying on her profession help pay the household expenses. (4) He gave in marriage, as his own daughter, Phano, the daughter of Neaera, to two successive Athenian husbands, who believed Phano to be a native Athenian. (5) He bribed the second of these husbands, who had been elected king-archon, to choose him as *πάρεδρος*, colleague, in performing the duties of the office, and Phano, who was a *hetaera* and an alien, performed the sacred duties as the wife of the Archon, Basilinna, of whom purity was required by the Athenian law. As Blass <sup>32</sup> says, Stephanus could probably succeed in proving the children his by far better arguments than those employed by Apollodorus to prove that they were the offspring of Neaera. Further, Blass notes that the defendant did not have to discuss the bad character of Neaera's life, which had nothing to do with the charge stated at the end in simple language—*τὴν γραφὴν ἣν Νέαιραν ἐγραψάμεν, ξένην οὖσαν αὐτῷ συνουκίειν*.

In his long and wordy speech Apollodorus never actually proves that Neaera was an alien, since he does not know where and how Nikarete got hold of Neaera in her infancy. Since Athenian *δοταί* were sometimes *hetaerae*, the profession of Neaera would not legally count against her.

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.*, 5.

<sup>31</sup> Demosthenes, XXXVI, 26, 33, *et passim*.

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.*, III, 1, p. 480.

As for Neaera herself, the story of her life forms the *pièce de résistance* of Apollodorus' speech, but she is really of no importance in the case except for the purpose of discrediting Stephanus. Apollodorus, who did not have a drop of Greek blood in his veins, cannot really have been shocked in the interests of race-purity at the marriage of a Greek woman, which Neaera undoubtedly was, to an Athenian. The status of his own mother must first have been that of *παλλακή*,<sup>33</sup> while his father was still a slave, since slaves could not contract legal marriages. She was left as *γυνή* to Phormio by her husband's will, but since Phormio did not receive citizenship for ten years after Pasion's death, it is not clear what her position as Phormio's wife was in the eyes of the law.<sup>34</sup>

Apollodorus gives a vivid picture of the life of an accomplished and beautiful *hetaera*, who was taken by her lovers on journeys in every part of Greece and overseas to Chios and Ionia. She had the art of pleasing her lovers, who desired to see her well-placed when they themselves decided to settle down and marry. Her old lovers contributed money so that she might buy her freedom. At this point in her career, in 371 B. C., Stephanus met her in Megara, heard from her of the cruel treatment she had received from a lover, Phrynion, an older relative of Demosthenes, and declared his intention of taking her to Athens as his wife. He lived with her as such for thirty years, declaring that her children were his own. One of them, a runner, had the name of Stephanus' father, Antidorides, and he at least was probably the son of Stephanus. Several of the testimonies against Neaera state that she drank "in company" (i. e. at symposia). This association with men when they drank was a mark of the *hetaera* (cf. Isaeus, III, 15, 16 for the propriety of conduct required of an Athenian married woman)—"For it is obvious that no one would venture to serenade married women, and that married

<sup>33</sup> Libanius, in the *hypothesis* to Demosthenes, XXXVI, says that Pasion left his *pallake* as wife to Phormio.

<sup>34</sup> T. W. Glover, *From Pericles to Philip*, p. 324, says: "It is doubtful whether she was an Athenian citizen at any stage. Pasion was made one, and his sons by her were included in the decree of the people, but this hardly covered Archippe, for in that case she surely could not have been bequeathed to Phormion." W. Jaeger, *Demosthenes*, p. 38, calls Archippe "a free Athenian," married to "Phormion, his (Apollodorus') father's former slave."

women do not go to dinners with men nor dine with strangers." Two of the beautiful naked *hetaerae* on the psykter by Euphronius in the Hermitage have drinking-cups in their hands and one is drinking, while the third is fluting. Many a Neaera, bathing, dancing, or drinking may be found on black-figured and red-figured vases.

Apollodorus rehearses with gusto all the gross tales that he has been able to collect from dissolute old men about the early life of Neaera. At the time of this trial she was about fifty years of age, and a grandmother. Her daughter, Phano, twice married to Athenians and driven out of doors by each of them when she was discovered to be not legally ἀσπρή, Athenian-born, was, according to Apollodorus, like her mother a *hetaera*. Her first husband, Phrastor, whose conduct Apollodorus commends, cast Phano out, though she was with child, and refused to give back her dowry. Then he fell ill and had no one to tend him, since he had quarrelled with all his kin, and when his wife and her mother came and nursed him—"you know what it is to have a woman to look after you when you are sick"<sup>35</sup>—he was persuaded to recognize her child as his son. As soon as he recovered his health, however, he married an Athenian woman, retaining the dowry of Phano. Phano was then married to Theogenes, the King-Archon and became *Basilinna*, a scandal, because the office demanded purity and she had been a *hetaera*.

The extraordinary careers of Neaera and her daughter Phano are related by Apollodorus with an evident delight in the salacious details, and with an extraordinary callousness. His grossness, his vulgarity, and his base nature make the speech as much an indictment of himself as of the woman. Yet we are indebted to this rambling and inconsequential talk for some important historical information, and, more than any other speech of the Attic Orators that has come down to our times, it reveals how truly the Attic Comedy of the later Fourth Century held up the mirror to the life of the time.

Neaera and Phano, typical *hetaerae* of no significance in Athens except to amuse the men<sup>36</sup>—τὰς μὲν ἑταίρας ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα ἔχομεν—, were caught up in the whirlwind of politics and their petty lives were threatened with ruin because Stephanus in 348 had pre-

<sup>35</sup> [Dem.], LIX, 56.

<sup>36</sup> [Dem.], LIX.

vented the diversion of the Theatre Money to the needs of the Army. In 340-339 the Theatre Money and all the resources of the State had to be spent on the tremendous struggle that impended to defend the liberty of Athens. Whether Neaera was sold as a slave is not known, nor even whether the speech was delivered at all. Stephanus was a cunning old fox who had come off unhurt from many previous attacks and Apollodorus brought no proofs that the children were not his. It was still open to Stephanus to maintain that they were his and to say that Neaera was only his *παλλακή* living in free union. False witnesses were abundant in Athens and no doubt both sides in this dispute made use of them. Apollodorus says in closing: "I wonder what they are going to say to you in the defense. That Neaera here is an Athenian and his legal wife? But testimony has been given that she was a *hetaera* and a former slave of Nikarete. That Stephanus had her as a *παλλακή* in his home, not as a wife? But the facts that the children who were hers were registered<sup>37</sup> by Stephanus and that the daughter was given to an Athenian prove clearly that he had her as a wife." The fact that she was a *hetaera* did not prove that she was not free-born. Even the fact that Nikarete had procured her as an infant and reared her in her *hetaera*-school did not prove non-Athenian birth. If one considers the means by which such women secured their victims, it is not beyond possibility that Neaera was born not in Megara or in Corinth, but in Athens of Athenian parentage.<sup>38</sup> It may not have been difficult for Stephanus to wriggle out of the situation, either by true or by bribed testimony (cf. [Dem.], LIX, 120: "In view of his impudent statements and the defense that he has devised and the witnesses that he has secured by bribery").

Apollodorus says that the facts of the case were unknown to some Athenians and known to others who shrank from stirring up trouble,<sup>39</sup> "since no one brought her before a court, nor gave

<sup>37</sup> The speech illustrates the ease with which children not legally eligible could be entered by their fathers on the list of the demesmen. Aeschines (II, 99, 159) assails the legitimacy of Demosthenes, declaring that he was illegally enrolled in his deme, and says of the father of Demosthenes that he married his half-Scythian mother disregarding the laws of the city. He also insinuates (III, 172) that her sister was illegally married to an Athenian because of the great wealth of their Scythian mother.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. G. Murray, *Aristophanes*, p. 229.

<sup>39</sup> [Dem.], LIX, 109.

a vote on her case." (This probably refers to the διαψήφισις of 346-345 B. C.) Stephanus had evidently been a man of some importance in the Eubulus party, since he was chosen in 346 B. C. to go as ambassador together with Aeschines and Dercylus to the Amphictyonic Council.<sup>40</sup> But, whatever the outcome of the case and whatever the fate of Neaera and Phano, the recital of all the shady transactions of Stephanus would tend to discourage any further political activity on his part against the policy of Demosthenes' party. This I take to be the real objective of the suit against Neaera.

We know nothing further about the subsequent careers of either Apollodorus or Stephanus. They both represent the type of petty politician, *συκοφάνται*, whose strength comes from their complete unscrupulousness and dishonesty and their power to move the mob by what Demosthenes in the case of Apollodorus calls his *κραυγή καὶ ἀναΐδεια*, "his shameless bawling."<sup>41</sup> Such men, both in ancient times and at the present, have often reached high place.

I have endeavored in this study of the speech against Neaera, to show first that its aim was political rather than personal, and that Stephanus was attacked in order to clip his claws before the new proposal about the Theoric Fund was made, and secondly to make it clear that Apollodorus was not the patriot that modern historians often call him, but in the words of Demosthenes (XXXVI, 38) "a shameful knave," who would undertake anything if the bribe was big enough, in fact a scoundrel for whom patriotism was the last refuge.

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<sup>40</sup> Aeschines, II, 140.

<sup>41</sup> Demosthenes, XXXVI, 61.



# PLATO'S EPITAPH.

## I

Plato's epitaphs consist of five epigrams the position, authorship and lemmata of which in the important MS tradition are shown in the following table:

No.	Planudes III b	Syriac Chronicle of Bar-Hebraeus (ed. Bedjan)	Diogenes Leertius	<i>Palatine Anthology</i>	Planudes III a	Olympiodorus (ed. Westermann)	Authorship	Important Lemmata
1		p. 33	III, 43	VII, 60	III a, 1, 1		Simmas C; Julian Aa; <i>adespoton</i> , others.	"Upon his tomb was inscribed," Bar-Hebraeus; <i>πρώτον</i> , Diogenes.
2a	III b, 26, 7	p. 34					Speusippus, Pl. III b, 26, 7; <i>adespoton</i> , Bar-Hebraeus.	"Upon another side of the tomb was inscribed," Bar-Hebraeus.
2ab			III, 43	VII, 61	III a, 28, 2		<i>adespoton</i>	<i>ἔτερον δέ</i> , Diogenes.
3			III, 44	VII, 62	III a, 28, 3		<i>adespoton</i>	<i>καὶ ἄλλο πρῶτερον</i> , Diogenes.
4			III, 44	VII, 108	III a, 28, 4		Diogenes	<i>ἔστι καὶ ἡμέτερον οὕτως ἔχον</i> , Diogenes.
5a						p. 388	<i>adespoton</i>	<i>Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ αὐτοῦ</i> , Olympiodorus.
5ab			III, 45	VII, 109	III a, 28, 5		Diogenes	<i>τοῦ αὐτοῦ</i> , P.

Wilamowitz, without giving his reasons, considers all the epitaphs as literary;<sup>1</sup> Sternbach considers the first as the genuine epitaph of Plato.<sup>2</sup> Osann<sup>3</sup> and Preger,<sup>4</sup> who follow Bar-Hebraeus, consider the first epitaph and the first distich of the second epitaph (2a) as the genuine epitaphs, thus claiming that Plato's grave contained two epitaphs, one on each side of the stele. These differences illustrate the wide divergence of views as to Plato's epitaph. The problem involved is a phase of the greater problem of the inscription *versus* the literary epigram. The development of the epigram as a literary *genre* and the use of the word *ἐπίγραμμα*, originally an inscription, to cover a literary composition as well, has created the problem of distinguishing between the genuine inscription and the literary epigram. Weisshäupl<sup>5</sup> has done the pioneer work on this problem in the Anthology; Weber<sup>6</sup> and others have worked out specific phases of this general problem, but as yet no comprehensive study has been made of this problem in the epigrams cited as Plato's epitaphs. This study of the group of epitaphs on Plato proposes to examine the problems of their source, text, date, and authorship, with the hope of reaching the end stated in Waltz's conclusion about epitaphs in the Anthology: "Il est, enfin, de toute évidence que, lorsque plusieurs poètes ont consacré au même mort des pièces funéraires, une seule d'entre elles peut constituer son épitaphe authentique."<sup>7</sup>

An examination of the MS tradition throws considerable light on the problems of Plato's epitaph. The position, size, text, and authorship of epitaph 2a in the Planudean Anthology is of the utmost importance. The Planudean Anthology contains not

<sup>1</sup> U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Platon* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1920), I, p. 720.

<sup>2</sup> S. Sternbach, *Meletemata Graeca* (Vienna, Gerold, 1886), I, pp. 100-117.

<sup>3</sup> F. Osann, *Beiträge zur Griechischen und Römischen Literaturgeschichte* (Darmstadt, Jonghaus, 1835), I, pp. 307 ff.

<sup>4</sup> T. Preger, *Inscriptiones Graecae Metricae* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1891), pp. 9-11.

<sup>5</sup> R. Weisshäupl, *Die Grabgedichte der Griechischen Anthologie* (Vienna, Gerold, 1899).

<sup>6</sup> L. Weber, "Steinepigramm und Buchepigramm," *Hermes*, LII (1917), pp. 536-537.

<sup>7</sup> P. Waltz, *Anthologie Grecque, Première Partie, Anthologie Palatine* (Paris, Société d'édition Les Belles Lettres, 1938), IV, pp. 38-39.

only the entire group of epitaphs found in Diogenes Laertius and the Palatine Anthology but also the Speusippus epitaph, independent and separate from the other epitaphs. The Speusippus epitaph differs from the other epitaphs not only in position but also in size. In Planudes, IIIb, 26, 7 it consists of one distich, whereas in all the other sources, except the Syriac version of Bar-Hebraeus, it consists of two distichs. Furthermore the textual readings of the Speusippus epitaph show that it belongs to a tradition independent of Diogenes Laertius, the Palatine Anthology, and Planudes, IIIa, 28, 2. It differs from them in the following variants:

Planudes, IIIb, 26, 7:

Σῶμα μὲν ἐν κόλποις κατέχει . . . γαῖα . . . ἰσοθέων τάξιν.

Diogenes Laertius, III, 43:

Γαῖα μὲν ἐν κόλπῳ κρύπτει . . . σῶμα . . . ἀθάνατον τάξιν.

Palatine Anthology, VII, 61:

Γαῖα μὲν ἐν κόλποις κρύπτει . . . σῶμα . . . ἀθάνατον τάξιν.

Planudes, IIIa, 28, 2:

Γαῖα μὲν ἐν κόλποις κρύπτει . . . σῶμα . . . ἀθανάτων τάξιν.

Finally the epitaph shows its independent source in the authorship. Planudes, IIIb, 26, 7 gives Speusippus as its author whereas all the other sources, including Planudes, IIIa, 28, 2, give it as *adespoton*.

The existence, therefore, of the second epitaph in the Planudean Anthology as *adespoton*, enlarged by a second distich, as part of the general group of Plato epitaphs also found in Diogenes Laertius and the Palatine Anthology, and the existence of this same epitaph under the name of Speusippus, independent and different in text, position, and size, show a source which ultimately contained the Speusippus epitaph alone, before its later inclusion with other epitaphs.

It will be shown later, on the basis of internal evidence, that the Speusippus epitaph is the earliest of the group and has the best claim of all the epitaphs to be Plato's genuine epitaph. Furthermore it will be shown that in the agglutinative biographical tradition of Plato the Speusippus epitaph was later joined by the first epitaph which will be shown by internal evi-

dence to have been composed in the Hellenistic period or later.

Before proceeding to the proof of these points, it will be necessary for the moment to assume it in order to show the remaining stages in the growth of the group of epitaphs and to see the definite relationship of the MS sources. Assuming then that the Speusippus epitaph was the original and that the first epitaph was next added to form a group of two epitaphs in the Hellenistic period or later, we see this stage in the Syriac version of Bar-Hebraeus.

The Syriac version of Plato's life, the importance of which was first pointed out by Osann,<sup>8</sup> deserves careful study for the light it throws on the number and size of the epigrams. The text of it as it exists is found in the Syriac Chronicle of Bar-Hebraeus<sup>9</sup> (Abul-Faraj Gregory, 1226-1286), who wrote a chronicle from creation down to his own day. The life of Plato in this Syriac Chronicle ends with the following: "Upon his tomb was inscribed:

'Here is buried that divine man  
Who more than any human  
Excelled in wisdom, chastity, and upright habits.  
Whoever, then, praises wisdom  
Praises also him,  
For in him was the bulk of wisdom.'

And upon another side of the tomb was inscribed:

'Forsooth, O Earth,  
Even though thou dost entomb the body of Plato  
His soul thou mayest not touch  
For it is not dead.'"<sup>10</sup>

The account of Plato's life from which this was taken, was, as Röper has shown,<sup>11</sup> taken by Bar-Hebraeus from Gemaled-dinus, who in turn took it from the version that Honainus (809-873 A. D.) had made from the Greek. The Greek source of

<sup>8</sup> Osann, *op. cit.* (see note 3 *supra*).

<sup>9</sup> P. Bedjan, *Chronicon Syriacum* (Paris, Maisonneuve, 1890).

<sup>10</sup> For the text of the first translation of this life of Plato into English by Professor J. Obermann cf. J. A. Notopoulos, "Porphyry's Life of Plato," *C. P.*, XXXV (1940), pp. 285-286.

<sup>11</sup> G. Röper, *Lectiones Abulpharagianae* (Danzig, 1844), II, p. 13. This book was inaccessible to me and the information cited is based on Preger, *op. cit.* (see note 4 *supra*), pp. 9-11.

Honainus' life of Plato, in turn, has been shown by Röper to be Porphyry's life of Plato which constituted the fourth book of his *History of the Philosophers*.

A comparison of the life of Plato in the Syriac version with the fragments of Porphyry's life of Plato and Apuleius' *De Platone*, which of all extant lives is closest to Porphyry's account,<sup>12</sup> reveals that the text of Bar-Hebraeus is a dim and often confused version not only of its Greek source but also, we may surmise, of the Syriac source of Honainus. Translated by Honainus into Syriac, in turn transmitted by Gemaleddinus to Bar-Hebraeus,<sup>13</sup> the text of the epigrams reveals that the fourth line of the first epigram is missing in the Syriac, and that the readings of the third line show a source independent of Diogenes Laertius. This conclusion is confirmed by the second epigram which consists of one distich, whereas in Diogenes Laertius it consists of two distichs, the second being a later addition. The text of Bar-Hebraeus shows, therefore, that the Syriac life of Plato is based on a Greek text which is independent of Diogenes Laertius' source and earlier than it; furthermore it points to a biographical source of Plato's life which contained two epigrams, both anonymous, the second consisting of one distich, which is the same as the first distich of Diogenes Laertius' second epigram and similar to Speusippus' epigram in the Planudean Anthology. Though earlier than Diogenes Laertius' sources the Syriac version, it will be shown later, does not have any more weight than Diogenes Laertius in determining the authenticity and number of Plato's epitaphs. It merely reveals the earliest version of a double epitaph source which is seen with the addition of later epitaphs in the group contained in Diogenes Laertius and the Palatine Anthology.

The existence of a source prior to Porphyry and Diogenes Laertius, which contained the two epigrams in the form shown in the Syriac version, proves that the epitaphs in Diogenes Laertius are in three strata: in the first are the first and second epigrams derived from a source which, because of the addition of a distich in the second epigram, must have been later than the source of Porphyry's version; in the second stratum we have, according to Diogenes Laertius' lemma, a later source from which

<sup>12</sup> Notopoulos, *op. cit.* (see note 10 *supra*), pp. 284-293.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Preger, *op. cit.* (see note 4 *supra*), p. 10.

came the third epigram; finally the third stratum is Diogenes Laertius' own literary contributions, although the first distich of the fifth epigram existed prior to Diogenes Laertius.<sup>14</sup> He combined all three sources, prefacing them with a lemma which is strictly intended for inscriptional epigrams yet includes under it literary epigrams of his own.

The five epigrams of Diogenes Laertius are also found in the *Palatine Anthology*, VII, 60-62, 108-9, and accordingly their textual relation should be studied for the light it may throw both on the Plato epitaphs and on the larger aspect of the relation of the Palatine Anthology to Diogenes Laertius' epigrams. Weisshäupl, in his study of the relation of the Palatine Anthology to Diogenes Laertius' collection of his own and others' epigrams on philosophers, has shown that in Book VII of the Anthology all the epigrams from 83-133, with the exception of 131-2, are also found in Diogenes Laertius and, furthermore, that all these epigrams with the exception of VII, 106, 108-109, are handed down in the same order in which they stand in Diogenes Laertius. This general correspondence shows that Cephalas in VII, 83-133 drew from a source based on the *Lives of the Philosophers* by Diogenes Laertius; likewise, Weisshäupl points out, VII, 60-62 are taken from a source based on Diogenes Laertius. After a general study of the interrelation of the epigrams in the Anthology and in Diogenes Laertius Weisshäupl concludes that Cephalas did not make *direct* use of Diogenes Laertius but used as his source a collection or collections which included the epigrams of Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Philosophers*.<sup>15</sup>

A study of the Plato epitaphs in Diogenes Laertius and the Palatine Anthology brings further evidence in support of this conclusion. The order of the epigrams and their text readings are the basis for this support. A study of the sequence of the epitaphs in the Anthology shows that they could not stand in their present order, had Cephalas made a direct use of Diogenes Laertius. As the epigrams stand in Diogenes Laertius they are in sequence; in the Anthology, however, the first three epigrams in Diogenes Laertius' group are placed in the group VII, 60-62, which falls within the context of VII, 56-68, which is a group

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Waltz, *op. cit.* (see note 7 *supra*), pp. 102-103, n. 3.

<sup>15</sup> Weisshäupl, *op. cit.* (see note 5 *supra*), p. 38.

of epigrams on philosophers. The fourth and fifth epigrams of the Diogenes Laertius group fall in the context of VII, 108-109, and are placed in a large group of epitaphs on the philosophers, VII, 79-133. This splitting of the group of Plato's epitaphs into two sections cannot be explained by assuming that VII, 60-62 were by other authors or *adespota* and so are grouped together while VII, 108-109 were by Diogenes and so were placed in the section where other epigrams of Diogenes Laertius are found, for it is plain that the group VII, 83-133 includes epigrams on philosophers by other authors as well as by Diogenes Laertius himself. This difference in arrangement supports Weisshäupl's conclusion, for had Cephala made direct use of Diogenes Laertius he would have kept the Plato epitaph group together in their order and would have placed them with the epitaphs of philosophers.

The attraction of 108 and 109 into the sequence VII, 83-133, which presumes, aside from 106, 108-109, the same order as Diogenes Laertius' group, shows that the compiler who made a collection from Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Philosophers* inserted the fourth and fifth epigrams of Diogenes Laertius' Plato epitaphs into this series chiefly because 108 and 109 are Diogenes Laertius' own epigrams on philosophers. The compiler, therefore, thought that 108-109, being Diogenes Laertius' own, should be placed after 107, an epigram by Diogenes Laertius on Aristotle, within the general group in which are concentrated Diogenes Laertius' own epitaphs on the philosophers. Thus Cephala is shown to have made use of a collection of epigrams which had excerpted from Diogenes Laertius the general order VII, 83-133 but had also included in it 108-109 for the above reason.

A study of the text of the epigrams in Diogenes Laertius and the Palatine Anthology points to the same conclusion. The epigrams in Diogenes Laertius' list, if compared with the text of *Anthology*, VII, 60, show the following essential differences:

VII, 60:	Diogenes Laertius, III, 43:
ἦθει ('AC)P τε C	ἦθει τε P
ἐνθάδε κείται ἀνὴρ P	v. 2 ἐνθάδε — v. 3 σοφί in P makes one verse; om. Q; ἐνθάδε δὴ κείται sine ἀνὴρ P, B.

VII, 60:	Diogenes Laertius, III, 43:
θεῖος P	δῖος P F, θεῖος B.
οὗτος ἔχει πουλὺν καὶ φθόνον οὐ φέρεται P	τοῦτον ἔχει πλείστον καὶ φθόνος οὐχ ἔπεται B, P.
VII, 61:	III, 44:
κόλποις P	κόλπῳ P
VII, 62:	III, 44:
γῇ	omits
VII, 108:	III, 45:
Πλάτωνος ? A <sup>ar</sup>	Πλάτωνα
VII, 109:	III, 45:
σωμάτοιε or -οιο A <sup>ar</sup>	σῶμα σάοι

These text readings, especially the differences in the readings of the first epigram, support the contention that Cephala made no direct use of Diogenes Laertius. The source of the Palatine Anthology for the Platonic epitaphs was then a collection which contained the epigrams from the *Lives of the Philosophers* by Diogenes Laertius. A study of C(orrector)'s corrections of the Palatine Anthology reveals the existence of a collection other than that which Cephala used;<sup>16</sup> the collection on the basis of which C made his corrections contained different readings and titles. The chief difference between this collection and that which was the source of the epitaphs for the Anthology was the ascription in the former to Simmias of VII, 60, which in Diogenes Laertius is *adespota* and in the Palatine manuscript is τοῦ αὐτοῦ (?) before its erasure, referring probably to Julian, the author of the preceding two epigrams. Furthermore, besides orthographic corrections C contributes variants reflecting a different collection ultimately based on one which had drawn the epigrams from Diogenes Laertius. It is evident that C based his corrections on a source which differed from the source of the Palatine Anthology mostly in the name of the author of VII, 60. Thus a study of the text of these epigrams shows that

<sup>16</sup> For a discussion of C's sources cf. C. Preisendanz's preface lvii of *Anthologia Palatina: Codex Palatinus et Codex Parisinus* (Leyden, Sijthoff, 1911); H. Stadtmüller, *Anthologia Graeca* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1899), II, Part 1, pp. xii ff.



Cephalas and C<sup>17</sup> did not use Diogenes Laertius directly but relied on collections of epigrams which contained the epigrams of Diogenes Laertius' collection.

Finally a comparison of the readings of Diogenes Laertius, the Palatine, and the Planudean Anthology shows that the Plato group of epitaphs in the Planudean Anthology is based on the Palatine rather than on Diogenes Laertius. The differences in the text of Planudes and Diogenes Laertius are essentially the same as the differences between the readings of Diogenes Laertius and the Palatine Anthology. The difference, however, in the authorship of the first epigram and several variants show that the Planudean Anthology made use of a collection which is based on the source of the Palatine. Thus Planudes excerpted epigrams IIIa, 1, 1 and 28, 2-5 from this source but found IIIb, 26, 7 in another source revealed in neither Diogenes Laertius nor the Palatine Anthology but one which ultimately goes back to the Greek source of the second epitaph in the Syriac version.

To sum up, the study of the MS tradition of the epitaphs of Plato shows that, if the Speusippus epitaph can be shown to have the best claim of all to be Plato's genuine epitaph, then it follows that the first epitaph was later joined to it, as the Syriac version indicates. As Diogenes Laertius shows, our assumed original epitaph was subsequently enlarged by a second distich and was included in the collection which consists of the first epitaph, the third epitaph, which Diogenes Laertius himself states was later, and finally the fourth and fifth epitaphs which Diogenes Laertius classes as his own compositions. In turn, this collection of epitaphs in Diogenes Laertius was the indirect source of the Palatine; and the Palatine, excluding IIIb, 26, 7, was the indirect source of the Planudean Anthology.

If the Speusippus epigram, which exists in a tradition independent of the Diogenes group and reflects a source in a life of Plato in which it stood alone before it was absorbed by later lives, can be shown to be inscriptional and if, conversely, it can be shown that the first epigram in the Syriac version and Diogenes Laertius' group was a later addition and is not epigraphic but literary in its nature, we shall have achieved our

<sup>17</sup> The source of C is nearer to Cephalas than to Diogenes Laertius in its readings of VII, 60; both C and Cephalas differ considerably from Diogenes Laertius in the readings of VII, 60.

purpose, which is to find the epitaph which has the best claim to be Plato's genuine epitaph.

## II

The problem of whether or not the first epigram is the genuine epitaph of Plato centers in part on its authorship. In Diogenes Laertius it is *adespoton*; in the Palatine Anthology C erased the lemma of A and wrote *συμμιος*.<sup>18</sup> If Simmias was the author, we must choose between two poets by the name of Simmias, the Theban companion of Socrates at his death and the Doric poet, Simmias of Rhodes, whose *floruit* was the third century B. C. Brunck,<sup>19</sup> Sternbach,<sup>20</sup> Hobein<sup>21</sup> chose Simmias, the companion of Socrates. Sternbach sees in this epigram the one and only true epitaph inscribed on Plato's tomb. Others such as Meineke<sup>22</sup> and Jacobs<sup>23</sup> attribute it to Simmias of Rhodes.

If Simmias of Rhodes be the author of the epigram, it must be literary and not inscriptional, for it can hardly be assumed that an epigram written by a poet almost a century after Plato's death would have been inscribed on his stele. This ascription, however, cannot be maintained. In the first place, as Sternbach points out, the absence of the Doric dialect in the epigram is an objection of prime importance. The dialect of Simmias' other

<sup>18</sup> The lemma of A prior to its erasure, if it can be read correctly, was *τοῦ αὐτοῦ*, the same as epigram 59; the author, then, of VII, 59-60 according to the original Palatine reading was Julian, the author of VII, 58. If this was the case, Cephalaos obviously found the epigram in a collection which had extracted it from Diogenes Laertius and had added the name of Julian as author. As Julian, to whom the phrase *τοῦ αὐτοῦ* refers, lived under Justinian (527-565), the epigram cannot be his, for it is found already in Diogenes Laertius whose date is in the third century A. D.

<sup>19</sup> R. Brunck, *Analecta veterum poetarum Graecorum* (Strassburg, Treuttel and Würtz, 1772-1776), I, p. 204, No. 2; Brunck attributes it to the Theban Simmias because L has added the name *Θηβαίω* to Simmias, the alleged author of VII, 21.

<sup>20</sup> Sternbach, *op. cit.* (see note 2 *supra*), pp. 100-117.

<sup>21</sup> Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R.E.*, s. v. "Simmias," II. Reihe, III, cols. 148-149.

<sup>22</sup> I. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1925), p. 116.

<sup>23</sup> F. Jacobs, *Animadversiones in Epigrammata Anthologiae* (Lipsiae, Dyk, 1798), I, Part 2, p. 4.

poems is Doric, and it is hardly likely that this epigram would be the exception. Wilamowitz would deny the authorship of the poem to Simmias of Rhodes on the subjective ground of style and technique.<sup>24</sup> It remained, however, for H. Fraenkel in his study of Simmias of Rhodes to give conclusive evidence against attributing the epigram to him: "omnia Simiae epigrammata ex Meleagri corolla in anthologiam transierunt, hoc autem, ut Weisshäupl (p. 34) demonstravit, inter ea est quae e Diogenis Laertii libro in eam fluxerunt, et in illo ipso anthologiae fonte carmen anonymum fertur. Quis autem, dum purum fontem adire potest, fluvii sordidam aquam bibat?"<sup>25</sup> The arguments of source, transmission, dialect, and style are strong enough to exclude Simmias of Rhodes as author of the first epigram.

The case for ascribing the epigram to Simmias of Thebes, the companion of Socrates and the contemporary of Plato, is stronger. The absence of the Doric dialect may suggest Simmias of Thebes as the author, if we credit C's lemma. The strongest case for him is made by Sternbach. He points out that in the life of Plato by Olympiodorus Simmias is shown to have survived Plato, who died at the age of 80. Evidence for this is the statement that Simmias interpreted the dream of the swan flitting from tree to tree which Plato saw before he died. Accordingly Sternbach does not think it unlikely that he should have written Plato's epitaph, especially as he had composed two other epigrams on Sophocles (*A.P.*, VII, 21, 22). Therefore he sees in the first epigram the genuine epitaph of Plato. Hobein<sup>26</sup> accepts Sternbach's conclusion.

The anecdote about Plato's dream in the life of Plato by Olympiodorus can scarcely be anything but fanciful biography. That type of anecdote cannot give much support to the thesis that Simmias outlived Plato, who died at the age of 80. Although Simmias is described in *Phaedo* 89A as *νεανίσκος*, it is not likely that he outlived Plato, for Parmentier<sup>27</sup> has shown that Plato

<sup>24</sup> U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1913), p. 226, n. 2.

<sup>25</sup> H. Fraenkel, *De Simia Rhodio* (diss. Gottingae, Dieterich, 1915), p. 112.

<sup>26</sup> *Loc. cit.* (see note 21 *supra*), col. 149.

<sup>27</sup> L. Parmentier, "La chronologie des dialogues de Platon," *Bulletins de la Classe des lettres de l'Académie royale de Belgique* (Brussels, 1913), pp. 147-174.

observed the literary rule of his time and refrained from introducing into his dialogues speakers who were alive when the work was being composed. That Simmias was dead at the time of the composition of the *Phaedo* is evident from the following considerations which Parmentier makes concerning Simmias' age in the *Phaedo*:

Dans le passage du *Phédon* (89A), où il s'agit de faire contraster l'âge des deux Thébains avec celui de Socrate, le terme de *νεανίσκος* a pu être étendu à des hommes qui avaient peut-être trente-cinq ans. Dans le *Phèdre* 242 B (cf. *Phédon* 85B), Socrate cite Simmias le Thébain comme un amateur de discours plus passionné que Phèdre lui-même. Il y a sans doute ici un de ces anachronismes peu apparents que se permet quelquefois Platon, la présence du Thébain Simmias à Athènes étant difficile à expliquer en 410, pendant la guerre du Péloponèse. Mais l'allusion prouve au moins que Simmias, pour devenir ainsi un type aux yeux de Socrate, avait dû se faire bien connaître à Athènes plusieurs années avant la date du *Phédon*.<sup>28</sup>

These points bring out the fact that the term *νεανίσκος*, as is also shown in the other cases of Phaedrus and Agathon, should not be abstracted from its context and may, as in the case of Agathon, be used of a man who was at the time over thirty years old. Simmias therefore was dead, if not at the time of the composition of the *Phaedo*, at least prior to Plato's death.<sup>29</sup>

It must be maintained then that Simmias of Thebes cannot be the author of the epigram either. This does not, however, remove the suspicion that the epigram though *adespota* may actually be an epigram of the fourth century inscribed on Plato's tomb, as Diogenes Laertius' and Bar-Hebraeus' evidence indicates. In his study of the sepulchral epigrams of the Anthology Weisshäupl has shown that:

Es ist eine bekannte Thatsache, dass die inschriftlich überlieferten Epigramme in ganz seltenen und späten Fällen den Dichternamen beigeschrieben haben. . . . Jene Epigramme, welche ein Dichterlemma tragen, sind in der Regel

<sup>28</sup> L. Parmentier, "L'Age de Phédon d'Elis," *Bulletin de L'Association Guillaume Budé* (No. 10, Janvier 1926), p. 24.

<sup>29</sup> For an explanation of C's error in attributing the epigram to Simmias cf. *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, ed. T. Bergk (Leipzig, Teubner, 1882), II, p. 314.

nicht direct vom Steine abgeschrieben. Lässt sich letzteres erweisen, so ist der Dichtername eine Zuthat, die entweder auf Coniectur oder auf anderen Quellen beruht.<sup>30</sup>

Such being the case, the reduction of our epigram to an *adespoton* does not remove the possibility that it is an inscriptional epigram as Diogenes Laertius and Bar-Hebraeus claim.

Every verse of the epigram does in fact display inscriptional characteristics.<sup>31</sup> As to the first word of the distich, *σωφροσύνη*, we have various inscriptions which show that the praise of the dead for their *σωφροσύνη* was a commonplace; the frequent occurrence of the word may also be explained by the fact that it is a dactylic unit. In the second verse we have the commonplace formula for epitaphs *ἐνθάδε . . . κεῖται*. The second distich may also show inscriptional characteristics. Geffcken<sup>32</sup> claims that in the fourth century we have the origin of epigrams beginning with the conditional formula *εἴ τις*. Epigraphic parallels, however, such as *I.G.*, II, 3, 2541, 3959, 2724 do not establish its epigraphic nature for parallels in Solon, Theognis, Xenophanes of elegiac verses beginning with *εἴ τις* show that Geffcken cannot be correct. What looks like an epigraphic formula which influenced literary epigrams may turn out to be the reverse. Thus parallels in epigraphic and literary phrases do not decide the nature of the epigram.

A thorough study of the evidence about Plato's name, however, points to only one conclusion: the epigram is literary and does not belong to the fourth century but to a period considerably later. In a study of the name of Plato<sup>33</sup> I pointed out that Plato's one and only name was Plato and not Aristocles, the name by which he is called in the second line of the epigram. The story in Diogenes Laertius of how Plato got his nickname, from the breadth of his physique, or his brow, or his literary style arose from an aetiological interpretation of the etymology of the

<sup>30</sup> Weisshäupl, *op. cit.* (see note 5 *supra*), p. 32.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, I, Suppl. 477b; G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* (Berlin, G. Reimer, 1878), no. 59; *I.G.*, IX, 2, 429; F. D. Allen, "On Greek Versification in Inscriptions," *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, IV (1885-1886), no. xliii, p. 181; no. lxx, p. 185; no. xxiv, p. 177; *I.G.*, II, 3, 3959; *I.G.*, III, 1, 778.

<sup>32</sup> J. Geffcken, *Griechische Epigramme* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1916), p. 142.

<sup>33</sup> J. A. Notopoulos, "The Name of Plato," *C.P.*, XXXIV (1939), pp. 135-143.

name, a phenomenon which was associated with iconistic portraiture in the biographical technique. Furthermore an analysis of the iconistic technique in Greek biography showed that the "attempt to make Plato a nickname was the product of a fantastically-minded biographical tradition . . . and we may dismiss the name Aristocles as a confusion and a necessary invention in consequence of their belief in the esoteric significance of the name."<sup>34</sup> It was also pointed out that the sources of the legend are to be found in the Alexandrian period.

That the epigram is literary and belongs to a period later than the fourth century is further seen in a consideration of the form, style, and content of the poem. Stadtmüller says: "videtur hoc in Platonem ep. proprius ad artem Zonae Diodori accedere quam ad elegantiam poetae, qui ep. VII 22 composuit."<sup>35</sup> Stadtmüller's stylistic judgment is now supported by the evidence that Plato was the philosopher's real name. The name Aristocles dates the epigram to a period after the fourth century and no author can be considered who does not date from the Alexandrian era when the legend of Plato's name arose or later.<sup>36</sup>

It now remains to examine the problem of how the epigram came to be considered as a part of a double epigram by the author of the source which served as the basis for Porphyry's life of Plato. The double-epigram seems to appear first in the fifth century during the Persian wars. The first example is the case of the cenotaph of those who fell at Marathon which was placed at Athens. On the base of the cenotaph, as reconstructed by Raubitschek,<sup>37</sup> two epigrams are inscribed: the first epigram referring to the battle of Marathon and the second epigram,

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143; Meineke's attempt (*Historia Critica Comicorum Graecorum* [Berlin, Reimer, 1839], I, p. 288) to see an allusion in the name 'Ἀριστοῦλλος (Aristophanes, *Ec.* 646, *Pl.* 315) to Plato is also dependent upon the legend of Plato's name.

<sup>35</sup> Stadtmüller, *op. cit.* (see note 16 *supra*), p. xxvi.

<sup>36</sup> Although Bergk shows the untenability of Simmias' authorship, he thinks that some pupil of Plato may have written the epigram (Bergk, *op. cit.* [see note 29 *supra*], p. 314). Osann thinks that the author of the epigram is Speusippus (*op. cit.* [see note 3 *supra*], p. 307). Osann's view is open to the charge of contradiction. Though Speusippus may be the author of the second epigram he cannot also be the author of the first epigram, for he could not have called his master "Plato" on one side of the stele and "Aristocles" on the other.

<sup>37</sup> A. E. Raubitschek, "Two monuments erected after the victory of Marathon," *A. J. A.*, XLIV (1940), pp. 56-59; cf. *ibid.*, p. 483-484.

engraved later, to the fight in Phalerum. The practice is continued in the case of the soldiers who fell at Potidaea in 432 B. C., where "the metrical epitaph, inscribed as one continuous poem of twelve lines, is clearly composed of three four-lined epigrams, perhaps the three prize-winners in a competition."<sup>38</sup> The double epigram seems also to have been used in the case of individual persons, for we have two epigrams on a statue of Gorgias at Olympia,<sup>39</sup> the inscription of which dates from the fourth century. But it is to be noted that this evidence applies only to a statue, or a public monument. In *I.G.*, II, 3, 2717 (*ca.* fourth century) we have a double inscription for a grave stele. In the first epigram on the one side there is a general praise of the city and its men, in the second epigram on the other side an epigram on Aristocritus who fell in battle. In *I.G.*, II, 3, 3620 we have a double epigram of the middle of the fourth century on one Dionysius who seems to have been given a public funeral. The practice of using double epigrams thus seems to have started in public memorials and then spread to the tombs of distinguished citizens. The agglutinative inscriptions are the result of such a practice. In *I.G.*, II, 3, 3602 we see how the poet, wishing to show his skill, would write "two complete epigrams expressing the same ideas in almost the same language."<sup>40</sup>

The practice of double epigrams increases from the third century on, and inscriptions now are joined with the word *ἄλλο*, as an inscription from Bithynia, dated to the third century B. C., shows.<sup>41</sup> In this we have epigraphical evidence to show that Diogenes Laertius in connecting his inscriptions with *ἄλλο* followed epigraphical procedure. The increase of the double and triple inscriptions after the third century B. C. continues, and we find such evidence even contemporaneous with Diogenes Laertius.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 945. M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1933), p. 128.

<sup>39</sup> Geffcken, *op. cit.* (see note 32 *supra*), no. 126.

<sup>40</sup> F. A. Gragg, "A Study of the Greek Epigram before 300 B. C.," *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XLVI (1910), No. 1, p. 7.

<sup>41</sup> Geffcken, *op. cit.* (see note 32 *supra*), no. 190; cf. *I.G.*, XII, 5, 588; XIV, 1863b.

<sup>42</sup> For double-epigrams cf. Kaibel, *op. cit.* (see note 31 *supra*), nos. 243 (II. B. C.), 261 (II. B. C.), 462 (II./III. A. D.), 889 (IV. A. D.).

That the biographical sources of the lives of philosophers and famous men were infected by this epigraphical practice is evident not only from Diogenes Laertius but also from other biographical material, where the frequent occurrence of double and triple literary epigrams indicates that this was a commonplace in Alexandrian and later biography. In the first place it is to be noticed that Sophocles is said to have had two epitaphs which are attributed in the Anthology to Simmias (VII, 21, 22); in the anonymous life of Plato<sup>43</sup> it is said that Plato built the Academy near the cellar of Timon the misanthrope, whose grave, we are told, bore two epitaphs. The epigram of our inquiry must be understood in this context. Written in the Alexandrian era it passed into the sources of our lives of Plato along with Speusippus' epigram; as it was a common practice to have two or more epigrams from the third century on for the same person, especially if he was famous or noted, double or triple literary epigrams (or mixed literary and inscriptional epigrams) became a feature of biographies where they were collected and so passed on to later compilers of biographies. Our epigram passed into the biographical sources of Plato's life and was joined by other epigrams, as I have pointed out, at various intervals.

### III

Is the second epigram the real epitaph of Plato or is it, like the first, a literary epigram that crept into the biographical sources of Plato's life? I believe that the Speusippus epigram has the best claim of all the epigrams to be considered the genuine epitaph on Plato's grave in the Academy. That Plato's grave contained only one epigram when it was set up is shown in the general practice of the time of engraving inscriptions only on the obverse side of the stele.<sup>44</sup> Plato's stele, as Weisshäupl has pointed out, was probably adorned at the top with an eagle, which figure gave the inspiration for the third epigram, and

<sup>43</sup> *Vitarum Scriptores Graeci Minores*, ed. A. Westermann (Brunsvigae, 1845), p. 393.

<sup>44</sup> The inscribing of more than one epigram, as shown in the case of the Marathon cenotaph, was not in front and back of the stele, but at the base on which were inscribed the names of the fallen. *I.G.*, II, 3, 2717 cannot be cited as an example of a double epigram, one in front and another in back, as it is essentially a military inscription.



we have examples of such steles surviving.<sup>45</sup> The ornament of the eagle on the obverse would make the front of the stele the only possible place for the inscription; furthermore any inscription on the reverse of the stele would be a later addition, and that the first epigram was not inscriptional was shown in the previous discussion. Furthermore, the engraving of two inscriptions, one on one side containing the name of Plato, and the other on the other side containing the name Aristocles involves an impossible contradiction. The architectural epigraphy of grave-steles in the fourth century and the custom of a single inscription on the obverse side of private grave steles argue for only one epitaph. When two epigrams appeared later in the biographical sources, two epitaphs were thought of, one on one side and the other on the back, as the Syriac life of Plato shows.

Speusippus, the son of Plato's sister Potone, is mentioned, along with six others, as Plato's executor.<sup>46</sup> Tradition reports that Speusippus, as head of the school which Plato founded, set up statues of the Graces in the shrine of the Muses erected by Plato in the Academy.<sup>47</sup> The setting up of statues in the shrine of the Muses is an indication which argues for the likelihood that Speusippus also set up Plato's stele. Tradition ascribes to Speusippus the paying of honors to Plato at his death; we are told that he wrote *Plato's Funeral Feast*<sup>48</sup> and a *Eulogy on Plato*. Furthermore tradition tells us that Speusippus was a poet. Philostratus<sup>49</sup> relates: *Σπεύσιππον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον οὕτω τι ἐρασιχρήματον γενέσθαι φασίν, ὥς ἐπὶ τὸν Κασάνδρου γάμον ἐς Μακεδονίαν κωμάσαι ποιήματα συνθέντα καὶ δημοσίᾳ ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων ᾤσαι*. If the only kernel of truth in this statement is that Speusippus wrote poetry, the ascription of the epigram to him is *prima facie* plausible. If the statement that Speusippus wrote poetry is connected with the statement that he wrote Plato's

<sup>45</sup> Weisshäupl, *op. cit.* (see note 5 *supra*), p. 75; for the size, ornament of grave-reliefs, cf. A. Conze, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs* (Berlin, Spemann, 1893-1922), II, *Sepulchral Monuments*; A. Bruckner, *Ornament und Formen der Attischen Grabstelen* (Strassburg, Trübner, 1886); P. Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas* (London, Macmillan, 1896).

<sup>46</sup> Diogenes Laertius, III, 43.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 1.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 2; IV, 5.

<sup>49</sup> Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, I, 35, cited by Bergk, *op. cit.* (see note 29 *supra*), II, p. 330.

*Funeral Feast* and *Eulogy*, that he was Plato's relative and executor, the tradition that he is the author of the epigram has cumulative probability in its favor, provided of course it can reasonably be shown that the epigram is inscriptional.

The dating of epigrams by formulas which are found in inscriptions (whose date is determined by an examination of the letters and other criteria) is the basis for the dating of our epigram. Speusippus' epigram can be dated not only by the formulas in inscriptions, however, but also by those in literature contemporary with the inscriptions. The parallel existence of the *αἰθήρ* vs. *χθών* formula of Speusippus' epigram in literature and in epigraphy<sup>50</sup> serves as the context in which we must study Speusippus' epigram. The fact that a certain formula appears in a certain period is an indication that the composition of epigrams is affected by a notion which has become popular. The formula in the Speusippus epigram is the crystallization of a popular view of the soul which is rooted in the philosophical views of the fifth century. The sentiment and style of epigrams in the fifth and fourth centuries, it has been observed,<sup>51</sup> reflect the influence of philosophy, tragedy, and rhetoric. In the formula of the Speusippus epigram we see an antithesis which was first established in philosophy and then became the common property of tragedy and the epigram. The repetition of the formula in tragedy and by the writers of epigraphical epigrams is a regular phenomenon; and, if Speusippus uses a formula as the basis of his epigram, we must keep in mind both the Greek adherence to convention and the use of the convention in a new way.

The formula as it first appears in epigraphy is found as part of the epigram on the Athenians killed at Potidaea in 432 B. C.:

Αἰθήρ μὲν φσυχὰς ὑπεδέχσατο σῶμα δὲ χθών]  
τῶνδε, Ποτειδαίας δ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ἐλ[ύθεν].<sup>52</sup>

The history of the notion about the soul implied in this formula is essential if we are to see the different use that Speusippus

<sup>50</sup> For inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries containing the same formula as does the epigram cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 945, Kaibel, *op. cit.* (see note 42 *supra*), nos. 35, 35a, 41, 88, 56, 57.

<sup>51</sup> Gragg, *op. cit.* (see note 40 *supra*), p. 25.

<sup>52</sup> Tod, *op. cit.* (see note 38 *supra*), p. 127.

made of the traditional formula. The return of the body to the earth is a commonplace which finds expression as early as Homer, where the formula *τινὰ γαῖα καθέξει*<sup>53</sup> is parallel to the *σῶμα κατέχει* phrase of the *μέν* portion of the formula. The *δέ* portion of the formula, however, does not find any counterpart in Homer, for whom the soul is a shade which returns to consciousness only if allowed to drink blood. This phase of the belief survives in early Athens in the form of libations poured over the tomb, where the souls "hovered."<sup>54</sup> Though these souls are represented in Attic lecythi as winged figures the soul was chthonic and dwelt with the body in the grave.<sup>55</sup>

With the fifth century, however, arises the notion that the soul of the dead returns to the air and the body to the earth. This notion is clearly the product of the cosmological theory of Pre-Socratic philosophy that the *πνεύματα* soar up into their element, the *αἰθήρ*; the habitation of the soul is transferred from the earth to the air. Anaximenes is the first to develop this notion with his theory: "as our soul, which is air, holds us together, so do breath and air encompass the whole world." This "air" he considered as a god.<sup>56</sup> Diogenes of Apollonia revised and developed this notion in Athens in the fifth century; he maintained that the primary substance was air and identified it with Mind (*νοῦς*).<sup>57</sup> This doctrine played an influential part in the scientific background of fifth century thought. Plato in the *Phaedo* reveals that one of the things Socrates had studied in his youth was whether "what we think with" was air.<sup>58</sup> Aristophanes burlesqued Socrates in the *Clouds*,<sup>59</sup> showing him aloft in a basket, seeking pure dry air for his thought. The dichotomy of body and soul being already associated with the cosmological polarity of Earth and Aether, the body upon death remained with the earth and the soul joined the Aether. This philosophical doctrine of Diogenes of Apollonia profoundly in-

<sup>53</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, XVI, 629.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *Phaedo* 81 C-D.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. E. Rohde, *Psyche* (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1925), p. 170; cf. J. Burnet, "Socratic Doctrine of the Soul," in *Essays and Addresses* (New York, Macmillan, 1930), p. 143.

<sup>56</sup> Cicero, *N. D.*, I, 29.

<sup>57</sup> J. Burnet, *Greek Philosophy* (London, Macmillan, 1928), I, p. 123.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

<sup>59</sup> Aristophanes, *Nub.* 228 f.

fluenced Euripides.<sup>60</sup> In *Suppliants* 553 we have the sentiment already crystallized into a formula: πνεῦμα μὲν πρὸς αἰθέρα | τὸ σῶμα δ' ἐς γῆν; the chorus in the same play sings αἰθὴρ ἔχει νιν ἤδη, | πυρὸς τετακότας σποδῶ (1140); Electra sends lamentations to her father αἰθέρ' ἐς μέγαν (*Electra* 59); a dead man's soul goes to the air πνεῦμ' ἀφείς εἰς αἰθέρα (frag. 971).

In these passages we see how the philosophical theory permeates common expression in the fifth century. The public expression of this sentiment in a public monument shows that the formula was no longer a philosophical doctrine but a part of the public religion. The notion, as it appears in Euripides and the Potidaea monument, is as much a development of popular belief as it is the expression of any particular philosophic doctrine. As Rohde says: "from the beginning popular belief had regarded the psyche, which got its name from the air or breath, as closely akin to the winds, the mobile air and its spirits. It would not be difficult for the idea to arise that the soul, as soon as it was free to decide for itself what should become of it, should go to join the elemental spirits that are its kinsfolk."<sup>61</sup> The philosophic theory may be considered a parallel development of this popular belief which was crystallized into a formula on a public monument. As Rohde aptly explains the difference, "in such conceptions it is not always the imagination of the philosopher-poet that finds expression. On this subject it is accompanied or replaced by a more popular view that only distantly resembles it, but which led to the same result."<sup>62</sup>

It is to be noted, however, in this formula, both as it appears in Euripides and in the Potidaea inscription, that it does not imply any doctrine of immortality. The formula connotes nothing more than the sentiment aptly expressed in the post-Platonic *Asiochus* 366 A: ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν οὐράνιον ποθεῖ καὶ σύμφυλον αἰθέρα. The departure of the soul to the air implies no immortality for the dead. In the Potidaea inscription only the monument (σῆμα) is ἀθάνατον,<sup>63</sup> and in the expression of Eu-

<sup>60</sup> Rohde, *op. cit.* (see note 55 *supra*), pp. 436-437 and notes 144, 153-156 on chap. XII for detailed discussion of the influence of Diogenes of Apollonia on Euripides.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 437.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 436.

<sup>63</sup> For the emphasis on a monument's permanence in inscriptions cf. C. M. Bowra, *Early Greek Elegists* (Cambridge, Harvard Press, 1938), pp. 175-176.

ripides we have nothing more than a statement which means that the soul has returned to its appropriate element. The formula expresses nothing more than the fact that death is a separation, like that of the cosmological forces in Anaxagoras. This fact applies to all the evidence of the epigraphical formulas in the fifth and fourth centuries.

When, however, we examine the formula as it is actually used by Speusippus in his inscription we find a significant transformation. The poet does not slavishly copy the formula but adapts it to his purpose. Now it is a fact that tradition credits Speusippus with deifying Plato, with calling him the son of Apollo.<sup>64</sup> The epigram embodies the notion that Speusippus and the Academy considered Plato divine. This divinity is expressed in the second part of the formula, where instead of the regular formula that his soul went into the air, the poet skilfully substitutes for it *ψυχὴ δ' ἰσοθέων τάξιν ἔχει μακάρων*. The dwelling place of his soul is not mere *αἰθήρ*; the poet reverts to the Homeric equivalent of *αἰθήρ* as the seat of the gods. The soul of Plato is among the immortal gods whose home is the air (*Ζεὺς αἰθέρι ναίων*).<sup>65</sup> This substitution for *αἰθέρα* of the phrase *τάξιν ἔχει μακάρων* is an artistic touch which adapts the formula to express the deification of Plato, who now ranks among the gods.

The substitution in the formula of the dwelling place of the gods among whom Plato is now enrolled for the hackneyed *αἰθέρα* not only raises the epigram from a commonplace inscription, but also introduces the notion of immortality which is lacking in the fifth century expressions of the formula.<sup>66</sup>

It is likely then that the epigram of Speusippus is epigraphic in character because it reflects the *σῶμα-ψυχή* formula which is significant in the thought of the fifth and fourth centuries. But Speusippus takes the formula and alters it skilfully to express deification and immortality, notions which are consonant with the tendencies ascribed to him by tradition. As a poet makes use of a traditional formula, so he accepts the *σῶμα-ψυχή* formula and adapts it so as to express the deification that he and the

<sup>64</sup> Westermann, *op. cit.* (see note 43 *supra*), p. 383.

<sup>65</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, II, 412; cf. Euripides, frag. 487: *αἰθήρ οἴκησις Διὸς*; Epicharmus, frag. 265 (Kaibel).

<sup>66</sup> Cf. J. Burnet, *op. cit.* (see note 55 *supra*), pp. 126 ff.

Academy must have wished for their master at his death. Contrasted with the other formulas it gains distinction by its terse expression of this notion of deification. But that it is an epigraphic formula becomes probable if it is compared with other uses of the formula in the fourth and succeeding centuries. The use of *κόλποις* to express the tenderness of mother earth, the emphatic position of the name *Πλάτωνος* at the end of the verse, the absence of enjambement, and economy of expression distinguish the poem. Employing formulas which were the common property of the epigrammatic art of the fourth century Speusippus modified them and created a fitting and distinctive epigram to express the reverence the Academy had for its god-like master.

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## NOTES ON PAPYRI.

### 1. *P. bibl. univ. Giss.*, 50.

In a recent publication of seven documents from Tebtunis<sup>1</sup> Miss Rosenberger has included as No. 50 a report from the *sitologi* of that village to the *strategus* of the Themistes and Polemon divisions of the Arsinoite nome. It purports to be an account of receipts on the second day of Phaophi in the year 221 A. D., but the amounts were never entered. Between the body of the text and the closing date is a blank space sufficient for about fourteen lines of writing. More significant for Miss Rosenberger's interpretation is the fact that the papyrus appears to have been discarded; a wet sponge was drawn across the text, smearing but not obliterating it.<sup>2</sup> The report was in effect cancelled, according to the view of the editor, because, except in unusual circumstances such as produced *P. Tebt.*, II, 338, daily reports to the *strategus* did not come within the duties of a *sitologus*.<sup>3</sup>

It is true that the literature of the subject does not mention reports of one day's receipts, although it has familiarized us with reports covering five days, ten days (the Egyptian week), one month, four months, and one year.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, a papyrus of the late second century A. D., *P. Lond.*, II, 439, p. 91 (*Berichtigungsliste*, I, 249) is just such a report as *P. bibl. univ. Giss.*, 50 was meant to be. It is even simpler in expression and gives no hint of unusual circumstances. Since these papyri preserve a kind of *sitologus* report which is still unfamiliar to students of the subject, I reproduce their texts here for comparison.

<sup>1</sup> Grete Rosenberger, *Griechische Verwaltungsurkunden von Tebtunis aus dem Anfang des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. (Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Giessener Universitätsbibliothek*, VI [Giessen, 1939, "Privatdruck, nicht im Buchhandel"]).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31. *P. Tebt.*, III, ii, 837 (177 B. C.) is a report of one day's collections at Alabanthis, but the large amounts of grain received at that village by the *σιτολογοῦντες τὸ περὶ τοὺς ἕξ τοποὺς σιτικὸν ἐργαστήριον* suggest that the appearance of the *sitologi* at Alabanthis in the month of Pharmouthi was limited to a single day.

<sup>4</sup> *P. Strassburg*, I, p. 158; *P. Theadelphia*, p. 147; *P. Berl. Leihgabe*, p. 145; *P. bibl. univ. Giss.*, VI, p. 31; *P. Fouad*, I, p. 148.

## Giss.

[Αὐρηλίῳ Σεργήσκῳ τῷ | καὶ  
 Ἑρμησίᾳ στρ(ατηγῷ) Ἀρσι(νοί-  
 του) | Θεμίστου καὶ Πολ(έμω-  
 νος) μερ]ιδ(ων) | παρὰ [Α]ὔρη-  
 λίῳ[ν Π]ωλί | ωνος καὶ μετ[ό-  
 • χ(ων) σιτ[ο]λ(όγων) | κώμης  
 Τεπ[τ]ύγεως | ἐμετρήθησαν ἡ-  
 μίν | τῇ β̄ τοῦ ὄντος μηνός |  
 Φαῶφι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος | ε (ἔτους)  
 ἀπὸ γενήματος τοῦ | διεληλυθό-  
 τος δ (ἔτους) μέτρῳ | δημοσίῳ  
 ξυστῶ ὑπὲρ | Τεπ[τ]ύνεως

(Space of ca. 14 lines)

Regnal year, month, and day

## Lond.

Ἄ[πολλωνίῳ (?) ] στρ[α(τηγῷ)  
 Ἀρσι(νοίτου)] Ἡρακλ[εῖ] | [δου]  
 μερίδ[ο]ς | παρὰ Ὀρίωνος Ἀμ-  
 μωνίου κ(αί) | μετόχων σιτο-  
 λ(όγων) Νέστου | μεμετρήμε-  
 θα τῇ ζ̄ τοῦ | [. . . μηνὸς]  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος | . . . κ(αί) [εἰ-  
 κοστοῦ] (ἔτους) Αὐρηλίου Κομ-  
 μ[ό]δου | Ἀντωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ  
 (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) | . . . ζ  
 Regnal year, month, and day

As one can judge from the original edition, the London papyrus is, if anything, in a worse state than the one at Giessen. Kenyon reports that "the exact year, as well as the name of the recipient of the certificate, is lost through the rubbing of the papyrus."<sup>5</sup> Was it also treated with a wet sponge? Was it discarded just like the Giessen papyrus? Probably not, since it differs in an important respect from the latter; it has the actual amount of grain received on the day in question.

As the corrections recorded in the *Berichtigungsliste* and the Giessen text demonstrate, Kenyon mistook the nature of his document. It is not a "certificate" issued to a private person, but a report to the *strategus* on one day's receipts.

A third text of the same character is *P. Aberdeen*, 23 (171 A. D.), in which *sitologi* announce to the *strategus* the collection of 20 artabas of wheat on the 28th of the month Hadrianus (= Choiak). The report was written on the same day.

2. *P. bibl. univ. Giss.*, 51.

No. 51 in Miss Rosenberger's little volume<sup>6</sup> is a regular monthly summary report from the *sitologi* of Tebtunis to the *strategus* of the Themistes and Polemon divisions of the Arsinoite nome. It covers the month of Mechir in the year 222 A. D. Its

<sup>5</sup> *P. Lond.*, II, p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> See note 1 *supra*.



chief characteristic lies in its failure to report any receipts of grain for that month, presumably because there was none, while it does put on record a release of five artabas of wheat to a *nauclerus* attached to the grain administration of Alexandria.

Since no grain was received in the granary during Mechir, it was sufficient to begin the report with a statement of the balance on hand from the preceding month, and for this purpose the body of the report is introduced, according to Miss Rosenberger's reading, with the words ἐνπύργ(αφοι) ἐπὶ τόπων. It must be admitted, however, that even her careful note cannot justify this impossible phrase.<sup>7</sup> The papyrus must have ἐλυπογρ(αφήθησαν) ἐπὶ τόπων, i. e. ἐλοιπογρ(αφήθησαν) κτλ., "carried over as balance on hand."<sup>8</sup> It is a common practice in the monthly reports to give the balance from the preceding month and add to it the receipts of the current month. No. 49, e. g., has the phrase in the form ἐλοιπ(ογραφήθησαν) ἐπὶ τόπου (Col. III recto, 1; cf. V recto, 2). The same idea is expressed repeatedly in the *sitologus* reports published by Kalén<sup>9</sup> with the phrase ἐλοιπογραφήθησαν διὰ τοῦ προτέρου μηνός.<sup>10</sup> No. 51 is different only in that there are no current credits to add to the balance of the preceding month. When the five artabas issued to the *nauclerus* are deducted from the balance of the preceding month, the balance carried over to the next month is described as λοιπ(αὶ) ἐπὶ ῥόπ(ων) . . . , αἱ κ[αὶ] λοιπογρ(αφηθείσαι) εἰς τὸν ἐξῆς μῆνα (15-17).<sup>11</sup>

### 3. *P. Cairo Boak*, 30.

No. 30 in Professor Boak's series of early Byzantine papyri<sup>12</sup> contains two receipts for rent issued by Aurelia Ptolema, a resident of Arsinoe, to Aurelius Isidorus, son of Ptolemaeus,

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35, note 8.

<sup>8</sup> On the common interchange of *oi* and *v* see Edwin Mayser, *Grammatik der griech. Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, I (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 110 f.

<sup>9</sup> Ture Kalén, *Berliner Leihgabe griechischer Papyri* (P. Berl. Leihgabe) (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1932, Filosofi, Språkv. och Hist. Vetensk., 1).

<sup>10</sup> The passages can be traced readily through the index provided by Kalén, *ibid.*, s. v. λοιπογραφείω.

<sup>11</sup> For similar phraseology see No. 49, III recto, 5; V recto, 6.

<sup>12</sup> A. E. R. Boak, "Early Byzantine Papyri from the Cairo Museum," *Études de Papyrologie*, V (1939), pp. 114 ff. The present note on No. 30 is published with the generous coöperation of the editor, Professor Boak.

who has leased land from her at Karanis. The earlier receipt, which dates in 314 A. D., is no less commonplace in its language than the later, which belongs in the following year, apart from a single phrase, πληρησοῦση[ς τ]ῆς μισθώσεως (5-6). The editor has translated this phrase<sup>13</sup> with the words "the lease having lapsed," and so interprets it in his introduction.<sup>14</sup> In consequence, he is compelled to assume that "the lease must have been renewed, and since nothing is said of its having lapsed again we may assume that it was still in force when the second receipt was issued."

The supposed participle πληρησοῦσης is of course an impossible form. Numerous other receipts show that a pause is required after πληρησ = πλήρης, which is indeclinable and marks the rent as paid in full. We should render "I have received from you the rent . . . , nine artabas of wheat, in full." In line 18 of the second receipt πλήρης is used in exactly this way, and the same usage occurs in *P. Cairo Boak*, 3, 10; 6, 7; 7, 8; 16, 12; and 18, 9.<sup>15</sup>

In No. 30 πλήρης stands on a line by itself. It remains to decide what is to be made of ουση[ς τ]ῆς μισθώσεως, which stands at the beginning of the following line. To regard the text as complete and equate ουσης with οὔσης weights the copula with more meaning than it can bear. Doubtless the scribe has been guilty of an omission, and we should understand <κυρίας μεν>οῦση[ς τ]ῆς μισθώσεως,<sup>16</sup> "the lease remaining in force."<sup>17</sup> As a rule, the order of words is slightly different—μενούσης κυρίας τῆς μισθώσεως, as in *P. Mich.*, III, 195, 25 and 199, 25 f. The latter documents are also receipts for rent. The order of words, however, illustrated by the proposed reconstruction of *P. Cairo Boak*, 30 is equally good. *P. Flor.*, 46 (= Mitteis, *Chrestomathie* 185), 20 has κυρίων μενόντων ὧν ἔχομεν . . . ἄλλων γραμμάτων.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>15</sup> For numerous other examples see F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griech. Papyrusurkunden*, s. v. πλήρης.

<sup>16</sup> This phraseology is standard in contracts; cf. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. μένω.

<sup>17</sup> Professor Boak has been kind enough to reexamine his photograph of the papyrus at my request and has assured me that his transcript faithfully represents the text of the papyrus.

<sup>18</sup> For the sake of clarity I omit the editorial punctuation.

4. *P. Mich.*, Inv. 5766.

Some time ago H. C. Youtie published this small roll, which records payments of various kinds made by a certain Satabous and three members of his household over a period of several years.<sup>19</sup> On the verso of the roll are two receipts, of which the *editio princeps* raises a number of questions. In order to avoid explanations which would necessarily be involved and technical, the text is reproduced here.

## Col. II, verso.

Hand 8 [(ἔτους) -- Αὐτοκράτορος Κ]αίσαρος Ν[έρονα Τρα--]  
 [ιανου Σεβαστοῦ Γερ]μανικοῦ Δ[ακικοῦ]  
 Πα[ρθικο]ῦ ὕ Φ ( ) ᾤ δια(γέγραφε) Πνεφερώς [τοῦ Σατα]βοῦτο[ς]  
 ὑπ(ἐρ) δ[---]α<sup>ς</sup> κορρα<sup>ς</sup> τοῦ αὐτοῦ δ (ἔτους) Καρανίδ(ος) ἀρο(υρῶν) [β]  
 5 (ἀρουρῶν) β.

## Col. VII, verso.

Hand 9 (ἔτους) ἑβδόμου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Δομντιανου Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ  
 μη(νός) Καισαρείου κ<sup>-</sup> διαγε(γράφας) Σαταβούς  
 Πνεφερώτος καὶ Πνεφερώς υἱός καὶ  
 5 Σαραπᾶς Σαραπᾶτος ὑπὲρ Καρανίδ(ος)  
 ζυτηρᾶς <<Καρανίδος>> τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζ (ἔτους)  
 δραχ(μὰς) πέντε, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ε. Κάστ(ωρ) σεση(μέλωμαι).

Lines 1 and 2 of Col. II, verso, identify the emperor by whom the receipt is dated as Trajan and the phrase τοῦ αὐτοῦ δ (ἔτους), introduced with some reservation into line 4,<sup>20</sup> would fix the date in 100/101 A. D. This, however, is inconsistent with the supposed use of Πα[ρθικο]ῦ ὕ in line 3, since Trajan did not acquire the title *Parthicus* until 116 A. D.<sup>21</sup>

The most serious defect in Youtie's text is to be found in line 4, where the payment is said to be ὑπ(ἐρ) δ[---]α<sup>ς</sup> κορρα<sup>ς</sup>. The

<sup>19</sup> H. C. Youtie, "Family συντάξιμον Records from Karanis," *Aegyptus*, XIII (1933), pp. 569-579.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 578, note 4.

<sup>21</sup> René Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine* (Paris, 1914), p. 193, note 2, observes that a few inscriptions use the title as early as 114, but in Egypt there is no evidence for it before 116. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, III, p. 48, l. 27, dates *P. Oxy.*, XII, 1454, in 101/2, but that text really belongs to the 20th year of Trajan.

editor's note advances the more than doubtful view that this text may be the remains of  $\dot{\upsilon}\pi(\dot{\epsilon}\rho) \delta[\rho]\acute{\alpha}\sigma(\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota) \kappa\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa(\omega\nu)$ , which would be a charge for the protection of crops against crows. Naturally no student of Egyptian taxation has accepted this suggestion. A. C. Johnson writes that "the nature of the charge is unknown,"<sup>22</sup> while S. L. Wallace records the reading and the proposed expansion among the uncertain or unexplained taxes.<sup>23</sup>

Finally, the amount of the payment appears not to be given in the receipt on Col. II, verso, and Youtie therefore supposed that the text was incomplete.<sup>24</sup> The new readings, which have been obtained by Pearl, will be seen to eliminate this erroneous conclusion.

On Col. VII, verso, is a receipt for payment of the beer tax. The text of lines 5-6 presents a useless repetition of  $\text{Καρανίδος}$  in the phrase  $\dot{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho \text{Καρανίδ(ος) ζυτηρᾶς} \langle\langle \text{Καρανίδος} \rangle\rangle$ , where one might suspect the presence of  $\dot{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho \text{Καρανίδ(ος) ζυτηρᾶς κατ' ἄνδρα}$  or even  $\dot{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho \text{κατ' ἄνδ(ρα) ζυτηρᾶς Καρανίδος}$ .

A reëxamination of the papyrus has resolved most of these difficulties. The new text of Col. II, verso, is given here as a prelude to discussion.

Hand 8 [(ἔτους) . Αὐτοκράτορος Κ]αῖσαρος Ν[έρονα Τρα-]  
[ιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερ]μανικοῦ . [± 8]

Πα[3-4] . . . δια(γέγραφε) Πνεφερώς τ[οῦ] Σατταβούτο[ς]

$\dot{\upsilon}\pi(\dot{\epsilon}\rho) \delta[\rho] \alpha\gamma(\mu\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\iota\alpha\varsigma) \kappa\alpha\iota \sigma\alpha\kappa(\kappa\eta\gamma\iota\alpha\varsigma) \tau\omicron\upsilon \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  . (ἔτους)

...[ ] . ( ) οὐσί(ας)  $\dot{\upsilon}\pi(\dot{\epsilon}\rho) \acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron(\nu\rho\omega\nu) [\beta]$ ,

5 (ἀρουρῶν) β.

In line 4,  $\varsigma$  is infinitely superior to  $\delta$  as a reading of the number of the year, but  $\gamma$  is also possible. At any rate, whether the old or the new reading be in question, Youtie's Πα[ρθικο]ῦ in line 3 must be abandoned since that title was not in general use before 116.<sup>25</sup> In its place we have looked for the name of a month. While the traces after Πα[ appear

<sup>22</sup> A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian* (An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, II, ed. by Tenney Frank [Baltimore, 1936]), p. 556.

<sup>23</sup> S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton Univ. Studies in Papyrology, No. 2, ed. by A. C. Johnson [Princeton, 1938]), p. 354.

<sup>24</sup> Youtie, *op. cit.*, pp. 572, 578 (notes 4-5).

<sup>25</sup> See note 21 *supra*.

not to justify  $\Pi\alpha[\rho\mu\omicron\upsilon]\theta\iota \bar{\zeta}$ ,<sup>26</sup> the shorter  $\Pi\alpha[\upsilon]\gamma\iota \bar{\zeta}$  does not fill the space. Only  $\Pi\alpha[\chi\omega]\gamma\iota \bar{\zeta}$  is left as a possibility, and if the maximum space is allowed for each letter, the restoration fits the lacuna and the dotted letters can be reconciled reasonably well with the remnants of ink on the papyrus.

With the rejection of  $\Pi\alpha[\rho\theta\upsilon\kappa\omicron]\upsilon$  the justification for reading  $\Delta(\alpha\kappa\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$  at the end of line 2 is removed.<sup>27</sup> The traces are very slight, and if the letter was  $\delta$ , the bottom stroke is entirely gone. What remains may equally well be part of  $\mu$ , and this suggests  $\mu[\eta\nu\acute{o}s$ , an ideal conclusion of line 2 since line 3 now begins with the name of a month.

The new reading of line 4 reveals the charges as paid for *dragmategia* and *saccegia*, fees levied for the transport of sheaves from the fields to the threshing floor and sacks of grain from the threshing floor to the granary.<sup>28</sup> Contrary to Youtie's original view that the receipt was left incomplete,<sup>29</sup> we now see that the amount of the payment was not entered because it was unnecessary. The phrase  $\iota\pi(\acute{\epsilon}\rho) \acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron(\nu\rho\acute{\omega}\nu) [\beta]$ , ( $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\nu\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$ )  $\beta$  shows that the charges were assessed on two arouras of government land cultivated by Pnephros.<sup>30</sup> The *dragmategia* and *saccegia* were regularly assessed on the basis of acreage.<sup>31</sup> Hence, the statement that the payment was made on two arouras was sufficient, and the actual amount of the payment in grain or money was not essential.

The *editio princeps* of Col. VII, verso, is reliable except in lines 5 and 6. The new reading of 5 replaces  $\text{Καρινίδ(ος)}$  with  $\kappa\alpha\tau' \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta(\rho\alpha)$ , and thus we are enabled to retain  $\text{Καρινίδος}$  in 6. The text of these lines now runs as follows:

$\Sigma\alpha\rho\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}s \Sigma\alpha\rho\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma \iota\pi\epsilon\rho \kappa\alpha\tau' \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta(\rho\alpha)$   
 $\xi\nu\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}s \text{Καρινίδος} \tau\omicron\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon \xi (\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma)$

Because the three men to whom the receipt was issued made a payment for the beer tax, Youtie supposed that they must have

<sup>26</sup> For  $\Pi\alpha\rho\mu\omicron\upsilon\theta\iota$  as a variant of  $\Phi\alpha\rho\mu\omicron\upsilon\theta\iota$  see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, III, p. 8, s. v.  $\Phi\alpha\rho\mu\omicron\upsilon\theta\iota$ .

<sup>27</sup> Youtie, *op. cit.*, p. 578, note 2.

<sup>28</sup> Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-35.

<sup>29</sup> See note 24 *supra*.

<sup>30</sup> Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 556, had already recognized that the tax in the Michigan papyrus was assessed at a fixed rate per aroura.

<sup>31</sup> Michael Rostowzew, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, III (1906), p. 215; Kalén, *P. Berl. Leihgabe*, p. 111; Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

been brewers. This assumption is based on an identification of the *ζυτηρά* and the charge on *ζυτοποιία*, but the factors which determined liability to the *ζυτηρά κατ' ἄνδρα* remain obscure. So far as our present knowledge goes, Satabous and his associates are as likely to have been consumers as producers, and to be paying the *ζυτηρά κατ' ἄνδρα* without being brewers at all. In the Ptolemaic period the *ζυτηρά κατ' ἄνδρα* seemingly was collected as a true consumers' tax in a system of monopoly control of industry, but current opinion holds that the same tax in the Roman period was probably assessed on each household in the manner of a capitation tax in order to avoid loss of revenue from home brewing.<sup>32</sup>

### 5. *P. Groningen*, 7.

The University of Groningen possesses a small collection of papyri, the more important of which have been edited by Professor Roos.<sup>33</sup> Of these, No. 7 is a fragmentary roll of payments by a certain Eudaemon, son of Hermes, to the account of an unidentified tax. In order to restrict discussion of the text to essentials, we give Roos' text at this point.<sup>34</sup>

διέ]γραψε Εὐδαίμων Ἑρμοῦ  
 Φαμενῶθ δραχ(μὰς) δέκ]α ἑξ, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ιϚ, Φαρμοῦ(θι) δρα(χμὰς)  
 ὀκτώ, (γίν.) (δρ.) η, Παχῶν ]ἄλλας δραχ(μὰς) τέσσαρες, (γίν.) (δρ.) κη.  
 τετρα]κ[ισχλίας] διακοσίας ἑκοσι ὀκτώ, (γίν.) (δρ.) Δσκη  
 ]. (δρ.) ιβ ἑγρ(αφον) δραχ(μὰς) τέσσαρες, (γίν.)  
 (δρ.) Δ, Ἑπεὶφ κῆ  
 ].... ὀκτώ, (γίν.) (δρ.) η.

<sup>32</sup> Ulrich Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, I (Leipzig-Berlin, 1899), pp. 369-373; Theodor Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Gewerbes im hellenist. Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 167-169; Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 327, 563 f.; Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 187; Leiv Amundsen, *O. Oslo*, 12, commentary; Claire Préaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides* (Brussels, 1939), p. 157.

<sup>33</sup> A. G. Roos, *Papyri Groninganae. Griechische Papyri der Universitätsbibliothek zu Groningen nebst zwei Papyri der Universitätsbibliothek zu Amsterdam (Verhandelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeling Letterkunde, nieuwe Reeks, Decl XXXII, No. 4 [Amsterdam, 1933])*.

<sup>34</sup> Out of respect for the non-specialist reader as much as for typographical convenience, symbols retained by Roos in his printed text are here represented by their obvious resolutions. This expansion of the text has made it impossible to reproduce, as Roos has done, the vertical straightness of the break on the left side.



The papyrus tells us very little in its present state, but the recovery of the lost portion <sup>45</sup> would provide the name of the tax and give value to its information regarding the annual rate of payment. If and when the missing fragment is found, our improved text ought to facilitate the work of the editor in identifying it with *P. Groningen*, 7.

#### 6. *P. Groningen*, 2.

No. 2 in the volume of papyri edited by Roos <sup>46</sup> is a *πορεία πρὸς ἐπίσκεψιν ἀβρόχου γῆς*, a summary record prepared in connection with the annual inspection of uninundated land.<sup>47</sup> The writer of the report is the *amphodogrammateus* of Bacchias and Hephaistias and of the plain of Herakleia. The surviving fragment, a portion of one column, concerns only Bacchias.

In Roos' transcript the area of crown and temple land plus the estate of Philodamus is 70,600 79/128 arouras. Of this total, crown land alone comprises 30,461 1/64 arouras.<sup>48</sup> These figures are astonishing when compared with the known areas of other villages in the Fayûm and elsewhere,<sup>49</sup> for the average village seldom controls more than 5000 arouras.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, a village of such extent is not compatible with the 180,000 arouras given by *P. Petrie*, III, 75 as the area of an entire nomarchy or

<sup>45</sup> The left edge of the surviving fragment is so straight as to give the impression that the break is recent; but a photograph, of course, does not provide a reliable basis for a judgment of this kind.

<sup>46</sup> See note 33 *supra*.

<sup>47</sup> Roos, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 f., sketches briefly the place of the *πορεία* in the system of inspection and verification of uninundated land. Cf. L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge u. Chrestomathie d. Papyruskunde*, I, ii, No. 236, introd.; A. Déleage, "Les cadastres antiques jusqu'à Dioclétien," *Études de papyrologie*, II (1934), pp. 115 ff.

<sup>48</sup> With Roos' text cf. his remarks, *ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>49</sup> Fayûm: Ptolemais Nea 3924 1/16 ar., *P. Bouriant*, p. 141; Hiera Nesos 4061 23/32 ar., *ibid.*; Kerkeosiris 4700 ar., *P. Tebtunis*, I, 60, 3; Theadelphia 5283 49/64 ar. plus usiac land of unknown area, *P. Berl. Leihgabe*, p. 112. Apollonopolite nome: Naboö 7075 19/32 ar., *P. Giessen*, III, p. 30.

<sup>50</sup> It is interesting to note that the total area of the five localities within the jurisdiction of the *κωμογραμματεὺς* Ἱερᾶς καὶ ἄλλων κωμῶν—Hiera Nesos, the *drymos* of H. N., the *drymos* of Kerkeüsis, Ptolemais Nea, and the *cpoikion* of Perkeüsis—was only 12,457 51/64 ar. (*P. Bouriant*, p. 141).



*meris* of the Arsinoite nome in the third century B.C.<sup>51</sup> Of several scholars who have commented on this papyrus, only Karl Schmidt perceived this difficulty and attempted to surmount it with a new reading of the numerals.<sup>52</sup> The amounts that he proposed to substitute are one-sixth as large as those read by Roos, but an examination of the plate which accompanies Roos' edition has shown that not even these are acceptable.

We present a revision of the text made from the photographic facsimile. The first five lines are accurately transcribed by Roos and are not reproduced here. For the significant differences from Roos' text in lines 7-9, apart from the numerals, the reader may consult the footnotes. In lines 10 ff. the readings are so greatly changed that citation of the original edition serves no useful purpose.

6 Βαρχιάδος κ(ώμης)

βασιλ(ικῆς) γῆς καὶ τῆς ἀλ(λῆς) τῆς ἐν ἐκφο(ρίοις) σὺν ἱερα(τικῆς) <sup>53</sup>  
καὶ Φι<λο>δ(αμινῆς) <sup>54</sup>

οὐσί(ας) (ἄρουνται) Ὁβχ (ἡμισυ) ἱϚ λβ ξδ ρκη ὦν  
βασιλ(ικῆς) γῆς (ἄρουνται) Ἀυξδ ξδ' ὦν τὸ ... <sup>55</sup> ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας)  
δ (τέταρτον) κδ ν κρι-

10 θ[ῆς] . <sup>56</sup> (τέταρτον) η ιβ ν (ἄρουνται) ν[...], ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας)  
ε φκ ψν κριθ(ῆς) ὅμο[ι(ως)]

(ἄρουνται) κ, ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δ .. π κρ[ιθῆς] .....  
ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) . .

κριθῆς ὅμοι(ως) (ἄρουνται) νμβ ... [.], ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γ κδ μη  
κρ...[...]

(ἄρουνται) ια (τέταρτον) ἱϚ ξδ, ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γ (τέταρτον) ε  
κρι[...] (ἄρουνται?) π . . η [ρ]κη, ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ  
ἀρτάβας) ε ὕ

<sup>51</sup> Michael Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in the Third Century B.C.* (*Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History*, No. 6 [Madison, 1922]), pp. 155 f.; Michael Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft im hellenist. Aegypten* (*Münch. Beitr. z. Papyrusf. u. antik. Rechtsgesch.*, VII [Munich, 1925]), p. 95.

<sup>52</sup> *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, CXC VII (1935), p. 312.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* Roos has τῆς <σ> σὺν ἐκεί(νη) .....

<sup>54</sup> Roos has καὶ ἐπιδ( ). With our reading cf. *P. Bouriant*, 42, 6-7.

<sup>55</sup> Roos has τὸ κατ...; Schmidt τὸ καθέρ. An expression describing the itemization which follows is required, but we are unable to support either Roos or Schmidt.

<sup>56</sup> The remnant may belong to ζ or to an artaba sign.

κριθ(ῆς) ὁμοί(ως) (ἄρουραι) α (ἡμουν)  $\overline{\lambda\beta}$ , ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ια'  
 (ἄρουραι) ε, ἀν(ὰ) [. . . . .] δ. . .  
 κα. αμ. .<sup>57</sup> (ἄρουραι) κη (ἡμουν ?) (τέταρτον ?)  $\overline{\eta\rho\kappa\eta}$ , .. [  
 (ἄρουραι) ρμξ (τέταρτον)  $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$ , ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) (ἡμουν ?)  $\overline{\mu\eta\pi}$  . . . . . ]  
 . . . . [.] (ἄρουραι) ια, αν. . . [  
 ]. [

This report in conformity with its title, *πορεία πρὸς ἐπίσκεψιν ἀβρόχου γῆς* (l. 3), covers 2600 79/128 arouras of land which have not enjoyed the benefits of the annual inundation. Of these, 1464 1/64 arouras are designated as crown land and are subdivided into rent groups. The Groningen papyrus does not repeat the word *ἀβροχος* where it might be expected before the total in line 8, but the parallel document, *P. bibl. univ. Giss.*, 52, not only uses the same title, *πορεία πρὸς ἐπίσκεψιν ἀβρόχου γῆς* (l. 3), but also repeats the significant word before the total area in line 6. Another difference is more striking. Whereas the Giessen text appears to get under way with a statement of the total area of uninundated land at Tebtunis, *P. Groningen*, 2 in its present fragmentary state reports only that which is crown land or is associated administratively with crown land. Such information as subsequent columns may have contained regarding other categories, e. g., *προσοδική*, *ιδιωτική*, and the *οὐσίαι*, is lost to us.

#### γ. *P. S. A. Athen.*, 51.

In a large volume of papyri published in a luxurious form and with excellent taste under the auspices of the Academy of Science of Athens,<sup>58</sup> Professor Petropoulos has included a number of texts which are of interest to the student of Egyptian taxation. Of these, No. 51 has on its recto a series of three columns covering the payments of a certain Mystharion for *syntaximon* of the eighth, ninth, and tenth years of Vespasian.

Col. III as it now stands in the editor's transcript raises a problem. In the lacuna at the end of line 21 the editor has restored a payment of 12 drachmas, thus bringing the total for the year at that point to 44 drachmas. Line 22 begins with a

<sup>57</sup> Roos reads *καταμ*. . . .

<sup>58</sup> Γ. Α. Πετρόπουλος, Πάνευροι τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας (*Papyri Societatis Archaeologicae Atheniensis*) (Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, I [ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1939]).

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Πετρόπουλος, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

Mystharion, then, paid 44 dr. 6 ch. for *syntaximon*<sup>66</sup> and 1 dr. 1 ob. for the pig tax<sup>67</sup> in the ninth year.

Col. I records a total of 44 dr. for *syntaximon*,<sup>68</sup> but at the beginning of line 5 there appears to be a superfluous entry transcribed by the editor as  $\phi.[\dots]\mu \bar{a}$ . Here again the published photograph exhibits the usual payment for the pig tax. Following the lacuna,  $\mu\bar{a}$  ( $\delta\beta\omicron\lambda\delta\varsigma \epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ) can be read with certainty. If the line really begins with  $\phi$ , as it seems to, the payment for the pig tax was made on a date in  $\Phi\alpha\rho\mu\omicron\upsilon\theta\iota$  subsequent to the date of the preceding payment.<sup>69</sup>

The foregoing discussion necessitates certain changes in the table of payments which Petropoulos provides on p. 374. In the receipt of the eighth year of Vespasian, the new reading credits Mystharion with 44 dr. for *syntaximon* and 1 dr. 1 ob. for the pig tax; in the ninth year, with 44 dr. 6 ch. for *syntaximon* and 1 dr. 1 ob. for the pig tax; in the tenth year, with 44 dr. for *syntaximon* and 6 dr. 4 ob. for the dike tax.

Comparison of the editor's transcript with the plate reveals a number of minor errors,<sup>70</sup> but these do not affect the bearing of the receipts. Attention may be called, however, to Col. III, 20, where  $\mu\epsilon\pi\bar{\alpha} \lambda\acute{o}(\gamma\omicron\nu)$  .  $[(\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma) \tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma]$ apes is not acceptable. The symbol for drachma stands just to the left of the lacuna, and a date precedes it. Before that there is no clear formation of letters. A faithful transcript would be  $..( ) \gamma^- (\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma) [\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma]$ apes; the number of the day may be  $\lambda$  rather than  $\gamma$ .

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<sup>66</sup> See note 60 *supra*. <sup>67</sup> Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 144. <sup>68</sup> See note 59 *supra*.

<sup>69</sup> The date of the preceding payment is given by the editor as  $\Phi\alpha\rho\mu\omicron(\upsilon\theta\iota) \kappa\epsilon$ , but the number of the day is not correct. The name of the month is followed by  $\mu$ , which is surely part of the abbreviation  $\mu'$ , as in line 6, probably to be interpreted  $\mu(\epsilon\pi\bar{\alpha} \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\nu)$ . The editor deals briefly with the abbreviation on p. 378, but the best treatment of the subject to date is by Westermann and Keyes in *P. Columbia*, II, pp. 42-56. After the mutilated abbreviation stands an even more mutilated numeral, the number of the day, for which we hesitate to venture a guess from the photograph.

<sup>70</sup> E.g., at the beginning of Cols. I and II the editor places both the angular symbol for  $\xi\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  and the word  $\xi\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  itself. This is clearly a misunderstanding of the large, ornamental epsilon which is frequently used at the beginning of a text. Cf. Plates XII and XIX in the same volume.

## A NEW PROGRAM FOR THE TEACHING OF LITERARY HISTORY.

To Paul Friedländer on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday:  
March 21, 1942.

A book of good will and noble intent has appeared \* which is intended to reform the teaching of literary history in American colleges and universities. The importance and sincerity of purpose of this book make "a mere review" of it inappropriate, and I have been asked instead to present in the form of an article my reflections on the questions which it raises. I submit these reflections particularly to scholars in classical philology, since this is the oldest and most matured of the various branches of philology, and this I do with the greater pleasure, since it affords me the opportunity of dedicating this paper to one who is a past master in the interpretation of ancient texts, who knows the secret of weaving together into an artistic tissue, itself comparable to the works of art on which he comments, the many threads of his immense learning, whether this be of a literary, historical, archaeological, or philosophical nature.

In this book which I wish to discuss, there has been worked out, by philologists who are also *φιλόμονοι*, a "rationale" of literary scholarship intended as a reform program of a humanistic type for American university graduate work in philology. Pointing out, sometimes in scorching terms, the deficiencies of existent practice, the authors outline an ideal of philological training, in which all five collaborators basically agree, though the emphasis of each may vary in the details.<sup>1</sup> In the opinion

\* Norman Foerster, John C. McGalliard, René Wellek, Austin Warren, Wilbur L. Schramm, *Literary Scholarship, its Aims and Methods*. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. viii + 269.

<sup>1</sup> In view of the essential unity of their aims it would be unfair to dwell on certain contradictions between the collaborators—such as the puristic approach of Wellek, on the one hand, who fears that in accepting subjects of *Kulturgeschichte* as contributions to literary history "the study of everything connected with the history of civilization may crowd out strictly literary studies" (p. 109), and the more eclectic attitude of Warren, on the other, who is more liberal in delimiting the field of literary criticism: "There is, one is tempted to say, no kind of learning a critic cannot use if his learning does not overbalance his

of this group, combined instruction in language, literary history, literary criticism, and creative writing (the last two of which, according to our authors, are new additions to the current curriculum) is the *sine qua non* program from which no single unit can be omitted without causing the collapse of the whole. Norman Foerster outlines the "programmatic" program, and the four subsequent articles are devoted to working out in more detail the four branches of this teaching.

Of the two new disciplines to be included in this program, everyone must welcome the acceptance of literary criticism on an equal level with literary history: literary scholarship, conceived only historico-relatively and involving no application of canons of taste, becomes nonsensical (in Germany the adoption of the more comprehensive term *Literaturwissenschaft* in the place of the former *Literaturgeschichte* testifies to the same trend of thought). As for creative writing, the inclusion of such a subject within literary scholarship must appear surprising to any educator of philologists versed in the academic procedure of other countries, where such a practice is unknown, save in Catholic theological faculties. In view of the present situation of American education, it may indeed be a sound policy for the colleges to repair the damage wrought by the criminal neglect in high schools of the art of composition. But I am puzzled by the proposal to install, on the same level with the three *disciplines* of language, literary history, and literary criticism, a *pedagogical device* intended to stimulate the study and understanding of these disciplines; in this way the authors disregard the clear-cut distinction that has always existed between fields and methods, between scholarship and applied science—between the increase of knowledge which is the millennial purpose of the *universitas litterarum*, and training of skills which belongs to the technical schools and "academies." There is, of course, no limit to the number of *incidental* training courses which, depend-

taste and his judgment"; it would be petty chicanery also to emphasize that McGalliard's article on "language" is more a factual picture of the situation of today in linguistics (coupled with exhortation to the literary scholar to interest himself in such studies) than a plan for the future of teaching and research in linguistics, whereas the other collaborators deal more with the future they envisage than with the present away from which they want to move.

ing on individual, social, local, and national needs, might be profitably included in a philological program; and I could imagine, in the situation of today, still other obligations equally important for the young philologist—for example, a *convivium* with selected representatives of various nationalities: if students in Romance were given the opportunity of mingling with young French, Italian, Spanish intellectuals, they would not only manage to learn the foreign languages in a less pitiful way than through the teaching administered by half-prepared graduates, but they would also become imbued with the spirit and the civilization of other countries (and some of this same polyglotism would do no harm to students in English, who should see their own literature and civilization in its proper relation, and relativity, to other literatures and civilizations). Yet I would not pretend that “contact with foreigners” should be included on an equal level with the discipline of the curriculum of the American university. The program of the University should be a supra-temporal (as it generally is a supra-national) one: it should not be dependent on the particular oscillations of the educational situation at any one time; the University program should be and remain “eternal”<sup>2</sup>—whereas in the methods of teaching it is fitting that there be the continual flux and reflux of life.

Furthermore, in spite of the alluring colors with which Schramm depicts the *convivium* of philologists and writers as another *Abbaye de Thélème* or *Pontigny*, I wonder if the blurring of the lines of demarcation between philologist and writer (poet) would not in the end lead to a confusion of the different training to which the two groups must be subjected. Whereas the poet uses books (and life) as stimulants in order to express himself overtly, directly, there is a *latent* lyricism in the scholar: the scholar in philology, it seems to me, is a man given to con-

<sup>2</sup> The authors have little to say about the fact that, of this eternal program of an ideal University, the unifying centre today is missing: in the past it was philosophy which served as the unifying factor among the different sciences. A vestige of this situation remains to us in the (anachronistic) term “Faculty of Philosophy”—but this today is only so many words. Our authors definitely see unification more in the poetic than in the philosophic; but should there not be a deeper pondering of the relationship of the two, to the end that the poetic would unify literary scholarship, but literary scholarship, together with other sciences, should be grouped around philosophy?

cealing his enthusiasms and his beliefs behind scholarly material; with dignified modesty, elusive reserve, and the essential chastity of the "philological poet" he rejects the directly lyrical way of expressing his emotions, interposing between himself and his reader the weight of his materials. He is the opposite of the pure poet who "gives to airy nothing / A local habitation and a name"; he extracts the "airy nothings" of general ideas from local (and temporal) data. While the great philologist is surely not a man "with loads of learned lumber in his head," still he has need of "loads of learned lumber"—over which his soul must triumph. And the encouragement of this "indirect lyricism," of which all the great philologists have been possessed (Jakob Grimm, Gaston Paris, Menéndez Pidal) calls for a training different from that which is essential to the "poet."<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, as concerns the proper training for the true poet: perhaps an officially enjoined poetic program is not really desirable. The poetic behavior must perhaps ever be a reaction of protest against the world—a world ever led by utilitarian motives: the situation of the young poet, forced to leave college because there is no place for him there, though pathetic whenever it happens (and how often has it not happened in all countries!), is, after all, salutary for the poet and, by ricochet, for society. The poetic soul, invited out of the dens of rebellion and conspiracy and officially installed in the seat of power, is sometimes a pitiful sight (Croce as an Italian minister of instruction!).

Thus I could wish that the program of our authors had more clearly drawn the necessary distinctions between (a) methods and fields, (b) the training of the poet and of the philologist. But, as regards the essential aim of their program, the proposal of our authors for the education of a certain type of humanist

<sup>3</sup> Sainte-Beuve has spoken of the literary critic as a man who wants to "exhaler avec détour une poésie cachée":

C'est une erreur de croire que la poésie ne doive se produire que directement . . . Le poète, sous le critique, se retrouve et ne fait qu'un avec lui par l'esprit et la vie . . . cette intelligence secrète et sentie, . . . cet art particulier dont la sobre magie se dissimule à chaque pas, qui ne convertit pas tout en or, mais qui rend à tout ce qu'il touche la qualité propre et la vraie valeur, tient de très près à l'esprit poétique.

Sainte-Beuve himself is an example of a would-be poet who could find his true vocation, that of a critic, only by severing, gradually but consistently, his ties with poetry and the poets.



*à la Erasmus* is in itself very appealing to me. I only ask myself whether they have fully weighed the implications of such a program for Americans. Are they really aware of the fact that their school program involves greater issues than the matter of scholastic improvement, that in some respects it clashes with basic tenets of American ways of life? For example, let us consider the five reasons given, in the preface, p. vi, for "our present discontents" with the standards of professors of philology:

1. the lack of "calling" to scholarship in the graduate students
2. academic preferment of quantity to quality of publications
3. the less and less liberal education offered by secondary school and college
4. the heavy burden of teaching
5. the fundamental cause: wrong application of scientific methods to letters

I see in these five factors only symptoms of deeper forces active in the American mind, and consequently in the American school system: these are not features which can be eliminated by better academic regulations. For example factor no. 1 is mainly due to what I would call the American "job ideology," according to which the fact of a youngster's getting a job, any job, is rated higher than his qualifications for a particular job; and this emphasis on "being active in some way" (whether one works at teaching, in business, or in a filling station) is, in turn, deeply related to the basic tenets of Calvinism. The young American student is not given as much time as is his European prototype to develop first as a human being, before being called upon to earn his living: hence the situation Lewisohn polemically points out in *Up-stream*: the student goes to the University not primarily in order to have his soul enriched but to learn the tools of his profession.<sup>4</sup> Again, the not unimportant factor of early marriage, so conducive to the moral purity of the American

<sup>4</sup>To express it in the harshly caricaturing words of Max Weber (*Wissenschaft als Beruf* [1919]):

Der Lehrer, der ihm [dem amerikanischen Knaben] gegenübersteht, von dem hat er die Vorstellung: er verkauft mir seine Kenntnisse und Methoden für meines Vaters Geld, ganz ebenso wie die Gemüsefrau meiner Mutter den Kohl. Damit fertig.

But Weber sees also some basic soundness in this aloof attitude of the American college boy who does not want his "teacher" to become a "Führer"!

youngsters, who are spared the premarital debasement of European youths, increases the necessity of finding a job early ("for instance, teaching!") before the individual (the teacher) is yet fully developed.

In the emphasis on "quantity rather than quality of research" (no. 2) one may see a result of the superimposition of German upon English standards: America inherited the English college system in which the same personnel serves for the undergraduate and the graduate teaching; in this way, while the scholarly standards of the former are raised, those of the latter must needs be lowered. To this system, overzealous college presidents have often sought to introduce the standard imported from German universities: "teaching and research" (*Forschung und Lehre*), with the result that scholarly ambitions have been fostered in many teachers who, otherwise, would never have thought of contributing to research. In the final analysis, to be sure, the eagerness to increase our scholarly output need not have led to the present-day situation, had not our administrators been so ready to transfer to the "business" of education the ideal of "efficiency": but this is an ideal deeply engrained in the American character—and one which has borne such splendid fruit in the many contributions which America has made to modern progress.

As for no. 3, the secondary schools and colleges, imbued more or less as they are with the spirit of progressive education, believe in treating the students to their personal preferences, and in experimenting ever anew with what should be considered as the immutable bulk of knowledge, matured by more than two thousand years of Western civilization—and obligatory for any of the future members of this civilization. But is this propensity for experimentation not characteristic of a young nation, with its Protestant belief that absolute truth is never "stably" reached, and is the individualization of school curricula not dictated by a respect for youth, which, likewise, is capable of Cartesian reason?

The "burden of teaching" deplored by our authors is to be explained in part by the lack of a high reputation in this country of scholarship as a profession in itself, of *Wissenschaft* as a career. The *Wissenschaftler* and the *Gelehrter* of the Middle Ages and Thomas Edisons represent the American type of intellectual,

there is little encouragement for the "pure scholar." Thus, in the absence of any such institution as that of the *Privatdozent*, the young scholar is forced to spend most of his time teaching. But this "burden" is also to be explained by reference to the *positive* fact of the American faith in the efficacy of teaching—and in the necessity of much teaching (often at the expense of mental activity on the part of the student). This faith in turn (so different from the fatalistic attitude of European professors toward their students) corresponds to the belief of a Cartesian democracy (Tocqueville!) that human reason is given to all, and that improvement is possible for all students if they are subjected long enough to reasoning. The belief that every pupil is educable (and every truth explainable) must of necessity lead to an emphasis on teaching, which, detrimental though it be to the encouragement of research, cannot easily be eliminated from the American colleges and universities.

As for the "fundamental reason," scientism or positivism in letters, this tendency has, according to my knowledge, been steadily on the decrease since 1900 in the schools of higher learning in France, Spain, and Germany. In America, on the other hand, Positivism, long abandoned by the countries in which it originated, has continued to hold its own. And I feel that one cannot interpret its hardy survival in this climate merely as evidence that America is "lagging behind" other nations; this would presuppose that she is going in the same direction with these, and needs only to be exhorted to quicken her stride. But it may be that America has long since found her stride, and found her own path; scientific positivism must have a deep relationship to the American mind: the so-called "anachronism" may be none other than a holding fast to basic ideals.<sup>5</sup>

Without contesting the nobility of their purpose to educate the *philologus poeta*, and while fully sharing with them the

<sup>5</sup> Of course, it may happen that, in specific cases, both interpretations are possible. For example, is the American journal, *Modern Language Notes*, of whose advisory staff I happen to be a member (faced with many perplexities), an anachronism—clinging to the faith of Positivism that scholarship is a great architecture for which *any* little stone may have one day some value, since we cannot yet build "in our time"; or does its avowedly restricted outlook to details, and details of a more factual nature, betray a basic American mistrust in the "building" of a synthesis?

Prague school. According to him, the history of literature, in order not to fail as *history* or as history of *art*—i. e., in order to avoid being what it currently is, a series of disjointed impressions or an accumulation of material alien to poetry—should be history of a purely literary evolution towards a specific goal, value, or norm; the history, for example, of the literary work of an author (or of an epoch, a motif, a genre, etc.) with reference to its point of maturity or final evolution. This definition, which I would call “terminal” (in both senses of the word: “end” and “goal”) <sup>7</sup> will not strike the reader as absolutely new (indeed it is an application to literary history of Voltaire’s approach to cultural historiography) nor will he accept it as exclusive: should there not also be justification, since we are brought back to a biologically conceived evolution, for a descendent development of historical writing—a *grandeur et décadence*—, or for the Corneillian triptych containing both crescendo and decrescendo (Corneille “se cherche”—“se trouve”—“se perd”); should there not be permitted any *Sinngebung des Sinnlosen*, the organization of the inconsequential brought about by the *historian*? In fact, Mr. Wellek, systematically objective-minded as he is, never speaks of the historian as an individual facing historic reality. History, like a novel, is a piece of reality seen through the lens of a personal temperament, which will impose its own *Sinngebung*. The problem of literary historiography seems to me less difficult in practice than in theory: any gifted historian of literature will unify (*Sinn geben* to) the parcels of historic reality, thanks to the unity which his mind necessarily imposes on discordant data. Mr. Wellek is probably stronger when

<sup>7</sup> The “terminality” of Mr. Wellek would evidently preclude the possibility of writing a national literary history (since the historiographer does not know the “end” of the story—the goal to which the journey of the nation is directed): but I would say that if the historian sees a particular *Sinngebung*, a meaning and direction in the literary history of a country, he may very well write this history. Wellek is also opposed to histories of groups of literatures, basing himself on such experiments as that of L. Olschki’s history of all the Romance literatures during the Middle Ages. But, if Olschki’s attempt was not wholly successful, this was because, in wanting to be all-comprehensive, he had not chosen any definite *Sinngebung*; for instance, he failed to follow up the idea of the rise and development of a “Romance” literature as opposed to classic literature; this was pointed out by Auerbach in his critique.

criticizing many abuses than when prescribing a single legitimate usage.

As for the contribution of Mr. McGalliard, I cannot understand that, in a book purporting to outline the training of the *φιλόλογος φιλόμουσος*, so much of the article on "language" should be given up to a description, with no attempt at rebuttal, of the views of the anti-mentalistic school of linguistics. A biased opinion such as the one cited on p. 79:

Language creates and exemplifies a twofold value of some human actions. In its *biophysical* aspect language consists of sound-producing movements and of the resultant sound waves and of the vibration of the hearer's eardrums. The *biosocial* . . . function of language arises from a uniform, traditional, and arbitrary training of the persons in a certain group. They have been trained to utter conventional sounds as a secondary response to situations and to respond to these light sounds, with a kind of trigger effect, with all sorts of actions,

seems to me, in its emphasis on the mechanical, secondary, and traditional, to preclude the understanding of any innovation in language, whether artistic or non-artistic, and especially the rise of that poetic sensibility, that very awe before the self-transcending power of language on which the education of our reformers is based. If language is only "responsive" why look to it for (artistic) creation, why busy oneself with "*creative writing*"? Moreover, "trigger effects" in fact could produce, and up till now have only too much produced, reading which is uncreative, unpoetic—that is to say, no reading at all.

It is perhaps not out of place to quote here Wilhelm von Humboldt, the author of the definition "language = *ἐνέργεια*, not *ἔργον*":

Die Menschen verstehen einander nicht dadurch, dass sie sich Zeichen der Dinge wirklich hingeben, auch nicht dadurch dass sie sich gegenseitig bestimmen, genau und vollständig denselben Begriff hervorzubringen, sondern dadurch, dass sie gegenseitig einander dasselbe Glied der Kette ihrer sinnlichen Vorstellungen und inneren Begriffs-erzeugungen berühren, dieselbe Taste ihres geistigen Instruments anschlagen, worauf alsdann in jedem entsprechende, nicht aber dieselben Begriffe hervorspringen.

Die unfehlbare Gegenwart des jedesmal notwendigen Wortes in dieser [Rede des Alltags] ist gewiss nicht bloss

Werk des Gedächtnisses, kein menschliches Gedächtnis reichte dazu hin, wenn nicht die Seele instinktmässig zugleich den Schlüssel zur Bildung der Wörter selbst in sich trüge.

Die Sprache besteht, neben den schon geformten Elementen, ganz vorzüglich auch aus Methoden, die Arbeit des Geistes, welcher sie die Bahn und die Form vorzeichnet, weiter fortzusetzen (quotations taken from Delbrück, *Einführung in das Studium der idg. Sprachen*, p. 46).

The touch of the keyboard, the key to a half-veiled arcanum, these metaphors, more evocative of poetry, are also more appropriate to the essence of speech than is the "trigger-effect." As a matter of course, our anti-mentalists refuse to *believe* in anything beyond the crude sense data, and they disavow all the past Greco-Roman-Christian civilization that vibrates behind the noble words of Humboldt. One could say of them the melancholy truth of the Latin words: *vera rerum amiserunt vocabula*. What they call "language" is not language; they themselves have fallen a prey to their despiritualizing of language: they use the word "language" in a manner devoid of the *ἐνέργεια* which has hitherto been implied in this term. Let us hope that the war which has so quickly done away with the "debunking" of the belief in civic virtues will restore the belief in the human mind.

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## THE GENDER OF NOUNS ENDING IN -INTHOS.

The statement is often made that nouns in -inthos are feminine. If it were true, the fact would be of great importance to scholars who are trying to formulate the principles underlying the language or languages of pre-Hellenic Greece and of the Minoan scripts.<sup>1</sup> The evidence does not indicate, however, that there is anything intrinsically feminine in the ending -inthos. A considerable number of Greek nouns and adjectives which may be of pre-Hellenic origin have feminine forms in -os, and the same thing is true of nouns in -inthos, but not to any greater degree. It would be more correct to state that the ending -os in nouns of apparently pre-Hellenic origin has no gender significance.

In the Table given below there is a list of all Greek nouns in -inth- which appear anywhere with the nominative ending -os. Before these nouns are discussed specifically, certain general facts must be taken into consideration. Not all Greek words in -inth- are nouns; there are verbs like *τυθυρίζουσι* (appears only in Callimachus, *Iamb.*, 1, 258) and *ὤρωνθαῖν* (only Hesychius, *s. v.*), and the adverb *ὀλίγωνθα* (only Hesychius, *s. v.*) for which no parallel noun forms are extant. In addition, not all Greek nouns in -inth- have the ending -os; for example: *Ἀρίνθη* (Stephanus Byzantinus, *s. v.*), a city in Southern Italy, and *Ἑσχάρινθον* (Pollux, IV, 104), a Lacedaemonian dance; three have nom. -*ivs*, gen. -*ivthos*: *ἐλμivs*, *ἐλμivthos*, usually masculine, but not infrequent as a feminine noun in medical writers; *λίμivthes*. *ἐλμivthes* (only Hesychius, *s. v.*); and the word describing the part of a vehicle in which the load is carried, which occurs in Homer only as an accusative, *πείρινθα* (ancient and modern grammarians have made various guesses about its gender and the spelling and accent of the nominative case). It should also be noted that several of the words listed in the Table vary between -inth- and -ynth- in spelling, but since everything I shall say about the gender of words in -inthos seems to be true also of those in -ynthos, that point need not concern us here. A point that must, however, be kept in mind is that several of the words in the Table (as the discussion below will show) which are listed as feminine end more often in -inthe than -inthos.

<sup>1</sup> In a recent article "Introducing the Minoan Language" (*A. J. A.*, XLIV [1940], p. 503, n. 25) M. G. F. Ventris makes the categorical statement "-inthos is quite definitely feminine," and again (p. 506, n. 36): "-Inthos appears to correspond with an Etruscan feminine formative." Assertions similar to this are to be found quite often.

aversion to the academic adage, satirized by Max Eastman (p. 178) that "the poet in history is divine, the poet in the next room is a joke," I cannot help thinking that our authors do not face squarely enough the fact that they want to build, starting from the University, a *new* American character; that, while building up their ideal American university, they would be destroying the *homo Americanus* as he is. Thus the problem must be faced: is such a radical change *possible* or *advisable*? As for myself I must confess that, after having long pondered these two staggering questions, I do not know the answer. If our authors believe that the change is possible, it seems to me that the forum to which they should apply could not be an academic one alone: they should undertake a nation-wide campaign for a new type of American; otherwise, the *homo poeticus* of their breeding would not, I fear, be supported by public opinion and public institutions. While I admire the intrepidity of this minority group of Iowa democratically battling for their ideals at the vantage point of their college, I must ask myself whether they fully see<sup>6</sup> the Antaeic forces of the enemy

<sup>6</sup> At times, it seems to me, the authors are not fully aware of (or perhaps they refrain diplomatically from drawing) the far-reaching implications of the fundamental tenet of their creed, that the student in letters must know how to read. For to be able to read poetic texts poetically means to me to be able to see related all the parts of the work of art to the whole and the whole to the parts, in a kind of to-and-fro symbolism of analytic synthesis and synthetic analysis. And these operations of the philologist rest in a nearly religious belief in a superhuman organism of the work of art in which nothing is insignificant; they are in fact *identical* (not only *parallel*) to the operations of the creator of art himself, and they are historically an outgrowth of the *omnia in maiorem Dei gloriam* of the religious believer: the French *explication de textes* method, strongly advocated for Americans (p. 24), is an outgrowth of theological exegesis, and Jakob Grimm's recommendation to the philologist, "*Andacht zum Kleinen*," uses not in vain the religious term "devotion." The teaching of the poetic sense then would imply nothing less than a radical change in the human nature of the student, a return to the religious roots of mankind—at least to the kind of "religious musicality" which has been created by centuries of Christendom.

But, when I read such a sentence as "He [the student of letters] should have some (1) understanding of religion, since the Christian tradition enters largely into the literature he studies and literature is a part of the life of faith, involving as it does visions of reality and



and the gigantic dimensions of the warfare necessary to win this battle (in which I myself have enrolled with all my heart).

I hesitate at the very moment of writing down these lines to make myself the *advocatus diaboli* and to speak against the large-scale application of the principles for which I have fought my whole life, and on which I, as a private individual, am used to base my teaching. But must not the pedagogue-scholar become sorely perplexed when he, while personally believing in the desirability of a particular type of humanity, is at the same time confronted with the spirit of a whole nation and epoch, with the manifestations of that *Volks-* and *Zeitgeist* which he, as a practitioner of literary scholarship, has learned to respect? Without wishing to be labelled a historical determinist, I feel myself inadequate to legislate against history, against the history of the civilization, ethics, religion, of a nation. For this dilemma—whether to accept the present college situation and build in a more “American” way, or, to fight against the present state of things, but fight aware of the large scope of the battle—no program, however nobly planned, can offer a solution until the vast implications of the problem have been faced.

\* \* \* \* \*

After having discussed the general scope of the reform program offered in this volume, I should like now to take up two of the articles in particular, for the simple reason that they have affected me personally and most provocatively. The most stimulating, the most forthright article (though one conceived less as a program for poetic education than as a neat delimitation of literary historiography) is that of Mr. Wellek, an adept of the

ethical affirmation” (p. 22), I fail to see that the writer has felt, in a sufficiently *interior* way, the potentially religious (not only ethical) state of mind which is at the bottom of making and reading poetry. I also fail to see the full awareness of the truism that “understanding” presupposes “being” a *homo poeticus*: the “poetical reader” must by definition be a “poetical being”: a man who in his daily life, when he sees a tree, a squirrel, or a sky-scraper, is of his own accord moved to carry out with these the poetical metamorphosis. A man who would only *read* poetically would strangely resemble a “poetry automaton,” a motor one can turn on and off at will; and this is surely not what our authors strive toward. “One of the best ways of understanding imaginative literature is to write it”—yes; but *the best* way of understanding it is to *be* imaginative.

Prague school. According to him, the history of literature, in order not to fail as *history* or as history of *art*—i. e., in order to avoid being what it currently is, a series of disjointed impressions or an accumulation of material alien to poetry—should be history of a purely literary evolution towards a specific goal, value, or norm; the history, for example, of the literary work of an author (or of an epoch, a motif, a genre, etc.) with reference to its point of maturity or final evolution. This definition, which I would call “terminal” (in both senses of the word: “end” and “goal”) <sup>7</sup> will not strike the reader as absolutely new (indeed it is an application to literary history of Voltaire’s approach to cultural historiography) nor will he accept it as exclusive: should there not also be justification, since we are brought back to a biologically conceived evolution, for a descendent development of historical writing—a *grandeur et décadence*—, or for the Corneillian triptych containing both crescendo and decrescendo (Corneille “se cherche”—“se trouve”—“se perd”); should there not be permitted any *Sinngebung des Sinnlosen*, the organization of the inconsequential brought about by the *historian*? In fact, Mr. Wellek, systematically objective-minded as he is, never speaks of the historian as an individual facing historic reality. History, like a novel, is a piece of reality seen through the lens of a personal temperament, which will impose its own *Sinngebung*. The problem of literary historiography seems to me less difficult in practice than in theory: any gifted historian of literature will unify (*Sinn geben* to) the parcels of historic reality, thanks to the unity which his mind necessarily imposes on discordant data. Mr. Wellek is probably stronger when

<sup>7</sup> The “terminality” of Mr. Wellek would evidently preclude the possibility of writing a national literary history (since the historiographer does not know the “end” of the story—the goal to which the journey of the nation is directed): but I would say that if the historian sees a particular *Sinngebung*, a meaning and direction in the literary history of a country, he may very well write this history. Wellek is also opposed to histories of groups of literatures, basing himself on such experiments as that of L. Olschki’s history of all the Romance literatures during the Middle Ages. But, if Olschki’s attempt was not wholly successful, this was because, in wanting to be all-comprehensive, he had not chosen any definite *Sinngebung*; for instance, he failed to follow up the idea of the rise and development of a “Romance” literature as an *œuvre* of literature; this was pointed out by Auerbach in his critique.

criticizing many abuses than when prescribing a single legitimate usage.

As for the contribution of Mr. McGalliard, I cannot understand that, in a book purporting to outline the training of the *φιλόλογος φιλόμουσος*, so much of the article on "language" should be given up to a description, with no attempt at rebuttal, of the views of the anti-mentalistic school of linguistics. A biased opinion such as the one cited on p. 79:

Language creates and exemplifies a twofold value of some human actions. In its *biophysical* aspect language consists of sound-producing movements and of the resultant sound waves and of the vibration of the hearer's eardrums. The *biosocial* . . . function of language arises from a uniform, traditional, and arbitrary training of the persons in a certain group. They have been trained to utter conventional sounds as a secondary response to situations and to respond to these light sounds, with a kind of trigger effect, with all sorts of actions,

seems to me, in its emphasis on the mechanical, secondary, and traditional, to preclude the understanding of any innovation in language, whether artistic or non-artistic, and especially the rise of that poetic sensibility, that very awe before the self-transcending power of language on which the education of our reformers is based. If language is only "responsive" why look to it for (artistic) creation, why busy oneself with "*creative writing*"? Moreover, "trigger effects" in fact could produce, and up till now have only too much produced, reading which is uncreative, unpoetic—that is to say, no reading at all.

It is perhaps not out of place to quote here Wilhelm von Humboldt, the author of the definition "language = *ἐνέργεια*, not *ἔργον*":

Die Menschen verstehen einander nicht dadurch, dass sie sich Zeichen der Dinge wirklich hingeben, auch nicht dadurch dass sie sich gegenseitig bestimmen, genau und vollständig denselben Begriff hervorzubringen, sondern dadurch, dass sie gegenseitig einander dasselbe Glied der Kette ihrer sinnlichen Vorstellungen und inneren Begriffs-erzeugungen berühren, dieselbe Taste ihres geistigen Instruments anschlagen, worauf alsdann in jedem entsprechende, nicht aber dieselben Begriffe hervorspringen.

Die unfehlbare Gegenwart des jedesmal notwendigen Wortes in dieser [Rede des Alltags] ist gewiss nicht bloss

Werk des Gedächtnisses, kein menschliches Gedächtnis reichte dazu hin, wenn nicht die Seele instinktmässig zugleich den Schlüssel zur Bildung der Wörter selbst in sich trüge.

Die Sprache besteht, neben den schon geformten Elementen, ganz vorzüglich auch aus Methoden, die Arbeit des Geistes, welcher sie die Bahn und die Form vorzeichnet, weiter fortzusetzen (quotations taken from Delbrück, *Einführung in das Studium der idg. Sprachen*, p. 46).

The touch of the keyboard, the key to a half-veiled arcanum, these metaphors, more evocative of poetry, are also more appropriate to the essence of speech than is the "trigger-effect." As a matter of course, our anti-mentalists refuse to *believe* in anything beyond the crude sense data, and they disavow all the past Greco-Roman-Christian civilization that vibrates behind the noble words of Humboldt. One could say of them the melancholy truth of the Latin words: *vera rerum amiserunt vocabula*. What they call "language" is not language; they themselves have fallen a prey to their despiritualizing of language: they use the word "language" in a manner devoid of the *ἐνέργεια* which has hitherto been implied in this term. Let us hope that the war which has so quickly done away with the "debunking" of the belief in civic virtues will restore the belief in the human mind.

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## THE GENDER OF NOUNS ENDING IN -INTHOS.

The statement is often made that nouns in -inthos are feminine. If it were true, the fact would be of great importance to scholars who are trying to formulate the principles underlying the language or languages of pre-Hellenic Greece and of the Minoan scripts.<sup>1</sup> The evidence does not indicate, however, that there is anything intrinsically feminine in the ending -inthos. A considerable number of Greek nouns and adjectives which may be of pre-Hellenic origin have feminine forms in -os, and the same thing is true of nouns in -inthos, but not to any greater degree. It would be more correct to state that the ending -os in nouns of apparently pre-Hellenic origin has no gender significance.

In the Table given below there is a list of all Greek nouns in -inth- which appear anywhere with the nominative ending -os. Before these nouns are discussed specifically, certain general facts must be taken into consideration. Not all Greek words in -inth- are nouns; there are verbs like *τυθυρίζουσι* (appears only in Callimachus, *Iamb.*, 1, 258) and *ῥιπθῶν* (only Hesychius, *s. v.*), and the adverb *ὀλίγῳθα* (only Hesychius, *s. v.*) for which no parallel noun forms are extant. In addition, not all Greek nouns in -inth- have the ending -os; for example: *Ἀρίνθη* (Stephanus Byzantinus, *s. v.*), a city in Southern Italy, and *Ἑσχάρινθον* (Pollux, IV, 104), a Lacedaemonian dance; three have nom. -us, gen. -uthos: *ἔλμυς*, *ἔλμυνθος*, usually masculine, but not infrequent as a feminine noun in medical writers; *λίμυθες*. *ἔλμυνθες* (only Hesychius, *s. v.*); and the word describing the part of a vehicle in which the load is carried, which occurs in Homer only as an accusative, *πείρινθα* (ancient and modern grammarians have made various guesses about its gender and the spelling and accent of the nominative case). It should also be noted that several of the words listed in the Table vary between -inth- and -ynth- in spelling, but since everything I shall say about the gender of words in -inthos seems to be true also of those in -ynthos, that point need not concern us here. A point that must, however, be kept in mind is that several of the words in the Table (as the discussion below will show) which are listed as feminine end more often in -inthe than -inthos.

<sup>1</sup> In a recent article "Introducing the Minoan Language" (*A. J. A.*, XLIV [1940], p. 503, n. 25) M. G. F. Ventris makes the categorical statement "-inthos is quite definitely feminine," and again (p. 506, n. 36): "-Inthos appears to correspond with an Etruscan feminine formative." Assertions similar to this are to be found quite often.

TABLE OF GREEK NOUNS ENDING IN -INTHOS.

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Both M. and F.</i>	<i>Gender Unknown</i>
αἴγινθος	bird;			
Ἀκροκόρινθος	man		hill usually m. rarely f.	
Ἀράκινθος	mountain (also -νθ-); man; horse			
Ἀσάμινθος		bath-tub, etc.		
ἄψινθος	river;	city	plant	
(Ἀψυνθος)	star			
βόλινθος	animal			
γάλινθοι				plant
γέλινθοι				plant
γέρινθοι				plant
ἐρέβινθος	plant			
Ζήρινθος		city (?)		cave
(Ζήρυνθος)				
Ἰάκινθος (?)				district on Tenos
καλάμινθος		plant		
κήρινθος	man		city usually f. rarely m.	bee-bread; flower (?)
Κόκινθος	promontory			
(Κόκυνθος)				
Κόρινθος	man		city usually f. rarely m.	
λαβύρινθος	place	metaphorical		
Λέβινθος				island
μήρινθος		cord; string		
μλινθος		plant; ordure		bird
Πάλινθος				tomb of Danaus
Πέρινθος	man	city		
(Πείρινθος)				
πλίνθος		brick, etc.	compounds either m. or f.	
Πρεπέσινθος		island		
Προβάλινθος				Attic deme
Σαβύλινθος	man			
Σάμινθος				city
Σλινθος				city (?) ; river
σκινθός	naufragus?			
σμήρινθος				bird
σμήρινθοι				cord
σμλινθος		city		mouse
Σύρινθος				city
τερέβινθος ;			plant usually f. rarely m.	
τέρμινθος				
τινθός				steam (?)
ὕακινθος	man; god		flower; gem	hill
ψλινθος				joy

Since many of the words listed are rare and information about them is contradictory, a few words of explanation are needed in some cases.

*αἴγυθος*: This word is usually found with the spelling *αἴγυθος* when it is used as the name of a bird; in fact, the latest edition of Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* does not even list the former spelling, although it appears in Oppian, *Ix.*, 1, 10; Dionysius; *Av.*, 1, 12; 3, 14; *Gloss.*, III, 319, 30; and probably, in a corrupt form, in *Gloss.*, III, 518, 44. It also appears in a compound, *κυνέγυθος*, in *Gloss.*, III, 319, 32 (Liddell and Scott print the form as *κυναίγυθος*). As a proper name, *Αἴγυθος* is listed by Suidas, *s. v.* and Zonarus, 65.

*Ἀκροκόρινθος*: This name is usually masculine, while that of the city Corinth is usually feminine. The explanation probably is that mountain and hill names in -inthos are regularly masculine.

*Ἀράκινθος*: While the mountain of this name, variously located in Aetolia, Acarnania, Boeotia, Attica, and even Arcadia, seems to be spelled indiscriminately with -inth- and -ynth-, in Latin inscriptions Aracinthus appears as a man's name in *C. I. L.*, III, 5657 (and 11798); VI, 10184, 3, and in lists of chariot horses in *C. I. L.*, VI, 10053, 12; 10054, 2.

*ἄψινθος*: The usual form of the plant name is *ἀψίνθιον*; *ἄψινθος* in this sense occurs in Aretaeus (ed. Hude, pp. 157, 6; 160, 26, as a masculine and feminine noun respectively). Revelations, 8, 11 gives *\*Αψινθος* as the name of the star under whose influence the waters of the earth will turn to wormwood. As the name of a Thracian city the word is regularly feminine and spelled with -ynth-. A river *\*Αψινθος* is mentioned by Eustathius, *Comm. in Dion. Per.*, 566 and Avienus, *Orb. Terr.*, 755 (spelled Absynthus).

*γάλινθοι*, *γέλινθοι*, *γέρινθοι* appear only in Hesychius, who defines each with the word *ἐρέβινθοι*. It is likely, therefore, that their gender is also masculine.

*Ζήρυνθος* appears as the name of a city in Thrace in Stephanus Byzantinus, *s. v.* Nonnus, *Dion.*, 13, 400 speaks of a *ζαθέην Ζήρυνθον* in Samothrace, but it is not clear whether he is referring to a city or the sacred cave. There is much confusion about the name of the cave in ancient authors. The spelling of the name varies between -inth- and -ynth-; it is located variously in Thrace and Samothrace, although no ancient scholar tells us specifically

that there were two; it is usually called *Ζήρυνθον ἄντρον*, but twice (Schol. *ad* Lyc., 77 and Stephanus Byzantinus, *s. v.*) it is called *Ζήρυνθος ἄντρον* (both times -νθ-), which makes possible the supposition that -os here is a neuter ending.

ἐν Ἰακίνθῳ appears in *I.G.*, XII, 5, 872, lines 49, 115, 117.

*καλάμυνθος*: This form of the plant name appears in Nicander, *Ther.*, 60 as feminine; it is mentioned six other times in ancient lexica and glossaries, but always in connection with the more usual form *καλαμίνθη* (which occurs at least twenty-five times). A form *καλάμυνθα* occurs three times, and Photius has *καλαμίνθα* once. Boisacq<sup>2</sup> states that *καλάμυνθος* is masculine, but this must be an error; Lobeck<sup>3</sup> says that it is sometimes used poetically as a masculine in the *Anthology*, but I have been unable to find any instance of this usage.

*Κήρυνθος*: As a proper noun this word appears as the name of a city in Euboea and as a male name. The latter appears several times in Latin poetry. As a common noun it means "bee-bread" according to the statements of three different ancient scholars.

Aristotle, *H. A.*, 623 b 23: ἔστι δ' αὐταῖς (*sc. μέλισσαι*) καὶ ἄλλη τροφή, ἣν καλοῦσιν οἱ κήρυνθον (*v. l. κόριθον, κύρινθον*).

Pliny, *H. N.*, I, XI, 7: quid erithace sive sandaraca sive cerinthos (*v. l. gerenthos, genihos, genios*). The text is corrupt, but the ending -os is clear.

Pliny, *H. N.*, XI, 17: erithace, quam aliqui sandaracam, alii cerinthum vocant. hic erit apium dum operantur cibus, qui saepe invenitur in favorum inanitatibus sepositus, et ipse amari saporis (*v. l. cherinthum*).

Hesychius, *s. v.* Κήρυνθος· ἡ λεγομένη ἐριθάκη. ἔστι δὲ τροφή, ἣν παρατίθενται ἑανταῖς αἱ μέλισσαι.

The nominative in -os appears twice. Liddell and Scott list the word as masculine, but there is no evidence for its gender in the passages quoted, since *hic* in Pliny, *H. N.*, XI, 17 may refer to the following *cibus*; the other names given for the pollen are feminine.

A plant or flower with a similar name may have existed, but the form of the word is not clear from the evidence:

Theophrastus, *H. P.*, VI, 8, 3 describes a certain summer

<sup>2</sup> Émile Boisacq, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque*<sup>2</sup> (Heidelberg, Winter, 1923), *s. v.* καλαμίνθη.

<sup>3</sup> C. A. Lobeck, *Pathologiae Sermonis Graeci Prolegomena* (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1843), p. 17.



flower. Its name is printed κρίνον in Wimmer's edition, but some earlier editors seem to have printed κήρινθον.<sup>4</sup> This, of course, is no proof.

Vergil (*Georg.*, IV, 63) speaks of *cerinthae ignobile gramen*. This passage is repeated by various later authors. Columella, IX, 8, 13 quotes it, but his text is corrupt. Schol. Bern. *ad loc.*<sup>5</sup> has: *Cerinthae*: haec herba melli amica et apibus cara *cerintha* (v. l. *cerinthas*) appellata ab urbe *Cerintho* Euboeae. Servius and Philargyrus *ad loc.* have: 'cerinthae' autem a *Cerintho* urbe Boeotiae (sic!) in qua plurima nascitur. (Philargyrus substitutes *cerinthe* for the first two words.) Probus *ad loc.* is more specific: *Cerinthon* (v. l. *cerintha*, *cerinthos*) est flos luteus cuiusdam herbae, quae copiosissima est in Euboea.

Pliny, *H. N.*, XI, 17, after his discussion of "bee-bread," of which part is quoted above, adds: Menecrates florem esse dicit futurae messis indicium, sed nemo praeter eum; *H. N.*, XXI, 70: (apium) causa oportet serere thymum, apiastrum . . . *cerinthen*. ea<sup>6</sup> est autem folio candido . . . ; and in the table of contents of the first book, referring to this passage, *H. N.*, I, XXI, 41: *cerintha de pabulo apium*.

This evidence makes possible the existence of a plant \*κήρινθα or \*κήρινθη. Pliny, it is true, once uses the form *cerinthum*, but of "bee-bread," and as an accusative; the plant name is implied, but not specifically given in *H. N.*, XI, 17. While the most reliable MSS of Probus have *cerinthon*, other MSS have variants, and an error is quite possible.<sup>7</sup>

Δέβυνθος: The gender of this island name is not specifically indicated anywhere, even in Strabo, X, 5, 12, which Büchner,

<sup>4</sup> Wimmer's edition has no v. l. for the passage. For the reading accepted in earlier editions, cf. Stephanus' *Thesaurus*, s. v. κήρινθον.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Müller in 1856 and by Hagen in *Fleckeisens Jahrb. f. Class. Phil.*, Suppl. Band IV (1861), p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> The text here is corrupt. The Teubner edition reads as given; the codd. read variously *cerinthen ea*, *cerinthen*, *cerinthea*, *cerintha*, *cyrintha*, *cerinthe*.

<sup>7</sup> In some codd. Probus quotes Vergil's words: *et cerinthae ignobile gramen*. For the stemma of the Probus MSS cf. F. M. Wheelock, *Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil.*, XLVI (1935), p. 123. Dr. Wheelock, who kindly checked this passage for me, agrees with me that, while *cerinthon* is almost certainly the reading of the archetype x<sup>1</sup>, it is probably an error due to the influence of the word *meliloton*, which was mentioned just before the passage quoted.

*R. E.*, s. v., cites as proof that the name is feminine. Hesychius lists a similar plant name λεβίνθιοι, but the connection between the two words is only presumptive.

μίνθος: This word has two meanings, "mint" and "ordure." The word for "mint" is usually written μίνθη and sometimes μίνθα. Μίνθος in this sense is rare and occurs almost always in passages where ancient scholars discuss its possible connection with "ordure" or in ancient lexica where all the forms are listed together. Its gender, when indicated, is feminine.

The word μίνθος "ordure" is usually listed separately in modern lexica, although the ancients do their best to connect it with the word for "mint." It too appears as μίνθη and μίνθα, but the spelling with -os is most common. It is listed as masculine by most modern scholars, but the ancient evidence points toward its having the same gender as the word for "mint." The statement that it is masculine seems to be based on Eustathius, 1524, 11: στύρακος, λίνδου, κίνδου, μίνθου, ἐν οἷς τὸ λορδοῦν, but it seems more likely that οἷς agrees with a word like λόγους understood, especially since Eustathius tries, a little further on, to identify the words for "ordure" and "mint."

A bird μίνθος is mentioned by Schol. ad Aristophanes, *Plut.* 313, who may be basing the statement on a story from Zenodotus, quoted by Photius s. v. μίνθα, about the nymph Iunx or Mintha who was loved by Pluto and turned into the plant {mint."\*

Προβάλινθος: Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v. says (this Attic deme: θηλυκῶς δὲ λέγεται ὁ δημότης, which is nonsense. It has been suggested that the last word should be emended to read δῆμος, but this is flimsy evidence on which to base a theory about the gender of the name, especially since Stephanus tells us that the name of the near-by deme Tricorynthus may be either masculine or feminine.<sup>9</sup>

Σίνθος: Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v. lists this as the name of a city on the Thermaean Gulf, citing Herodotus, VII as his source; but Herodotus, VII, 123 has Σίνδος. Arrian, *Periplus Mar. Erythr.*, 38 tells us that Sinthus is the name of a Scythian river.

σκινθός: Theophrastus, *H. P.*, IV, 6, 9 speaks of a plant whose

\* D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford, University Press, 1936), p. 204 doubts the existence of such a bird name.

<sup>9</sup> Προβαλινθοῦς occurs as a place name in inscriptions from near-by Ceos, *I. G.*, XII, 5, 544 B 2, 7, 11, 55; 1075, 41; 1076, 33, 46, 68, 129.

existence was reported by people whom he calls *σκινθούς καὶ κολυμβητάς*. Pliny, *H. N.*, XIII, 137, in a passage which seems to be a translation of this one, says that the plant was reported by *naufragis . . . urinantibusque*. Since the second word in each case means "divers," *σκινθός* should mean *naufragus*. It may therefore be masculine. Theognostus, *Can.*, 16, 20 lists several words in -inth-, among them *σκίνθος*, but no meaning is given for the word; the difference in accent may be accidental.

*σμήρινθος*: While it is probable that this word and *μήρινθος* are identical, it must be pointed out that it is used only in the plural to mean "cord"; it may be feminine. In the singular, *σμήρινθος* appears only as the name of a bird; no gender is indicated.

*σμίνθος*: This word appears several times with the meaning "mouse," but its gender is never given. A variant *σμίνθα* is listed by Hesychius, *s. v.* A city *Σμίνθη* is also mentioned by ancient writers.

*ψίνθος* *·τέρψις* Hesychius, *s. v.* is unique among -inth- nouns because it is the only one for which we have only an abstract meaning. It occurs only in Hesychius, and is occasionally listed as neuter in modern lexica, although no gender whatever is given for it in Greek.

\* \* \* \*

An examination of the table given above shows that city and plant names in -inthos may be either masculine or feminine. In fact, the only fixed rule for gender that can be derived from it is that names of men and gods and those for mountains and promontories are regularly masculine.

Three nouns designating objects with no intrinsic gender are feminine: *ἀσάμινθος*, *μήρινθος*, *πλίνθος*. It is on these, therefore, that the theory that nouns in -inthos are feminine must be based. This is not enough, especially since another factor must be taken into account, and one that seems very cogent. While *Ύάκινθος* occurs as the name of a god, and several male names in -inthos appear, not once is a word in -inthos used as the name of a woman or of a female deity, although female deities are far more often associated with these words than male deities. When goddesses have epithets connected with these words, they have derivative forms: for instance, Athene has the title *Ἀρακυνθιάς* (the form occurs only once, in a quotation from Rhianus, given by Stephanus Byzantinus, *s. v.* *Ἀράκυνθος*, where the spelling with

-υνθ- is used); Hecate and Aphrodite are given the epithet *Ζηρίνθια*; and we are told that a nymph Minthe was metamorphosed into the plant "mint." A Theban heroine had the name *Γαλινθιάς*.

It would seem, therefore, in view of the facts, that there is nothing intrinsically feminine about the ending -inthos. It cannot be denied that some nouns in -inthos are feminine, but the reason for the gender apparently lies in the object designated, not in the ending.

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## CLEOPATRA AND "THE TREASURE OF THE PTOLEMIES."

Mr. W. W. Tarn's moving and eloquent account of Cleopatra in Volume X of the *Cambridge Ancient History* has well expressed the pride, ambition, tumultuous energy, and enduring fascination of the Egyptian queen, but in my opinion has gone too far in her defense. "Outside of Alexandria she was popular in Egypt," says Mr. Tarn, "especially with the native Egyptians. From 216 to 86 native risings against the dynasty, centred in Upper Egypt, had been endemic; not only were there none in her reign, but at the end Egypt offered to rise for her, and, though she forbade it, Upper Egypt rose against the Romans as soon as she was dead."<sup>1</sup> This statement of Egypt's loyalty depends on the doubtful authority of Pseudo-Acron,<sup>2</sup> while the revolt in the Thebaid, so quickly suppressed by Cornelius Gallus, was caused, according to Strabo,<sup>3</sup> by the Roman collection of tribute. "She could speak to them in their own language, and was sympathetic toward the native religion." Plutarch<sup>4</sup> mentions her facility in many languages. Egyptian, however, is merely implied, and the whole passage suspiciously resembles the legend of the linguistic abilities of Mithridates the Great.<sup>5</sup> Like other Cleopatras, she could identify herself with Isis, but she may have defended queens Aba and Alexandra for reasons of policy.<sup>6</sup> One of her first official acts in 51 B. C. was to go to Upper Egypt and escort a new Buchis bull to his home in the Bucheum, but she needed support in her quarrel with her brother.<sup>7</sup> Yet in the end she chose the sacred animal, the asp, to be the agent of her death.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *C. A. H.*, X, p. 36, from which other quotations and summaries are taken.

<sup>2</sup> On Horace, *Odes*, I, 37, 23 (ed. Keller, I, p. 153); cf. Servius, on Vergil, *Aen.*, VIII, 713.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, XVII, 1, 53 (819 C): *στάσιν τε γενηθείσαν ἐν τῇ Θηβαίδι διὰ τοὺς φόρους ἐν βραχείᾳ κατέλυσε.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ant.*, 27, 3-4.

<sup>5</sup> Reinach-Goetz, *Mith. Eup.*, p. 279, cites the pertinent texts; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Lagides*, II, p. 180.

<sup>6</sup> *C. A. H.*, X, p. 68. She revived the old Ptolemaic interest in Cilicia and received a portion of it from Antony; see the texts cited in *Econ. Survey* (ed. by T. Frank), IV, p. 589, nn. 59 and 64. In Alexandra she was supporting an opponent of Herod, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea*, pp. 52 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Mond, *Bucheum*, II, pp. 11 f. and 32.

<sup>8</sup> On the significance of the asp, see *C. A. H.*, X, p. 110 and n. 4.

I wish, however, to consider especially Mr. Tarn's rejection of the charge that after Actium Cleopatra despoiled the temples of Egypt to provide funds for further resistance. He states that the passages of Cassius Dio<sup>9</sup> and Josephus<sup>10</sup> on which this charge is based are false calumnies invented by Herod or by Octavian's propagandists, and that the huge sum that Octavian seized came from her inheritance, the accumulated treasure of the Ptolemies. The question at once arises: is it likely that a great ancestral treasure, amounting to more than 1,000,000,000 HS,<sup>11</sup> should have survived until her time; do the probabilities support our authorities even if we must grant that they may be biased? The answer involves a review of the financial difficulties of earlier Egyptian rulers, and particularly those of her immediate predecessors.

During the first period of Ptolemaic rule strong kings steadily developed the agricultural and commercial resources of Egypt. The revenues of Ptolemy Philadelphus, according to St. Jerome,<sup>12</sup> amounted annually to 14,800 talents. This sum could support large administrative expenditures and gifts and still permit considerable reserves to accumulate.<sup>13</sup> In the second century conditions changed. Disputes in the reigning house became frequent; on several occasions a minor succeeded to the throne, while the resources of the dynasty and the kingdom fell into the prodigal hands of a palace clique; court favorites received gifts of land; the tributary territories outside of Egypt were lost; many immunities were granted, particularly to temples and clergy; native

<sup>9</sup> LI, 17, 6: πάντα γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγιοτάτων ἱερῶν ἀναθήματα ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ἀνελομένη συνεπλήθυσσε τὰ λάφυρα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀνευ τινὸς οἰκείου μίσματος.

<sup>10</sup> XV, 4, 1: χρημάτων γὰρ ἔνεκεν, εἴ ποὺ ἐλπισθεῖη, καὶ ναοὶ καὶ τάφοι παρηνομήθησαν, οὐθ' ἱεροῦ τινὸς οὕτως ἀσύλου δόξαντος ὡς μὴ περιαιρεθῆναι τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ κόσμον, οὔτε βεβήλου μὴ πᾶν ὀτιοῦν τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων παθόντος, εἰ μέλλοι μόνον εἰς εὐπορίαν . . . τῇ τῆς ἀδικούσης πλεονεξίᾳ.

<sup>11</sup> See T. Frank, *Econ. Survey*, V, pp. 7; 12 ff.; and *J. R. S.*, XXIII (1933), pp. 143 ff.

<sup>12</sup> In *Dan.*, 11, 5 (*Patr. Lat.*, XXV, p. 560). Préaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides*, pp. 424 ff., believes that this sum is too small. See the discussions of Ptolemaic revenues in Wilcken, *Griech. Ostraka*, I, pp. 411 ff., and S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, pp. 331 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Appian, *Procm.*, 10, declares that Philadelphus bequeathed a treasure of 740,000 talents to his successors. See Préaux, *op. cit.*, p. 426, and Wilcken, *op. cit.*, who rightly regard this evidence with scepticism.

risings became frequent, and the canals were not kept up. Far from being maintained, any accumulation of treasure was probably greatly diminished. In fact, signs of distress begin to appear soon after 200 B. C. The increased importance of the copper coinage during the second century can possibly be explained as a reversion to the native system, but the silver coinage was after 170 B. C. continuously debased until an Egyptian silver tetradrachm became about equal in value to a Roman denarius.<sup>14</sup>

We may now consider some specific information from the first century. When Cleopatra III in 103-2 sent her grandsons to Cos for safekeeping, a great part of her wealth, consisting of "a vast treasure, works of art, precious stones, women's ornaments, and a great deal of money," accompanied them. None of this treasure ever returned to Egypt, for part of it was captured and remained in the store-houses of Mithridates until Pompey carried it to Rome,<sup>15</sup> and if through the generosity of Mithridates or Sulla some of it was returned to young Ptolemy Alexander II in 81 he had no time to transport it from Tyre before his brief reign came to an end. His treasure at Tyre was promptly seized by the Romans.<sup>16</sup> In Egypt itself in this period there apparently was little treasure at the king's disposal, for Ptolemy Alexander I removed the gold sarcophagus of Alexander the Great and substituted one of glass.<sup>17</sup>

Ptolemy Alexander II returned in 81 with Roman recognition,

<sup>14</sup> On the political history, see *C. A. H.*, VII, chap. xxii; VIII, chaps. ix and xvi; IX, chap. viii; also W. Otto, "Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6 Ptolemäers," in *Abh. Bayer. Akad.*, XI (1934), and W. Otto-H. Bengtson, "Zur Geschichte des Niedergangs des Ptolemäerreiches," *ibid.*, XVII (1938); on the economic development, see *C. A. H.*, VII, chap. iv; Otto-Bengtson, *op. cit.*; J. G. Milne, *J. R. S.*, XVII (1927), pp. 1 ff.; and *J. E. A.*, XXIV (1933), pp. 200 ff.; and most recently, C. Préaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides* (Brussels, 1939), especially pp. 276 ff. on the coinage, and pp. 426, 466 ff., 477, and 483 ff. on the diminution of revenues. (See now Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist. Hellenistic World*, pp. 409 ff., 870 ff., and especially pp. 910 and 1551. Rostovtzeff thinks that Tarn has exaggerated a number of details but believes that Cleopatra still retained a considerable private treasure.)

<sup>15</sup> Josephus, *Ant.*, XIII, 13, 1: τὰ πολλὰ τοῦ πλουτοῦ αὐτῆς; cf. XIV, 7, 2, from Strabo. Appian, *Mith.*, 23; 115; 117. Cf. Otto-Bengtson, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

<sup>16</sup> Appian, *B. C.*, I, 102; Cicero, *De Leg. Agr.*, II, 41; Schol. Bobb. on Cicero, *De Rege Alex.* (ed. Stangl), p. 92.

<sup>17</sup> Strabo, XVII, 1, 8 (794 C).

according to Appian, because Sulla "expected to reap a large reward from a rich kingdom."<sup>18</sup> He may even have bequeathed his kingdom to Rome. Romans found the claim useful after his death when Auletes, the choice of the Alexandrians, became an evident mark for demands for bribes as he tried to secure recognition. For twenty years he maintained a precarious hold upon the throne by constant bribery, while the burdens incidental to raising the money alienated his support in Egypt.<sup>19</sup> Aid to Pompey in Syria in 64 and many presents availed him little, and he was not formally recognized until 59,—at a price of 6,000 talents.<sup>20</sup> It may be an indication of his financial condition that when the Alexandrians expelled him in their anger at the annexation of Cyprus in 58, he had no foreign mercenaries to quell them.<sup>21</sup> The bribery and other disgraceful deeds connected with his return are familiar from Cicero's *Pro Caelio*. When it was finally effected by Gabinius, who was promised 10,000 talents, the only means of securing the claims of the creditors was to place the management of the royal revenues under Rabirius Postumus. Had there been any reserve of royal treasure this was the time for the embarrassed king to use it. Instead, the current revenues were pledged, and, even so, the creditors remained unpaid.<sup>22</sup> The dreary story indicates that any treasure that Auletes may have inherited was soon dissipated, and that Cleopatra received little besides her claim as ruler to the current revenues.

It was on the basis of these, in amount about 12,500 talents a year<sup>23</sup> (reckoned in debased silver), that she gathered the

<sup>18</sup> Appian, *B. C.*, I, 102: ἐλπίσας χρηματίζεισθαι πολλὰ ἐκ βασιλείας πολυχρύσου. The potential wealth of Egypt was probably apparent to an earlier visitor, Scipio Aemilianus.

<sup>19</sup> See the full review of the Egyptian question in Tyrrell and Purser, *Cicero's Correspondence*, II<sup>2</sup>, pp. xxix ff., where the texts are cited.

<sup>20</sup> Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIII, 136; Appian, *Mith.*, 114; Suetonius, *Jul.*, 54, 3.

<sup>21</sup> Cassius Dio, XXXIX, 12.

<sup>22</sup> Gabinius, condemned to pay the 10,000 talents he was supposed to have received, could not do so and went into exile. Rabirius was equally unfortunate, for he had to leave Alexandria hurriedly and prematurely; see Tyrrell and Purser, *loc. cit.* (note 19), and cf. Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, VII, 17 (Oct. 54): the creditors had then received nothing. In 48 Caesar claimed that 17,500,000 dr. were still owing him, Plutarch, *Caes.*, 48, 4.

<sup>23</sup> Strabo, XVII, 1, 13 (798 C), quoting Cicero, probably from the *De Rege Alex.* Cf. Préaux, *op. cit.* (note 14 *supra*), pp. 424 ff., and T. Frank, *Econ. Surv.*, V, p. 12.



funds required by the ambitions of herself and Antony. Mr. Tarn notes that she brought clothing and comforts but little money for the troops that returned from Parthia: "It was her method of explaining to him that her treasury was not at his service for useless adventures."<sup>24</sup> Yet she must have known the value for the future of a loyal and well-rewarded army. Her niggardliness at this time and the care with which she exacted the full sums for her concessions<sup>25</sup> of balsam at Jericho and bitumen at the Dead Sea point rather to some scarcity of funds. Before Actium both she and Antony gathered all their resources, but the rest of the East had been so efficiently despoiled that chief reliance had to be placed on Egypt. In 33 she brought to the rendezvous at Ephesus 200 ships, 20,000 talents, and supplies for the army,<sup>26</sup> but the debased coinage<sup>27</sup> in which Antony paid his legionaries shows how difficult it was to provide. She brought back some treasure in her flight,<sup>28</sup> but how much cannot be known. Then, according to Cassius Dio,<sup>29</sup> she busily prepared Egypt for a final resistance, put to death wealthy men who might have organized revolts, and "gathered in vast wealth from their estates and from other sources holy and sacred, sparing not even the most untouchable shrines." These are the most likely sources of the treasure that she collected into the building that became her tomb,<sup>30</sup> the booty that Octavian, for the sake of his career and perhaps his life, had to gain intact.

The probabilities of the case support Cassius Dio and Josephus against Mr. Tarn. There is no evidence for the existence of an ancestral treasure of the Ptolemies in the time of Cleopatra or her father, while at the end she had ample reason to seize the one great remaining reserve, the resources of the Egyptian temples.

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<sup>24</sup> *C. A. H.*, X, p. 75.

<sup>25</sup> Josephus, *Ant.*, XV, 4, 4; *Bell.*, I, 18, 5; see A. H. M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea*, pp. 49 ff. Her feud with Herod also played a part.

<sup>26</sup> Plutarch, *Ant.*, 56. This sum represents a not improbable accumulation during her reign since leaving Rome in 44 B. C.

<sup>27</sup> Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIII, 132; Grueber, *Coins Rom. Republic Brit. Museum*, II, p. 526, n. 1; p. 527, n. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Cassius Dio, L, 15, 4.

<sup>29</sup> LI, 5, 5: πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πρώτων..... ἐφόνευσε, πολλὸν δὲ καὶ πλοῦτον ἐκ τε τῶν ἐκείνων κτημάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὁσίων καὶ θείων, μηδενὸς μηδὲ τῶν πάντων ἀβάτων ἱερῶν φειδομένη, ἤθροϊζε, δυνάμεις τε ἐξηρτύετο καὶ συμμαχίας περισκόπει.

<sup>30</sup> Plutarch, *Ant.*, 74; 76.

## NOTE ON A NILE BOAT.

In *P. Lond.*, III, 1164 *h* (p. 164), a contract for a long-term lease of a boat, the vessel is described (line 7) as ἐστρωμένον καὶ σεσανιδωμένον. It is generally agreed with good evidence that the latter means "decked."<sup>1</sup> In the scholium to Thucydides, I, 10,<sup>2</sup> for example, the word clearly has this sense, and the derivative σανίδωμα, although used in other senses, definitely means "deck" in *Sept. Macc.*, 3, 4, 10.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, in another papyrus contract (*P. Lond.*, V, 1714, 32-34), a boat which is σεσανιδωμένον ἀπὸ πρύμνης εἰς πῶραν is also described as ἐνσκηνον; a cabin or shelter is of course impossible without a deck. With respect to ἐστρωμένον, however, there is no such general agreement. De Ruggiero (*Bull. dell' Ist. di Dir. Rom.*, XX [1908], p. 53) suggested that it might mean "tarred," but there is no evidence for this and the suggestion has not been accepted.<sup>4</sup> Merzagora and Reil have taken it to mean simply "covered,"<sup>5</sup> but in this sense it differs not at all from σεσανιδωμένον "decked." It has most often been translated "furnished,"<sup>6</sup> yet there has been offered for the word in this sense only one parallel which is itself far from convincing.<sup>7</sup> The basic meaning of στρώννυμι is,

<sup>1</sup> Liddell-Scott-Jones, *s. v.*; Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, *s. v.*; Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri*, No. 38, reprinted in A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt (An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, II, ed. by Tenney Frank), No. 269.

<sup>2</sup> Οὐδ' αὖ τὰ πλοῖα κατάφρακτα] οὐκ ἦν, φησί, σεσανιδωμένα τὰ πλοῖα, ὥστε κάτω μὲν τιθέναι τὰ ὄπλα, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἄνω διάγειν.—Δηστικώτερον] τὰ γὰρ τῶν ληστῶν πλοῖα οὐκ ἦν σεσανιδωμένα, ἀλλὰ κάτω ἐκαθέζοντο, διὰ τὸ μὴ φάλνεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπιπλέοντας. ἦν οὖν διὰ τοῦτο κοιλότερα.

<sup>3</sup> τοῖς ξυνοῖς τῶν πλοίων προσηλωμένοι . . . , ἔτι καὶ τῷ καθύπερθε πυκνῷ σανιδώματι διακειμένῳ τὸ φέγγος ἀποκλειόμενοι, ὅπως πάντοθεν ἐσκοτισμένοι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀγωγὴν ἐπιβούλων ἐν παντὶ τῷ κατάπλῳ λαμβάνωσιν.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. M. Merzagora, "La navigazione in Egitto nell'età greco-romana," *Aegyptus*, X (1929), pp. 141-142; Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, *s. v.* στρώννυμι.

<sup>5</sup> Merzagora, *loc. cit.*, p. 142 ("coperto"); T. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Borna-Leipzig, 1913), p. 87 ("überzogen").

<sup>6</sup> Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri*, No. 38, reprinted in Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, No. 269; Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, *s. v.*; Moulton-Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, *s. v.* Liddell-Scott-Jones, *s. v. ad fin.*, considers the word uncertain.

<sup>7</sup> *P. Oxy.*, 138, 21-23 (610-611 A. D.): ὁμολογῶ . . . στρώσαι τοῖς τε

of course, "spread" but it may also mean "pave."<sup>8</sup> When applied to a boat one would naturally conclude that it referred to the deck, but the deck, as we have already seen, is taken care of by *σεσανιδωμένον*. There is, however, another feature of a boat to which *ἐστρωμένον* can very naturally apply: the "pavement" over the bilge, i. e. a floor. On smaller boats like the one in question the floor was probably laid, as it is today, on top of the ribs where these form the bottom of the boat. A floor serves two invaluable purposes: it keeps the weight of the cargo on the ribs and off the bottom planking which might otherwise be loosened; and it keeps the cargo free from the water that always collects in the bilge of any vessel.<sup>9</sup> The phrase *ἐστρωμένον καὶ σεσανιδωμένον* is, therefore, to be translated "floored and decked."

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*περιβλέπτοις διοικηταῖς*, "I agree to furnish mounts for the noble superintendents." The meaning of *στρώννυμι* in this passage, however, is closely connected with its common late usage "to saddle" (= *ἐπισάρω*); cf. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, s. v. *στρωννύω* and Liddell-Scott-Jones, s. v. *στόρνυμι*, *ad fin.*

<sup>8</sup> Liddell-Scott-Jones, s. v. *στόρνυμι*.

<sup>9</sup> There is no doubt that, for the reasons I have given above, such a floor, or an orlop deck serving the same purpose, existed on all Greek ships of any size; cf. the words of A. Breusing, a trained seaman: "Grosse Schiffe mit Kaufmannsgütern müssen auch innerhalb eine volle Beplankung oder, wie wir sagen, Wegerung gehabt haben, weil sonst die Ladung von dem an den Seiten durchleckenden Wasser beschädigt wäre" (*Die Nautik der Alten* [Bremen, 1886], p. 38). The ancient technical term for it is still unknown although scholars have repeatedly asserted that it was called *ἔδαφος*: cf. B. Graser, *De veterum re navali* (Berlin, 1864), p. 10; A. Cartault, *La trière athénienne* (Paris, 1881), p. 44; Breusing, *op. cit.*, p. 38; E. Assmann, s. v. *Seewesen* in A. Baummeister, *Denkmäler der klassischen Altertums*, III (Munich, 1889), p. 1602; E. Warre, s. v. *Navis* in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, II (3rd ed., London, 1890), p. 223; E. Luebeck, *Das Seewesen der Griechen und Römer* (Hamburg, 1890-91), p. 43; and most recently, F. Miltner, s. v. *Seewesen* in *R.-E.*, Supplementband V (Stuttgart, 1931), p. 920. Graser attempted to substantiate his statement with several ancient quotations, but in all of them *ἔδαφος* clearly means either the actual bottom of the ship, or the hold in general. The others who followed him have simply made the assertion without offering any evidence whatsoever.

# NOTE ON AN ARAMAIC ETYMOLOGY IN PLUTARCH'S ISIS AND OSIRIS.

According to Plutarch's own statements his work on *Isis and Osiris* is based on several sources beside Manetho, among others Hecataeus and Eudoxus; for example, in chap. 9 he quotes variant explanations of the name of Ammon from Hecataeus and Manetho. Nor does he limit himself to Egyptian etymologies in explaining the names of Egyptian gods; for example, in chap. 60 he follows the method of the Stoic *physikoi* in giving a Greek etymology of the name "Isis," *παρὰ τὸ ἴεσθαι μετ' ἐπιστήμης καὶ φέρεσθαι*.

In chap. 62 he equates Isis with Athena (as also in chap. 9), but, though he goes on to quote Manetho in connection with the meaning of Typhon's name, he seems to base his etymology of the name of Isis-Athena on another source, for, as the Greek reads, it is the latter name that is strictly the one etymologized: *τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἴσιν πολλάκις τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὀνόματι καλοῦσι φράζοντι τοιοῦτον λόγον, "ἦλθον ἀπ' ἐμαυτῆς."* Now, as Waddell remarks in his note on this passage, cited as a fragment from Manetho in his recently published translation of that author in the Loeb Classical Library, it is difficult to find an Egyptian etymology of "Athena" with the meaning "I came from myself."

I therefore venture to suggest that Plutarch is here giving an Aramaic etymology. In Aramaic *'āthēnā* (participle combined with enclitic personal pronoun) means "I come" or "I came" (the Aramaic participle often has the force of a preterite). Here we have close correspondence both in form and meaning.

If this assumption is correct, it remains to show where Plutarch got this Aramaic etymology. He probably took it from Posidonius, whom Geffcken has shown to be one of his sources in *Isis and Osiris* (*Hermes*, XLIX [1914], pp. 343 ff.). Posidonius certainly knew a good deal about the Aramaic language as well as the customs and products of the Semitic East; this is evident from fragments 3, 10, 65-67, 70, 87, 105 in Jacoby, *F. G. H.*, 2 A, 87. Frag. 105 is especially interesting in this connection: *ἄριστα δ' ἂν δόξειεν εἰπεῖν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος, κἀνταῦθα ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν συγγενείας καὶ κοινότητος ἐτυμολογῶν. τὸ γὰρ τῶν Ἀρμενίων [l. Αραμμαίων?] ἔθνος καὶ τὸ τῶν Σύρων καὶ Ἀράβων πολλὴν ὁμοφυλίαν ἐμφαίνει κατὰ τε τὴν διάλεκτον καὶ τοὺς βίους κτλ.*

#### HERACLITI FRAG. 124.

Heracliti fragmentum 124 J. B. McDiarmid primus recte interpretatus est in huius Ephemeridis vol. LXII, pp. 492 sqq. Sed neque *σάρξ κεχυμένων* Graece dici neque *ὁ κάλλιστος* nomine carere posse mihi videtur. Via recta ostenditur figuris illis Heracliteis *πιθήκων ὁ κάλλιστος* (frag. 82) et *ἀνθρώπων ὁ σοφώτατος* (frag. 83). Sic igitur emendandum:

*σὰρξ εἰκῇ κεχυμέν<η ἀνθρώπ>ων ὁ κάλλιστος.*

Si ponis scriptum olim fuisse  $\overline{\alpha\nu\omega\nu}$  compendio trito, librarius etiam facilius ab altero  $\nu$  ad alterum transilire poterat haplographia vulgata, ut tres tantummodo litterae  $\langle\eta\ \alpha\nu\rangle$  perierint. Pensitavimus alia supplementa velut *θνητῶν*, *παίδων*, *Ἑλλήνων*. Id vero quod supra posuimus ex omni parte praestat.

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## REVIEWS.

LOUIS H. GRAY. *Foundations of Language*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1939. Pp. xv + 530. \$7.50.

The book is divided into fourteen chapters: Survey of language and linguistics; What is language?; The physiological aspect of language, phonetics and phonology; The mental aspect of language, the relation between language and thought; Language's social aspect; two chapters on Morphology; Syntax; Semantics; The changing meanings of words; Etymology and the linguistic method; two chapters on Classification of all the languages of the world; and the final chapter on a History of the study of language. The book is provided with the usual auxiliary apparatus: preface, table of contents, list of signs and characters, and a full index, pp. 461-530.

This book suffers from defects similar to those which attached to the author's earlier work *Introduction to Semitic Comparative Linguistics* (New York, 1934). The *Introduction* was intended chiefly to serve as an elementary handbook for beginners in Semitic and for students of other languages, especially Indo-Europeanists, and to show how the principles developed in the study of Indo-European linguistics could be applied to Semitic. The treatment, however, is limited in scope, dealing chiefly with Hebrew and Arabic, and its failure to improve in any respect on existing comparative studies, as well as its lack of a really elementary treatment, combined with its numerous inaccuracies and obscurities, nullify the excellent intentions of the author.

The present book purports to give an encyclopedic treatment of language and languages, but as in the former work, the emphasis is heavily on a restricted part of the field, Indo-European linguistics, other language groups receiving very limited attention. Moreover the treatment, far from being encyclopedic, does not by any means cover all important topics or fully discuss those which are taken up. Inaccuracies and obscurities likewise abound.

This book has recently been the subject of two reviews, those of Harris and Swanson in *Language*, XVI, 3. In the somewhat cryptically expressed criticism of Harris, I agree thoroughly with this reviewer in his opinion that one of the main defects of the book lies in its "neglect of the method of structural analysis," i. e., of "organized synchronic description" (in plain English, descriptive grammar). If I understand the reviewer's criticism that "a mentalistic theory is used throughout the book," he is referring to the half-hearted and apparently involuntary recourse of the author to the semantic approach, the attempt to find the formal expression for semantic categories. I cannot agree that this attitude in itself is wrong, though I must admit that you would hardly expect to find it in one who is so completely convinced as the author that form is the only basis of linguistic study. The bibliographical additions of Swanson are valuable; some of the deficiencies which he corrects, notably those in Baltic and Hamitic, I had myself noted. I cannot agree, however, that the book is noteworthy "as for the . . . arrangement of material." Both reviewers criticise the fact

that in a book on language in general the chief attention and the greatest amount of space is devoted to Indo-European. Harris regrets that the author did not definitely restrict his book to serve as an introduction to Indo-European linguistics. With this criticism, as already indicated, I must concur.

The evidence for the predominant position of Indo-European linguistics in the book is too all-pervasive to need exposition. With regard to its failure to present a satisfactory encyclopedic treatment some specification would seem to be called for.

In addition to the neglect of the whole subject of descriptive grammar as unworthy of scientific study already criticised by Harris, the following topics are among those which should have received attention, viz., the question of the origin and development of the alphabet, which the author dismisses as, though a topic of much interest and importance, one that scarcely falls within the domain of linguistics proper; the topic of spelling; the linguistic works (vocabularies, paradigms, etc.) of the Akkadians, and the grammatical treatises of the Arabs, Jews, and Syrians; the difference between objective and subjective language; some discussion of the comparative practical value of various language types; a systematic discussion of source materials; a discussion of the aims and desiderata of linguistic science, etc.

Of topics that should have been more fully treated may be mentioned the phoneme, syntax, and semantics. For a criticism of the author's treatment of the phoneme see the strictures of Harris (*loc. cit.*, p. 219). His discussion of syntax, while covering a number of important points, is entirely inadequate. The whole topic of the syntax of combinations (the study of the combination formed on the basis of the various parts of speech, cf. my article "A New Method of Syntactical Arrangement," *J. A. O. S.*, XLI [1921], pp. 467-471) as distinct from formal syntax (the study of the various forms, cases, tenses, modes, etc.) is left without any discussion whatever, and there is neither formal nor combinatory syntax of such an important topic as subordination of sentences. His treatment of semantics is confined entirely to historical semantics. There is no mention of what may be called static semantics i. e., the scientific study and arrangement of the meanings that are common to all languages, including such topics as the semantic analysis of the various parts of speech, various phrases, sentence elements, sentences, etc.<sup>1</sup>

In presenting an encyclopedic compendium of anything it would certainly seem necessary to outline and subdivide the topic which is to be the subject of this treatment in such a way as not only to make evident the interrelations of all parts of the subject to one another but also to secure as far as possible the inclusion of all relevant topics. Except for the general indications given by the chapter

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nyrop, *Gram. historique de la langue française* (Copenhagen, 1904-30), IV, *Semantique*, and my article "The Study of Language from the Semantic Point of View," *Indog. For.*, LVI, pp. 241-255; cf. also Brunot, *La Pensée et la Langue* (Paris, 1922); Juret, *Système de la Syntaxe Latine* (1st ed., Paris, 1926; 2nd ed., 1933); Curme, *Syntax* (= *A Grammar of the English Language*, vol. III, New York, 1931); *A Grammar of the German Language* (revised, New York, 1922); and my *A Grammar of the Tagalog Language* (New Haven, 1925).

headings, however, nothing of the kind appears. The summaries at the beginning of each chapter are simply running lists of the sub-topics treated in the chapter, without regard to whether they are coördinate or subordinate to one another, and cannot be regarded as fulfilling this requirement.

The same lack of perspective occurs throughout the book in the individual chapters. A list of the topics treated in the paragraphs of chap. VII, "Syntax," will illustrate this fact, viz.: 1. definition—2. unit of speech the sentence; what the hearer normally hears—3. latter topic illustrated by telephone conversation—4. task of syntactician—5. necessity for a thorough reading and speaking knowledge of language studied; necessity for historical syntactical study; proto-syntaxes—6. requisites for establishment of proto-syntax; examples of adequate syntaxes—7. evaluation of the two complete treatises on Indo-European syntax; foreign influence introduces a further difficulty—8. introductory paragraph to following; character of syntactical treatment as contrasted with that of phonology, morphology, etymology—9. the sentence in general—10. its two elements—11. monorrhemic sentence—12. continued; impersonal verbs of weather, feeling—13. verb only part of speech that can form a complete sentence—14. copula with examples—15. other examples—16. survivals of Proto-Indo-European lack of copula: examples from other linguistic groups—17. word order and accent—18. accented, proclitic and enclitic words—19. Sanskrit accented and unaccented verbs and vocatives—20. traces of enclitic character of verb in other Indo-European languages—and so on with the same lack of logical arrangement for the other thirty-one paragraphs of the chapter.

The author's Indo-European material has been praised by both former reviewers and seems to be of good quality; especially commendable is the wealth of Indo-European examples which frequently accompanies his statements.

The author's remarks, however, about other language groups are frequently inaccurate or incorrect. On p. 390 he gives the Chinese pronouns of the first and second person as *wo*<sup>2</sup>, *ni*<sup>2</sup>, with the second tone, whereas in the Pekin Mandarin dialect they have the third tone *wo*<sup>3</sup>, *ni*<sup>3</sup>. On p. 396 in speaking of the Philippine ligatures, he calls them articles, which they decidedly are not; they are connective particles, a distinct subsidiary part of speech, and are used to join noun with noun or adjective, adverb and adjective, verb and adverb, subject with predicate, etc. Most of the references to Semitic are in need of modification or correction, the same lack of a firm grasp of his subject being shown here as in the author's *Introduction to Semitic Comparative Linguistics*. Examples are viz.:

p. 14—Arab. *šarjatu-n* "tree"; should be *šajaratu-n*.

p. 135—Arab. *šaraba* "to drink"; should be *šariba*.

p. 167—Arab. *katabta* cited as an example of "atelic" (imperfect).

p. 183—Sem. *ḥalāḥu* called a plural form.

p. 198—Syr. *kaldū* (!) given for "enough" instead of correct *kaddū*.

p. 203—Heb. *ḥāfēš* cited as a transitive verb; it regularly takes preposition *be* before its object, rarely the accusative; Arab. *samī'a* "hear" would have been a correct example here.

p. 204—the statement that Semitic has no tense properly speaking,



only aspect, reflects an old theory which seems certainly incorrect (cf. Bauer, *Die Tempora im Semitischen* [Berlin, 1910]).

- p. 207—reflexive, reciprocal, and intensive verb forms are incorrectly called aspects; reflexive and reciprocal are voices, being coördinate with active and passive, the intensive is equivalent to a simple verb with adverbial modification.
- p. 215—Arab. *qad* does not, as here stated, make a pluperfect; it simply emphasizes the past character of the act, but may on occasion give the force of a pluperfect.
- p. 263—the statement “all Semitic alphabets except Akkadian and Ethiopic (Akkadian writing is of course not alphabetic, and Ethiopic is more properly syllabic) originally indicated only consonants” is not correct; the earliest form of Ethiopic writing is strictly consonantal, cf. my article “The Development of Symbols for the Vowels in the Alphabets derived from the Phoenician,” *J. A. O. S.*, LXI, 3, p. 396, n. 9 end, and pp. 409-410.
- p. 319—Aramaic  $\sqrt{ml}$  does not occur in Qal as quoted, viz., *mālal*; only in intensive *mallel*.
- p. 359—emphatic sounds are incorrectly coördinated with the place categories, uvular, palatal, etc.
- p. 362—Gen. 31, 47 is given as being in Aramaic; only two words are Aramaic. Etc., etc.

Many of the author's statements with regard to general grammar leave much to be desired. His treatment of the parts of speech (chap. VI) where he attempts the impossible task of defining them on the basis of their forms is especially infelicitous (cf. my review of Hjelmslev's *Principes de Grammaire Générale in Language*, VII, 1 [1931], pp. 49-54; and my article on the semantic approach to language study cited above). His consideration of case in chap. VII on the Grammatical Categories, in which he fails to discuss case meaning as distinct from case form (cf. my article “A Semantic Analysis of Case,” *Curme Volume = Language Monographs of L. S. A.*, VII [1930], pp. 34-49) is unsatisfactory even from a formal point of view; his conclusions with regard to the original significance of the most important individual cases are based entirely on Indo-European. His assumption that inflection is a necessary concomitant of all language seems ridiculous in view of the fact that many languages are without it.

Many criticisms of matters of detail might be added in addition to those covered by the other reviewers, with most of which I am in agreement; e. g.:

- p. XIV—Dutch *sch* is said to equal *sk*; the pronunciation that I learned from a native Dutchman = *sh* i. e., *s* + *ch* in Germ. *ach*.
- p. 54—the French rounded *w*, viz. [u] is called the voiced counterpart of [j] = English *y*!
- p. 72—“sandhi is regularly expressed in written form only in Sanskrit”: How about the lenation and eclipsis of Old Irish, the use of Daghesh lene and Raphe (expressed or understood) with Hebrew initial consonants, and the Quššāiā and Rukkāchā in Syriac?

- p. 91—"words were at first vague and general in connotation, evolving specialized meanings only by degrees"; the reverse seems to have been the case.
- p. 139—"Walloon, a Romance dialect"; why not a French patois?
- p. 170—"the preposition and the adverb were originally the same"; certainly not in all cases, some prepositions are derived from pronominal elements, e.g., Akkadian *ša*, Aramaic *dā*, *de*.
- p. 182—here the *pluralis paucitatis* of Arabic might have been mentioned.
- p. 208—mood "is virtually an aspect"; mood denotes the attitude of mind with which a thing is said; aspect, however, as usually understood, refers to the character of the continuity of the time of the verb as distinguished from the tense or time point of the verb.
- pp. 220ff.—participles, gerunds, and gerundives are all called adjectives; this is true of course of participles and the Latin gerundive, but gerunds are always verbal nouns (another form of infinitive) in Latin and in any other language (e.g. English, French) where the term is correctly used.
- p. 223—the past and future of Amerindian nouns mentioned here are no more tenses than English *pastmaster* or *bride-to-be*.
- p. 234—the author does not recognize the difference between the *es* in *es hohlte* (sic) *ihn der Herr* (expletive) and that in *es regnet* (situation).
- p. 286—French *cent* [sē]; should be [sā] with nasal *a*; there is no nasal *e fermé* in Modern French; this must be a misprint.
- p. 324—"and the discovery of this stop (?) "referring to Hittite fricative *h*. Etc., etc.

One phase of Harris' criticism, viz. that Gray follows throughout a "mentalistic theory," calls for some remark. Gray, though completely committed to the extreme formalist position that language study must be approached only through the forms presented by the language, and that, if there are no definite forms to indicate any given idea, that idea does not exist in the language, is nevertheless driven in many cases to depart from this position and to approach his problem from the point of view of meaning (apparently what Harris means by his use of a "mentalistic theory," p. 226; cf. his statement p. 223: "Though Gray says that classification must be by form . . . the criteria which are actually used in the book are semantic almost throughout"). It is perfectly possible and absolutely necessary in any complete treatment of linguistics to employ both formal and semantic methods. Harris also objects to "the guesses about the early development of language" which Gray permits himself, stating that they are "almost as dangerous" as any discussion of the origin of language, which both Harris and Gray agree "for the present . . . must be ruled out of the sphere of scientific consideration." Gray's guesses are certainly not unscientific in principle. It is just as legitimate to speculate on the question of origins in linguistics as it is in matters of prehistory, provided that the speculations conform to such facts as we have; which in the case of prehistory are artifacts and present conditions of backward peoples, in the case of glottogony, the knowledge of

linguistic reactions and linguistic processes gained from general linguistic study. It is perfectly possible for such speculations so controlled to lead to important linguistic results.

*Foundations of Language*, therefore, does not present either a complete or a clear encyclopedic treatment of its subject. The discussion of Indo-European material is good, though not free from error, but it would seem clear that the book is hardly to be regarded as a safe guide in any subject outside of this field. While the work offers little or nothing not already treated in former books on language, chapters XI and XII, "Classification of Languages," and chapter XIII, "The History of the Study of Language," with their bibliographical notes, present convenient and valuable summaries of these topics, while the numerous illustrative Indo-European examples are of importance to any student of Indo-European linguistics.

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JEAN HUBAUX and MAXIME LEROY. *Le Mythe du Phénix dans les Littératures grecque et latine.* Liège and Paris, E. Droz, 1939. Pp. xxxvi + 266. (*Bibl. de la Fac. de Phil. et Let. de l'Univ. de Liège*, LXXXII.)

By an alert scrutiny of all that relates to the phoenix-legend in classical literature Messrs. Hubaux and Leroy have succeeded in giving it a fulness of meaning hardly suspected by earlier students. Assuming that the cardinal motives were present from the start, though mention of some of them is not early, they display extraordinary learning and ingenuity in picking up the traces of the phoenix even where these are faint, not to say obliterated. They begin with the texts and rather free translations of the more extensive accounts (all late) of this mythical fowl: Lactantius, Claudian, pseudo-Baruch, and two versions of the Greek *Physiologus*, and then in eight chapters discuss the chief motives of the legend: 1. The phoenix as the bird of the Sun and astronomy; 2. The *cortège* of birds that accompanies the phoenix; 3. The habitat of the phoenix; 4. The spices gathered by the phoenix for its pyre; 5. The homonyms, especially the palm-tree; 6. The crossing of the phoenix-legend and the eagle-legend; 7. Phoenix and eagle in the legend of Alexander; 8. Eagle and phoenix in Roman imperial legend and propaganda.

Besides following, often very far afield, the connections among the chief motives of the legend, the book has a forward movement in the attempt to show that the Roman eagle is a close relation of the phoenix. Chapter 6 is crucial, containing the evidence for the crossing of the two legends. This evidence, apart from minor motives such as the title "king of birds," mainly falls under two themes, that of *renovatio* or revival, and that of the "carrier-bird," of which the first is the more striking since carrier-legends attach to other birds besides eagle and phoenix. Nevertheless the conclusion is warranted that in some elements the legends of the two birds inter-

penetrate. The authors do not pretend to decide in which legend these elements are original. In the succeeding chapters (7-8) one hardly knows what the writers assert, or at times whether they assert anything. The drift seems to be that the phoenix and, more often, the eagle both occur in the legend of Alexander as symbols of *renovatio* and as "carrier-birds," and that by imitation the same symbols reappear in the legends of Augustus and the Julio-Claudian family. Only it is hard to find the phoenix in the legends of Augustus and his successors, and here the authors, who have prepared for this in Chap. 5, rely on stories of the homonym, the palm-tree. More convincing is their support of the view of O. Keller that the eagle of the imperial *consecratio* (released from a pyre of aromatics at the moment of burning) represents a fusion of eagle and phoenix; among their parallels most interesting is Lucian's *Peregrinus*, with their interpretation. As we advance into the Empire an interest in these symbols is seen to increase; on the imperial coinage eagle and phoenix represent the same abstractions (p. 249); and finally in the fourth century, in the general effort to accomplish for the Empire a work of revival, both symbols of *renovatio* were in notable favor, and in this atmosphere of hope the myth of the phoenix received its most elaborate literary form in the *Carmen de ave phoenice*. Thus our authors, while declining a formal discussion of the authorship of this poem, at least hint that it need not be placed against a Christian background.

A principal object of the book is, by a general study of the myth, to cast light upon numerous scattered passages of literature, and in these interpretations the quality of the work reveals itself. The hunt for the phoenix, so to put it, is pursued with gusto, far and wide—possibly two hunters are bolder than one; and they lay before us some unexpected game, insisting that it is the phoenix. There is, for instance, Trimalchio's boar.

The boar, it is recalled, is brought into the dining-hall having on its head a freedman's cap, while from its tusks hang palm-leaf baskets full of dates; around it are arranged sucking pigs, in pastry, indicating that it is a sow; a huntsman pierces its flank, and thrushes fly out, which are caught and prepared for the guests; the dates are served. Hubaux and Leroy maintain that this is a culinary rebus. The preceding dish was something of the sort—the Zodiac—and Trimalchio in expounding it had remarked: "Oportet etiam inter cenandum philologiam nosse." Here we have only the start of a solution when Encolpius' neighbor informs him that the freedman's cap marks the boar as having been refused (i. e. freed) by the guests of the day before. How explain the remaining points? By homonyms and a passage from Pliny (*N. H.*, XIII, 42) wherein is described a palm-tree unique of its kind: it dies and is reborn from itself with the phoenix, and it produces a date called *syagros*. The palm-leaf baskets are the key: the boar (of uncertain sex, like the phoenix) is of course itself *syagros* and hence=palm=phoenix. The thrushes suggest the idea "bird." A clever argument, though the freedman's cap does not come very well into the solution, even if the authors mean, but dare not say, that the boar is thereby shown to be like the phoenix *rechauffé*! But we have the right to complain that they omit the beginning and the end of the scene. At the

beginning coverlets are spread depicting the hunt, a clamor is heard outside, and Spartan hounds enter and course about the table; only now is the object of this mimic hunt, the boar, carried in. Attention is fixed upon the boar as boar. If another meaning was intended, was not Petronius unskilful in burying it so completely? At the end a slave impersonating Bacchus receives from Trimalchio his freedom, with a pun—"Dionyse, Liber esto"—and thereupon takes from the boar the cap of freedom and puts it on. Was not this display Trimalchio's only destination of the cap from the beginning? The explanation offered by Encolpius' neighbor is perhaps no more than a malicious jest at the host's expense.

Another point that will interest readers of this lively book is the treatment of the text of Lactantius. Two new transpositions have been made, a minor one placing vv. 9-10 after v. 14, and a major one removing vv. 35-54 to a position between 90 and 91. I pass over the first except to say that the reasons for it are more like those of a modern critic than those of an ancient poet. The second shift is based on the findings of the authors' mythological study, and is, at least on first sight, attractive. The acts of the phoenix, which in the traditional text read as daily rites performed by her as priestess of the Sun, become instead rites in preparation of her combustion. The authors have found that these acts—ablutions, song, beating of wings—are, when present in other versions of the story, associated with the death of the phoenix. Now a difficulty has long been felt at this point, not from anything in the poem, but because the paraphrase by Gregory of Tours places these acts before the combustion. Lactantius should have arranged his material in this way, and Gregory testifies that he did so.

Before accepting this transposition, however, others will weigh certain considerations passed over in silence by Hubaux and Leroy. It may be urged that Gregory's abstract is hopelessly confused on every point, not alone on this one, and that, as long as all his differences cannot be defended by rearrangement of Lactantius, it is doubtful whether one, even the most significant, can be safely so treated. Again, they suppose that Lactantius follows only the tradition in which the phoenix dies, and not the tradition in which it follows the sun in his daily course. But are these distinctions likely to have been so sharp to Lactantius? His phoenix is, after all, *Phoebe satellites*. He builds her up as priestess of the Sun, and it seems inevitable that he should describe her rites. If these rites originally went with another part of the story, it is easier to believe that Lactantius or his source turned them to their present purpose than to blink certain, albeit small, disturbances occasioned in the poem by moving the lines. Possibly it is not much that *atque eadem* [*phoenix*] will follow *Natura parens*, and *atque* lose force (34-5=54-5). More serious, the *fons vivus* (25), so pointedly *vivus* (*quem vivum nomine dicunt*), is left, with its twelve outpourings, without a function, while *pias undas* (37=72) and *vivo gurgite* (38=73), in which the bird twelve times plunges, now must designate some waters of Syria, not mentioned before and hence without claim to the epithets: *pias* and *vivo* are robbed of force and fall idle. In the *Solis nemus* the poet has provided a kind of tall tree (29-30). Presumably he means to use these trees. And accordingly, when the

phoenix prepares for her second morning rite, we have: *Tollitur ac summo considit in arboris altae/ vertice, quae totum despicit una nemus*. Having employed the fountain she employs one of the trees, in the order in which these properties had been introduced. The couplet is less significant as referring to the palm-tree of the burning-scene. The relative clause is restrictive, whereas the palm-tree has been fully designated, and needs neither a restrictive nor a descriptive clause, still less the word *una*; and *nemus* is the right word for the sacred grove, not for the *silva remota* of v. 48=68. Worse yet, if this distich is set in the middle of the burning-scene, it is not clear that the phoenix ever gets back into her nest for the combustion: *arboris vertex* cannot be vaguely taken for *nidus*. The poet has his eye fixed very intently on the burning-scene, following each move of the phoenix with precision. She has built her nest, has gathered her spices—a gorgeous array—and the pulse of the poem quickens: “forthwith she lays her body, capable of change, in the nest and on the life-giving couch her quiet limbs.” And “forthwith,” by the new text, she apparently goes to sleep for the night:

Protinus instructo corpus mutabile nido  
 Vitalique toro membra quieta locat.  
 Lutea cum primum surgens Aurora rubescit,  
 Cum primum rosea sidera luce fugat,  
 Ter quater illa pias inmergit corpus in undas, etc.

*Protinus* surely heralded more than that; when *protinus* entered the poet's mind he meant to hold the line of thought, action, and time:

Protinus instructo corpus mutabile nido  
 Vitalique toro membra quieta locat.  
 Ore dehinc sucos membris circumque supraque  
 Inicit, exequiis inmoritura suis.  
 Tunc inter varios animam commendat odores, etc.

The transposition destroys the proportions of the poem and disturbs the expression.

These two examples, from Petronius and Lactantius, are not, I think, unrepresentative. They suggest, if I am right, the danger for ingenious heads of this kind of study: that the attention occupied by the general concept may not fully accommodate itself to the individual *locus* in its “natural” context. Fortunately, the advantages of the method are also conspicuously present: we have a whole connected body of motives brought together in intelligible relation, and many of the resulting *rapprochements* will probably hold. But the reader must bring his own caution.

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THEODORE MEIER. Das Wesen der spartanischen Staatsordnung: Nach einer kritischen, geschichtlichen und rechtsrechtlichen Voraussetzungen. Leipzig, Borchardt, 1920. Pp. viii + 192. (Zürcher, Borchardt, No. 11: Neue Folge, Heft 29.)

This monograph presents (1) a biological interpretation of Spartan society, and (2) a political interpretation of the course of Sparta's internal develop-

ment, and of her foreign policy as well, was largely determined by the operation of biological forces; and (2) a study of the Spartan system of landholding and of its effect on Spartan life and on Greek political theory.

Apart from bibliography, introductory and recapitulatory chapters, and index, the monograph falls into two sections. The first deals with the three classes which constituted the Lacedaemonian body politic; the second, and longer, section deals with the relationship of the Spartiate family to the soil and with the philosophers' misunderstanding of the real nature of this relationship.

The proposition that "the history of Sparta is the history of the Spartiates" is stated at the outset, and the course of racial development and decline in this ruling class is sketched. In early times there was a steady increase in the number of its members, a fact attested by their conquests and colonizing activities; this trend, however, had ceased by the beginning of the 6th century B. C., and their number remained constant throughout that century; then, with the coming of the 5th century, decrease set in. Cultural advance and recession followed a parallel course. Diminution in racial vigor first becomes apparent about the middle of the 6th century. The change, which occurred at that time, from a policy of conquest and attempted conquest to one of cultivating alliances was an indication of waning vitality. Biological, economic, artistic, and ethical deterioration went hand in hand.

The Spartiates maintained with an extremely high degree of success their Doric racial purity. Persons born outside their group practically never became citizens, and the few clear instances of the conferring of citizenship on outsiders merely serve to prove the rule. The decline in numbers in the dominant caste inevitably resulted in the weakening of the "Nordic" character of Sparta. This decline, incidentally, was not due to casualties in war but to biological and economic causes. War losses would not have been serious if the birth-rate had been maintained. As long as Sparta was at the height of her vigor and was plentifully infused with the martial spirit, the losses were easily made up; but when her vigor declined and her policy became more cautious, war, which was unavoidable in spite of precautions, dealt incurable wounds. The destructive effects of war were not a cause but a symptom of racial deterioration. Indeed, the real causes of this deterioration are uncertain. It may be that conditions of life in Mediterranean lands were not altogether suitable for a group which had come from the north and which had undergone practically no racial dilution. However that may be, it is clear that decline in the birth-rate and a change in spiritual attitude were closely linked together.

The Perioeci were of the same stock as the Spartiates, but were less exclusive. Their special political position was due to the close ties of blood which had originally existed between the two groups. Whether the perioecic settlements were established at the time of the original conquest of Laconia or were founded later as colonies, under the pressure of increasing population at Sparta, is an open question. But whatever may have been the origin of these settlements, exiles from abroad were welcomed in the frontier regions and there was a considerable amount of racial fusion. (It may be noted that, in spite

of the date on the title-page, J. A. O. Larsen's article on *Περίοικοι* in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R. E.*, XIX, cols. 815-833, of which cols. 815-822 deal with Sparta, was apparently not yet available when this monograph was written.)

As for the Helots, those of Messenia differed in important respects from those of Laconia. Parallel Dorian invasions had occurred in the two regions in early times. But in Messenia, perhaps because of the numerical weakness of the invaders, no sharp line of separation had been drawn between the Dorians and their victims, and there was much intermixture between them. Hence it was that in the Messenian Wars the Spartans were aware that they were fighting an enemy to whom they were themselves related by blood. In Laconia, on the other hand, where no such intermixture took place, the Helots consisted exclusively of descendants of the pre-Dorian population of the district, a large part of which may actually have been in a state of serfdom long before the coming of the Spartiates and merely have changed masters when these displaced the Achaean ruling class. The ethnic composition of the Helot population is uncertain, except that a considerable "Mediterranean" strain was included.

The Spartans, in the earliest days, possessed customs and institutions closely resembling those which were common throughout Greece. Most of these customs and institutions survived longer in Sparta than elsewhere; and, when they changed, the change was gradual. There was no sudden transformation of the Spartan way of life, as has often been assumed; and the significance of Lycurgus, or of a hypothetical later lawgiver whose reforms were attributed to Lycurgus, has been greatly exaggerated in modern times, as it was in antiquity. The various features of the Spartan system were all supposed by Greek theorists to have had their origin in specific enactments of a lawgiver, even though in almost every instance some corresponding feature existed at an early period in other Greek communities.

The slow process of development which led to the strict ascetic regime of which we hear at the time of the Peloponnesian War had not gone very far in the 6th century. This is shown by the continuing interest in the arts attested for that period. Distinguished foreign artists (see Pausanias, III, 12, 10; 18, 9; 18, 11; 18, 14) were at work at Sparta and at Amyclae as late as about 520, and it was only at the end of the century that there was noticeable deterioration in the quality of Lacedaemonian pottery.

Conspicuous among the institutions which the Spartans shared with other early Greeks was the system of landed property. The almost mystical bond between the family and the soil, sanctioned by religious sentiment and owing its strength to something deeper and more creative than conscious political planning, was a fundamental feature of this system. In the course of time the economic significance of the system came to the fore, and the temporary possessor began to think of the property as his own personal possession, not as the possession of the family. The feeling of solidarity in the family broke down, and the strong sense of duty with regard to its continuation was lost. The change from the religious to the economic conception of land-holding created the feeling that it was desirable to beget only as many children as the inheritance could provide subsistence for, and this was



an important factor in the decline of the birth-rate. (Incidentally, no reference is made anywhere to the control of numbers by infanticide.) In Sparta the separation of the family from the soil and the weakening of the religious feeling within the family group occurred much later than in most Greek states, in so many of which aristocracy of blood was very early transformed into aristocracy of wealth.

The number of the allotments, in spite of Plutarch's statement to the contrary in his biography of Lycurgus (16, 1), did not usually coincide with that of the Spartiates. In early times the number of Spartiates exceeded that of the allotments, while in later times the opposite was true. In the period when they were most numerous the Spartiates numbered perhaps about 10,000.

Since the necessities of life were adequately provided for by the family allotments and few other wants were felt, the use of money was slow in gaining a foothold in Sparta. Furthermore, since the economic structure of the community was such a simple one, the effect of the introduction of a money economy, when it did come about, was disastrous. There is no proof that there was any legal ban on money previous to 404 B. C. There had been money in Sparta long before then, in both public and private possession. The prohibition of the private possession of money in that year was designed to prevent the bringing in of Lysander's spoils and Persian subsidies, and it was never carried out in practice, except temporarily in the case of Lysander and his followers. It was in the 5th and 4th centuries that Sparta was most completely shut off from the outside world, and it was during this period that its decline was most rapid, not only economically but in other respects as well.

The Spartan way of life had a special fascination for Greek political theorists. They misinterpreted many of the customs, however, in their desire to make them conform with their own social and political ideals. In the various connected accounts of Spartan institutions which have come down to us, as well as in much that we are told about Sparta in other sources, there are serious distortions of the truth, due to the idealizing tendencies of these theorists. In fact, almost all of the information about Sparta which we get from Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, and Plutarch is colored, directly or indirectly, by philosophical speculations concerning the ideal commonwealth. In some instances it is merely the interpretation of facts which is distorted, in others the facts themselves. A notable example of the latter situation is what we are told about marriage and the sharing of wives and husbands. The existing accounts of these matters were derived from Plato's theories concerning the community of wives and children in the *Republic* rather than from the actual state of affairs in Sparta. The dissolution of strict family ties is regularly attributed in our sources to Lycurgus, but it was in reality a late development and a symptom of Sparta's decline. Again, the theorists attributed to Sparta a system whereby an unvarying number of equal allotments was maintained. But such a system was purely imaginary. On the other hand, the attachment of each family to an inherited piece of property was a part of the Spartan system. But here the theorists assigned an entirely different purpose to the institution from that which originally brought it into being.

The fact that Sparta waged many wars does not justify the conclusion that she was essentially militaristic. Even in the earlier period she did not wage war for its own sake or from imperialistic motives. Sparta's external power, as usually happens, first reached its height at a time when its internal vigor had already passed its prime and when biological deterioration had set in. The traditional Spartan discipline was the product of the efforts made to meet the dangers inherent in that situation. The result was the ever increasing segregation of the Spartiates and their development into a warrior caste. Their division into two parties at the time of the Peloponnesian War was the clearest of all the symptoms of Sparta's decay. For it was the uniformity in race, experience, and outlook existing among the members of the ruling class that had produced her greatness.

From the foregoing summary of the principal views propounded it will be apparent that the author of the monograph has himself not wholly avoided falling into the error which he has condemned in ancient writers on Sparta—that of viewing the Spartans and their way of life in the light of the presuppositions of a particular political creed. Not a few of his assumptions are highly questionable, to say the least. The style of writing, moreover, is often pretentious and not always lucid. In the discussion of details, however, there is much that is interesting and illuminating, especially with regard to economic matters; and the point that the Greek political theorists misinterpreted various features of the Spartan regime is well worth emphasizing.

The monograph was the outgrowth of a joint seminar on Sparta, held at Königsberg in 1936-1937 and participated in by instructors and students of the ancient languages, ancient history, and archaeology. That the reading of the members of the seminar was largely confined to works in the German language is suggested by the bibliography. Of the approximately fifty titles two are of works in French and two are of German translations of foreign works (Grote's *History of Greece* and Fustel de Coulange's *La cité antique*). The *Cambridge Ancient History*, though not listed in the bibliography, is referred to once, in a footnote in which Wade-Gery's views concerning the effect of the Second Messenian War on the Spartan way of life are rejected in a perfunctory manner. No other books or articles in English are even mentioned. These facts are perhaps not without significance.

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Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler. Edited by W. M. CALDER and JOSEF KEIL. Manchester University Press, 1939. Pp. xviii + 382; 11 plates. 25 s.

This handsome volume has a unity of subject and a sustained level of excellence and is a worthy tribute to a scholar of outstanding skill, thoroughness, and generosity. His publications, of which there is a list (pp. xiii ff.) contain nothing trivial: *vir de Anatolia optime*

*meritus* may be set with the appropriate dedication W. H. B.  $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu$   $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\psi$  οἱ  $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\iota$ .

*Pre-Greek period.* Winifred Lamb's "Some recent developments in Anatolian archaeology" (pp. 129 ff.) is a welcome discussion of scattered material, and brings out that unity in diversity which continued to characterize Asia Minor (p. 132: note also p. 144 on the *megaron*, p. 145 on town planning, p. 148 on cremation). E. Littmann's classification of non-Semitic place names in Northern Syria (pp. 151 ff.) suggests another line of attack on problems of pre-history: all roads met in Aleppo, as the specimens of the minor arts in its museum show.<sup>1</sup> K. Bittel studies a Hittite symbol and a later emblem of royalty which may be a survival of it (pp. 9 ff.).

*Greek Period.* Fr. Miltner (pp. 191 ff.) supports an early date for the first Milesian colonization on the south of the Black Sea. E. S. G. Robinson's article "Coin-legends in Carian script" (pp. 269 ff.) and Sir George Hill's "Some notes on the coinage of Cyprus" (pp. 89 ff.) are both precise and delicate (the latter illustrates "the indefinite sort of independence" which Cyprus enjoyed in the Persian empire). B. D. Meritt throws light on the Carian part of the Athenian tribute-quota lists (pp. 187 ff.), and T. B. Mitford publishes a dedication by the priest-king Nicocles of Paphos, conventional in language but carved on a stele of curious shape (pp. 197 ff.). A. Wilhelm's "Athen und Kolophon" (pp. 345 ff.) restores various texts, makes some masterly observations on points of language, and shows how Colophon financed its new walls. D. M. Robinson, "Three marble heads from Anatolia" (pp. 249 ff.), publishes three interesting pieces with a very full commentary.

Fr. Cumont, "Mithra en Asie mineure" (pp. 67 ff.) is brief and brilliant. The explanation (p. 68) of  $\epsilon\acute{\mu}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\nu\sigma\epsilon$   $\text{Μίθρῃ}$  in the Ariaramneia inscription as "celebrated a Mazdaean ceremony" and not "devint mage de Mithra" is convincing. If we had  $\mu\alpha\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\sigma\alpha\varsigma$   $\text{Μίθρῃ}$  accompanied by or implying some such verb as  $\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon$ , "made a dedication," we should have to think of the second: and even then on the analogy of  $\iota\epsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\iota\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  the sense would probably be "having served as Magos."<sup>2</sup>  $\epsilon\acute{\mu}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\nu\sigma\epsilon$ , as Cumont now understands it, is parallel to *tradiderunt leontiacā*, etc., *ostenderunt cryflos*, *taurobolium fecit*, *vires excepit*, *ἐνεβάτευσαν*—all recording solemn ceremonies.<sup>3</sup> It may be added that even in orthodox Avestan practice men and women were alike allowed to assist and even to officiate in certain ritual acts.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, I do not see that a dedication  $\text{Ἡλῷ Μίθρᾳ}$ , dated 77/8 A. D. and accompanied by the bust of a figure with a Phrygian cap, proves the presence of Mithraic mysteries (pp. 69 f.); it does not necessarily show more than the worship of Mithras as a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. now W. F. Albright, *Bull. Amer. Sch. Orient. Res.*, LXXVIII (April, 1940), p. 26, on the status of Aleppo.

<sup>2</sup> "Acted as Magos" would be possible also if the phrase came at the end of a record: like  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\pi\eta\tau\epsilon\nu\sigma\alpha\nu$  in a text published by Keil in this volume (pp. 120 f.).

<sup>3</sup> In the Latin-speaking world such acts are commonly dated: one Nama ("blessing on . . .") text at Dura has month and day (Cumont-Rostovtzeff, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos*, VII/VIII, pp. 119 f.).

<sup>4</sup> J. Darmsteter, *The Zend-Avesta*, I, pp. 307 (with n. 3), 309, 327.

deity evoking reverence; and the Mithrakana, as observed by a society at Amorium founded for a funerary cult, need not be more than a festival which had survived from the time of Persian rule:<sup>5</sup> so Gurob in the third century B. C. had a sanctuary of Mithras, which possessed livestock.<sup>6</sup> We cannot, however, fail to agree with Cumont that Asia Minor was the birthplace of Mithraic initiations; and he produces fresh evidence and illuminating considerations.

M. Rostovtzeff, "Some remarks on the monetary and commercial policy of the Seleucids and Attalids" (pp. 277 ff.) is pioneer work. Rostovtzeff analyzes the known coin-hoards of the Hellenistic period and draws most important conclusions for economic and political history.

*Roman period, etc.* Tenney Frank's "Plautus comments on Anatolian affairs" (pp. 85 ff.) has all the freshness of his writing. A. H. M. Jones (pp. 103 ff.) and D. Magie (pp. 161 ff.) each contribute valuable studies of Rome's relations with Near Eastern cities (note pp. 105 f. on the relations of Hellenistic kings. Cf. now C. B. Welles, *A. J. A.*, XLIV [1940], p. 562). J. G. C. Anderson studies Pompey's arrangement of Pontus, as well as the ancient division of the Euxine into two parts (pp. 1 ff.: note p. 4 on Strabo's vagueness). R. Syme's "Observations on the province of Cilicia" (pp. 299 ff.) is notable and bears on the chronology of Cicero's letters: he remarks (p. 331) on the problem of Quirinius, to which Sir William Ramsay returns in "Early history of province Galatia" (pp. 201 ff.; note p. 206 on dea Iulia Augusta). M. N. Tod contributes a neat study (pp. 333 ff.) of the *corrector* Maximus (Pliny, *Ep.*, VIII, 24) and on characters in inscriptions who have been identified with him.

To come to cultural and religious history L. Robert's "Inscriptions grecques d'Asie Mineure" (pp. 227 ff.) is masterly (note p. 234 on the "style emphatique et recherché," of which *Corpus Hermeticum*, XVIII affords another instance; p. 239 should be noted for I Corinthians 9, 25: readers of St. Paul need to be reminded of the multiplicity of local contests and crowns). A. Cameron's full study of *θεμετός* and related terms in the inscriptions of Asia Minor (pp. 27 ff.) throws welcome light on various forms of the institution of the fosterchild within a complicated system of family and group relationships, and on its relation to slavery (note p. 47 for Acts 13, 1).<sup>7</sup> J. J. E. Hondius, "De Bithyniae titulo honorario" (pp. 99 ff.), publishes a pleasant distich on one Cornutus who seems to have taught the art of poetry as well as rhetoric: this bears on the literary ambitions of minor provincials.

J. Keil, "Kulte im Prytaneion von Ephesos" (pp. 119 ff.), gives

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, XI, p. 530 points strongly in this direction; cf. Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, II, p. 457. Many rites have been reinterpreted or even secularized (e.g. the Katagogia at Ephesus: H. Delehayé in this volume, p. 78). The Amorium association (B. Laum, *Stiftungen*, II, p. 135, nos. 175-6) was established to pay honor to Cyrilla, who could hardly have been a Mithraic initiate; her father, who was liberal to the group, may have been one, but the text proves nothing; Cumont does not claim that.

<sup>6</sup> J. G. Smyly, *P. Gurob* (*R. Irish Acad., Cunningham Memoirs*, XII [1921]), no. 22.

<sup>7</sup> *P. Oxy.*, 903, 3 might be added to his excellent comparative material.

a fascinating study of six texts of the Ephesian Curetes, whose records were inscribed on the columns of a building which formed part of the Prytaneion, and makes it probable that this college acquired larger responsibilities for worship about the beginning of the third century A. D. He sees in this a symptom of the times:<sup>8</sup> "der Abwehrkampf der alten Poliskulte gegen die fremden Religionen, vor allem gegen das mächtig anwachsende Christentum, der sich im zweiten Jahrhundert in einer Intensivierung der Kulte und besonders der Mysterienfeiern äussert" (p. 128). Here a word of caution is required. Defensive self-assertion in face of the rise of Christianity (probably conspicuous in Ephesus) is likely: but there was no serious advance of other strange cults in Western Asia Minor at this time, as is shown by the almost complete absence of new temples associated with them. Further, in the latter part of the second century A. D. Apollo of Claros was encouraging the worship of all deities, and Apollo of Didyma commended the cult of Sarapis.<sup>9</sup> In any case, the stress on old cults, though now much more emphatic, continues something which we can observe before the end of the second century B. C. These texts add a greater urgency of intercession.

*Christian.* W. M. Calder, "The Eumeneian formula" (pp. 15 ff.), discusses the well-known threat to violators of tombs *ἐσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν (ζῶντα) θεόν*, with a convincing analysis of the geographical distribution of the evidence and valuable remarks on the general nature of what is often called crypto-Christian language. C. W. M. Cox, "Bishop Heortasius of Appia" (pp. 63 ff.) publishes a verse epitaph: the bishop is called an "esteemed eunuch"—whether literally, and therefore heretical, or metaphorically, and possibly orthodox. H. Delehaye, "Les Actes de Saint Timothée" (pp. 77 ff.) is a small masterpiece, showing exactly what the character and historical value of these *Acta* are and blowing aside various webs which had been spun around them.

To sum up, a superb volume.

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PAUL PÖSTGENS. Tibulls Ambarvalgedicht (II, 1). Würzburg-Aumühle, Konrad Triltsch, 1940. Pp. vi + 91. (*Kieler Arbeiten zur klassischen Philologie*, VI.)

In a review of Mauriz Schuster's *Tibull-Studien* published in the preceding issue of this Journal, I expressed the opinion that Schuster's book represented the culmination of a scholarly method of approach which was fundamentally sound *per se* and capable of producing excellent results when handled by a scholar of Schuster's ability. To corroborate this opinion it was necessary to compare

<sup>8</sup> For the emphasis on Hestia cf. *Orph. H.*, 84 where Hestia is invoked to give blessings and is credited with *teletai* and *mystai*; also the third century magnification of Vesta at Rome (Nock, *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XXIII [1930], pp. 251 ff.). I hope to return to this point elsewhere.

<sup>9</sup> Th. Wiegand, *Sitzungsab. Berlin*, 1906, p. 258.

Schuster's method with those of earlier scholars and the discussion fell naturally into an historical form so organized as to indicate the genesis of Schuster's method and its place in the history of Tibullian scholarship. At the same time I pointed out that Pöstgens' monograph was governed by the same principles of investigation and that the discussion on which I was about to engage would furnish an adequate background for the present review. The reader, therefore, is referred to the earlier discussion as furnishing the historical background of Pöstgens' scholarly approach.

Pöstgens, like Schuster, is primarily interested in the problem of understanding the poetry of Tibullus. But, while the latter's treatment is comprehensive, Pöstgens concentrates his efforts on the study of a single poem which is rightly considered by competent critics to be one of Tibullus' finest achievements. Its poetry is of a high order and its composition and contents offer solid material for elucidation.

Pöstgens devotes his first chapter to the poem's composition. He analyzes its structure by following the flow of thought from part to part and examines words and phrases in relation to context and as poetical elements with an individuality of their own. His discussion is not a commentary in the sense of explaining the realities or calling attention to similarities in other poets by means of parallel references; nevertheless, in the course of his psychological and aesthetic exposition, he is led unavoidably to undertake some factual interpretation.

Now Pöstgens seems to have felt obliged to make an analytical and laudatory comment on almost every line. The most common poetical devices are discovered as hidden riches and the reader is left with the impression that the critic not only takes the poet under his wing but makes him over into what the critic wants him to be: a poet whose every verse is unusual, significant, moving, and highly artistic. The result of such fond treatment is more often wordy than enlightening, and much that is disappointing in this chapter can be attributed to an enthusiasm which lacks discrimination and is not sufficiently founded on precise interpretation. As example, it explains very little to write that "*Luce sacra statt festo die* ist sehr gewählt" in commenting on line 5 and to add in a note that *lux* signifying "day" occurs before and after Tibullus, but not in combination with the adjective *sacer*. For the conditions that influenced the choice of words were largely metrical and a study of Tibullus' inner metric shows that even the order of the noun and adjective was pretty well imposed by principles which Tibullus followed in writing an hexameter.

Again, to take an example of a different sort, do vv. 11-12:

Vos quoque abesse procul iubeo, discedat ab iris  
cui tulit hesterni gaudia nocte Venus

have a "gebietendes Pathos des Überlegenen, ein Pathos, das Tibull auch in den würdevollen und keuschen Worten des Pentameters beibehält"? If so, what could he said about such truly imperious lines as Horace, *Odes*, III, 1, 1-4? And, as to the dignified and chaste pentameter, did Pöstgens expect *praeefanda* from a poet who treats lubricity in words which need no apology (I, 9, 50 ff.), and is it a sign of superiority to use a circumlocution in speaking of

sexual matters in connection with a religious rite? After all, the speaker of the lines is the proprietor of a farm who is addressing his tenants and household on a religious festival and not an idler scratching on a Pompeian wall.

With regard to the larger sections into which Pöstgens divides the poem, I must take exception to his contention (p. 23) that the concept of the gods as benefactors of mankind runs through lines 37-66 in spite of the subdivision into material (37-50) and spiritual blessings (51-66). In line 37 Tibullus states expressly that he will sing of the country and the rustic gods. The words *illi* and *tum* show clearly by their balance and repetition that the gods dominate his train of thought through line 46. Lines 47 and 49 begin with *rura* and *rure*, the latter of which he picks up again in 59 and 61. This emphasis makes it clear that it is the country which is his chief theme from line 47 to 66 where he returns to a single god, Cupido, in order to introduce the erotic element. The two parts are closely related by their subject matter, of course, but Tibullus has treated them unmistakably as separate entities.

Pöstgens reaches Fowler's conclusion independently that the festival in question is the Ambarvalia (pp. 44-48). He also compares the description of Tibullus with that of Vergil, *Georgics*, I, 338-350 (pp. 49-52). The approach and purpose of the two poets are quite different, as he discerns, and his analysis of these elements bears scrutiny.

Less profitable, in my opinion, is the chapter (pp. 53-64) in which Pöstgens compares Tibullus' verses on the rustic gods and country life with the passages in Lucretius, V, 925 ff., and Vergil, *Georgics*, I, 125 ff., where successive stages in man's development are described. Under the impression that the entire passage, 37-66, represents "eine stetige Aufwärtentwicklung," Pöstgens ignores the changes in tense and the significant adverbs and adjectives which emphasize the element of time. In lines 37-46 the past tense and the words *primi*, *primum*, and *tum* show that the poet is thinking of the remote past when the gods were first instructing man in the arts of a civilized life. In lines 47-50 the tense changes to the present and emphasis is shifted to constantly recurring country events. In 51 the poet returns to the past tense to describe the origin of song, dance, and drama under country influence. The birth of *pietas* (59) is also described as having taken place under the same influence, but the following passage on woman's tasks (61-66) is put in the present as signifying recurring events. The passage, then, is far removed from being a description of the Ages of Man or his evolution, and it is misleading to compare it with passages which are. Tibullus does give us a traditional picture of the Golden Age and its successor in I, 3, 35-50 which might well be compared with the passages in Lucretius and Vergil. But, with regard to the passage in question, the instructive thing would have been to analyze the elements which Tibullus drew from the common thesaurus of classical primitivism in order to compose his praise of country life and the benefactions of the rustic gods and to see how he used much routine material to serve a new purpose in a new form.

Of all the chapters I found the last most interesting. In it Pöstgens studies a number of poems which show the same dramatic

element as Tibullus, II, 1, in that an audience is addressed which participates in the action of the poem and shares the emotions of the speaker. The outstanding examples are Hymns II, V, and VI of Callimachus and it is profitable to follow Pöstgens' analysis in which he demonstrates how this dramatic approach, used by Callimachus to make the traditional form of the Homeric hymn more vivid and personal, appears again just as effectively in poems of Catullus and Horace which are of a substantially different nature. Pöstgens' treatment of the subject, including the place of Tibullus, II, 1 in its development, is a neat chapter of literary history.

To summarize in conclusion, the monograph as a whole strikes me as a remarkably diligent piece of work the better parts of which are precisely those which did not require much more than earnest labor to be worked up satisfactorily. An analysis of poetry and the workings of the poet's mind calls for rarer qualities and Pöstgens was not well equipped, in my opinion, to carry out this part of his task. But it is to his credit that he ventured to evaluate a poem as poetry. The problems presented by this approach have too often been dismissed with the excuse that subjective elements enter unavoidably into their solution and the excuse has been strengthened by exaggerating the extent to which this is so. Yet the fact that the nature of a given piece of poetry cannot be explained by statistical tables alone should not make us forego the attempt to study its poetic values on the solid foundation of what can be learned from precise investigation. In this aspect of our classical studies sound scholarship and a mature and disciplined sense of aesthetic values must work together to achieve the best result.

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FREDERICK J. TEGGART. *Rome and China. A Study of Correlations in Historical Events.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1939. Pp. xvii + 283; 14 maps. \$3.00.

For many years Professor Teggart has been a useful critic of historians, and he has, at the same time, worked out some conclusions of his own concerning the method which should be employed if history is to be a science. Now, as a test of his own method, he has undertaken to apply it to the problem presented by the recurrent barbarian attacks on the Roman empire. The commonly accepted explanations of these attacks he characterizes as old theories, mostly those of the Romans themselves, which "have been retained and repeated with endless variations and elaborations, but without critical examination." Typical, I think, of what he objects to is this statement from the *Cambridge Ancient History*, XI, p. 82: "All along the borders of the civilized world there stretched a belt of turbulent peoples who were ignorant of the restraining influence of civilization but were eager to gain for themselves the riches it had produced." Those tired of reading such elaborations of the Roman literary tradition will be sympathetic toward Teggart's effort to find a new way of approaching the problem.



In accordance with this conception of scientific history, Teggart uses a comparative method. He does not, to be sure, undertake to compare as many instances as possible of conflicts between civilized empires and barbarian neighbors. Such a project might appeal to a sociologist in spite of its practical difficulties, but Teggart's conception of historical science provides a theoretical reason for limiting his problem to a particular period in time. While admitting in his methodological writings that all science has the common aim of determining "how things work," he maintains that a historical science, whether geology or human history, is distinguished by the aim of determining "how things have come to be as they are," and must therefore study processes in their actual relation in time. This seems to mean that historical science must consider how things worked in a particular stage of their development, in a particular portion of their becoming to be as they are. Consequently Teggart limited his comparisons to the period usually associated with the phrase, barbarian invasions. Then ". . . the procedure adopted was to set down, in chronological order, all known events, wars, and disturbances *in each separate kingdom or region of the continent of Eurasia, for a period of five hundred years.*" In *Rome and China* he assembles the results only for the period 58 B. C. to A. D. 107. Since he does not state why he presents the evidence for those years only, we are left to assume that only in that period did he find evidence of the correlation he considers significant.

The uniformity he has detected by this tabulation is briefly summarized: "Within these decades [58 B. C. to A. D. 107] every barbarian uprising in Europe followed the outbreak of war either on the eastern frontiers of the Roman empire or in the 'Western Regions' of the Chinese. Moreover, the correspondence in events was discovered to be so precise that, whereas wars in the Roman East were followed uniformly and always by outbreaks on the lower Danube and the Rhine, wars in the eastern T'ien Shan were followed uniformly and always by outbreaks on the Danube between Vienna and Budapest." So striking a correspondence of events in East and West suggests a causal connection. Teggart concludes that the uprisings in Europe were occasioned by the disturbances in the east because hostilities in the east interfered with traffic on established trade routes and so aroused hostilities at the other end. In short, the barbarian attacks were due to interruptions of trade.

Concerning the existence of a correspondence between wars in the East and invasions in the West, Teggart's demonstration leaves much to be desired. Any attempt at smooth flowing narrative is avoided, as inappropriate to historical science, yet the form of presentation adopted requires the reader to do some painful analysis himself in order to be sure just what constituted each of the "forty occasions on which uprisings took place in Europe." If the forty occasions were clearly numbered, the extraordinary way in which they are dissected out of the sequence of events would be more evident. For example: The invasion of Moesia by the Dacians in 85 and their defeat of the Romans in 86 apparently constitute one "occasion." The successful Roman campaign in Dacia in 88-89 another "occasion." The war of Domitian with the Quadi and Marcomanni in 89 is treated as a third occasion. The first of the above mentioned

"occasions" is correlated with the attack of Pan Ch'ao on Kashgar and a Roman defeat in Armenia, the second "occasion" is correlated with other events in the Near or Middle East, and the third is correlated with the wars waged by the Chinese against the Hsiung Nu in the T'ien Shan. Although Dio's explanation that Domitian made war against the Quadi and Marcomanni because they failed to aid him in the Dacian war is mentioned, Teggart decides to ignore, for purposes of causal analysis, the relation of these events to each other.

The most serious difficulty in the way the forty "occasions" are identified concerns the question whether they are "outbreaks of uniform character," even from the point of view of Teggart's problem. To treat historical events in the way Teggart desires, it is essential to establish that the events correlated are similar in that respect which is pertinent to the inquiry. Teggart sets out to explain the "barbarian invasions," yet in what he calls his "collection of data" he fails to determine what events are "invasions." Instead he slurs over that distinction in his accounts and then treats cryptic references to hostilities as if they were instances of invasion. It is especially disquieting to find the descriptive classification of a particular event undergoing modification from page to page. When the evidence about the successful Roman campaign in Dacia in 88-89 is first presented we are told, "war again broke out with the Dacians" (p. 129). The correlation of this war with events in the east is noted on p. 143, and on p. 236 we are told "there were no wars in the Roman East or the T'ien Shan which were not followed by the respective outbreaks in Europe." Thus the Dacian war of 88-89 has become an "outbreak" and on the very next page it is apparently an "uprising" and we are asked to count it among the occasions on which uprisings on the lower Danube followed conflicts in the Roman East.

Even if the fact of the correlation is not unassailable, the way in which Teggart tries to explain it raises interesting questions both of fact and of method. His confession of the need of "accounting for" the correlation is significant in a study which aims to test the methods of historical science. It shows that Teggart is not willing to let his problem rest until he has found an hypothesis explaining the state of mind of the participants in the "outbreaks." Generally the state of mind is not explicitly referred to, although on pp. 240-241 he writes: "It seems highly probable, for example, that the invasions of Armenia by the Parthians while Armenia was controlled by Rome, *were inspired by the suspicion* (italics mine) that the Romans had succeeded in diverting the movement of commodities from Central Asia to some route which avoided Parthian territory." Generally the hostile or discontented state of mind resulting from interruptions of trade is not mentioned explicitly, but it is implied throughout. The theory of interruption of trade is important for Teggart's demonstration precisely because it is this theory which enables the reader to "understand" the correlation, that is to imagine some understandable motivation in the human actors. A physicist does not need to arrive at any such "understanding" to account for relation between the density, pressure, and temperature of gasses, but in the study of human affairs even an investigator as devoted to scientific method as Teggart does feel the need of this understanding.

Abandoning the narrative form does not enable him to avoid altogether the subject of motives. On the other hand, he can claim that the validity of his hypothesis rests not on his psychological insight but on the establishment of the correlation and on the evidence that trade relations did in fact exist between the peoples mentioned. Unfortunately, the correlation depends on classifying as uprisings wars to which we have in many cases only the vaguest of references, and some of the evidence of trade routes and their disruption is highly tenuous. It is astonishing that the possibility of finding and explaining correlations in historical events should be tested on a theme which requires exploring a part of inner Europe about which, as he says, p. 217, there is a "total absence of historical data."

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R. PARIBENI, M. CANAVESI, *et al.* *Conferenze Augustee nel bimilenario della nascita*. Milan, Società editrice "Vita e Pensiero," 1939. Pp. 282. L. 25.

This volume of nine essays bears some superficial resemblance to the larger, more ambitious *Augustus: Studi in occasione del bimilenario Augusteo*; several topics are identical or closely similar, and one contributor, Paribeni, is common to both. But the present collection is much the less meaty, provocative, original of the two. One is not informed for what audience these lectures were designed; one presumes they must have been suited to that audience. But to the scholarly reader, even moderately acquainted with the Augustan period, the majority will be pretty elementary.

Roberto Paribeni under the title "Cesare e Augusto" (pp. 3-22) narrates briefly the familiar story of Caesar's career and more briefly that of Octavian to show the continuity between them. There is here nothing new in content, or particularly stimulating in manner.

Somewhat similarly Manlio Canavesi traces "La lotta per la successione di G. Cesare" (pp. 25-38), specifically the process of the formation by Octavian of a political following.

Aurelio Giuseppe Amateucci's contribution bears the self-explanatory title of "Augusto negli scrittori del suo tempo" (pp. 41-62); the discussion is quite superficial. Livy's history, one reads, ended at A. D. 9, not 9 B. C., "come alcuni a torto si ostinano a credere."

Giulio Giannelli, writing on "Augusto e Religione" (pp. 65-82), discusses the restoration of the state religion and the innovation of the imperial cult.

Leandro Zancan in "Augusto e la politica" (pp. 85-98) considers the essentials of that policy to be the unification of the Empire with the retention of Italy's primacy, and ("autentica originalissima innovazione") the foundation of the principate which was the focal center of Italy, provinces, armies, and all.

Far more satisfying, at least to the present reviewer, than any of the foregoing, is "I ritratti di Augusto" by Carlo Anti (pp. 101-117). Anti traces Augustus' physical development through the chronological series of the outstanding portraits, and then describes the different styles and manners of the portraits produced by the various centers of art—Asia Minor, Athens, Samos, Gaul, and Italy.

Aristide Calderini, discussing "Le riforme sociali di Augusto" (pp. 121-137), writes of the social and demographic legislation, and considers its ultimate failure to improve the moral standard of Roman society a plausible reason for Augustus' depression and discouragement in his last years.

The eighth essay, "La legislazione di Augusto" by Biondo Biondi, which constitutes very nearly half the volume (pp. 141-262), is the most original and valuable part of the book. The rubrics, some few excerpted phrases, and some brief comments upon the content will, it is hoped, provide an idea of the scope, scale, manner, and argument so far as is possible within the limits of this review. "Introduzione": The interest and importance of the subject and the relatively small amount of special study it has hitherto received; Biondi does not pretend to give "una rassegna, sia pur rapida e sommaria, della legislazione Augustea, che investe ogni campo della vita, sia pubblica che privata," but rather to direct "l'attenzione su quelle parti della vasta e completa legislazione che possano fornire un' idea precisa delle generali tendenze di essa, onde permettere un orientamento sicuro per una esatta valutazione dell' opera di Augusto." For the sake of brevity he omits administration, but summarily outlines that field with selected citations. "La legge e il potere legislativo": Biondi emphasizes that imperial law was no more a continuation of republican than the principate was of the republic, and that the source of law was now the will of the *princeps*, "non come potere distinto, ma come espressione del potere complessivo ed unitario del Principe," operating formally through *comitia*, praetors, and Senate. "Direttive della legislazione": the enemy of the state after Actium was "quell' individualismo, misto di egoismo e di scettico intellettualismo, che fu la fatale conseguenza della espansione di Roma nel mondo e della disgregazione della antica famiglia patriarcale." Biondi makes effective use of Horace's "*ordinem / rectum evaganti frena licentiae / iniecit emovitque culpas / et veteres revocavit artes*," of Augustus' own "*Legibus novis me auctore latis multa exempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nostro saeculo reduxi et ipse multarum rerum exempla imitanda posteris tradidi*," and of other phrases literary and numismatic. "La costituzione": Augustus realized the ideal formulated by Cicero in the words "una lex unus vir." The basis of Augustus' power was not the consulate, the tribunician power, or the proconsular imperium, merely verbal bases, nor *auctoritas*, sociological not juridical, nor a *lex de imperio*—if there was one it only legalized a political situation already existent—, nor the oath of all Italy before Actium, which could not be a legal basis, nor armed force, of which the principate availed itself but on which it was not founded. "Bisogna dire che il nuovo ordinamento poggia sul fatto, rispondente ad un bisogno fortemente ed universalmente sentito, seguito da successo. È il fatto che crea il diritto, molto più che si concreta non in improvvisi mutamenti ma

bensi in una graduale trasformazione." There was no diarchy—the Senate did not limit Augustus' competence, he dictated its rights and functions—, the principate was a monarchy. Nothing was formally destroyed, but everything was new. "L'amministrazione": The reflection in administration of the unity of powers. The old magistracies and the new imperial offices alike exercised powers derived not from the consent of the people but from the will of the *princeps*. "Leggi militari": the corresponding transformation of the army, the creation of a standing army with unity of command and the privileges of a caste. "Leggi matrimoniali": "non si propongono soltanto l'aumento della popolazione . . . ma altresì il risanamento della famiglia." The demographic problem "non è solo problema di impero e di potenza, non questione di numero e qualità di cittadini, ma soprattutto problema morale." The *Lex Julia* and the *Lex Papia* cannot be differentiated; but their provisions are classified and discussed, together with account of the precedents for these laws, and the subsequent history and influence of them. More interesting is it, according to Biondi, that the laws are concerned, not with mating and procreation, but with legal marriage and legitimate offspring. "Il problema della razza e le leggi sulle manomissioni": Opposed to the oriental policy of Antony and the universal policy of Caesar was the national policy of Augustus, "sincerum atque ab omni colluvione peregrini ac servilis sanguinis incorruptum servare populum" (Suetonius, *Aug.*, 40). Hence the restrictions by law on manumission and the advice to Tiberius in Augustus' political testament. "Leggi processuali": The meagre extant remains show by their detailed nature that there were two complete codes of procedure, one civil, one criminal. These completed the transformation, commenced by the *Lex Aebutia*, by which the administration of law became a function of state. "Leggi penali": Biondi emphasizes not the number and importance of the criminal laws, but rather the fact of the definite passing of the archaic conception that the delict is punishable by a pecuniary penalty paid to the injured party. The *Leges Iuliae* were the fulfilment of Sulla's system. Most significant, therefore, are the laws *de vi*: "rappresentano essenzialmente la più recisa ed energica rinneazione del sistema tradizionale della difesa privata." "Diritto privato": Here there was no radical change, only the continuation of the work of jurisprudence and the praetor. But Augustus naturally was more courageous than the praetor and intensified the struggle against individualism in private law.

In the final essay, "Augusto nella luce del Vangelo (pp. 265-282), Angelo Scarpellini concludes that there is validity in the tradition "che ha visto in Augusto un fautore, sia pure inconscio, dei tempi messianici, un valido cooperatore della Divina Provvidenza. È testimonianza, è giudizio attendibile. I quali sopra ed oltre contraddizioni e antagonismi manifesti tra l'imponente opera d'Augusto e la divina opera di Gesù Cristo, hanno colto in quella qualche cosa di non contingente, qualche misterioso lontano rapporto con questa."

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Varro, On the Latin Language, with an English Translation by  
 ROLAND G. KENT. Vol. I (Introduction, Books V-VII): pp.  
 1 + 368; vol. II (Books VIII-X, fragments, indexes): pp. 369-  
 676. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1938. (*The  
 Loeb Classical Library*.)

The solemn nonsense of ancient etymologizing supplies little pleasure or profit for the reader, and still less can be got from the puerile debates between the "analogists" and the "anomalists." This, no doubt, is the reason why the earliest extant books on Latin grammar and lexicography have never been translated into German and not until now into English. Nevertheless, since Varro had to name the words he proposed to discuss and since he often supplied a context—frequently from sources not available to us—, these six dull books are a rich mine for students of Roman literature, lexicography, religion, and antiquities in general. Hence it is that Kent is able to list (pp. xxvii-xxxii) twenty-four editions prior to his own (why is the Venice edition of 1474 not assigned a separate number, to make twenty-five?).

The previous editors, however, have not handed down a passably good text so that translation would be all that was needed. Since the manuscript which forms the basis of all the others and of the printed editions is incomplete and very corrupt, it has to be supplemented from various sources. Some of the numerous quoted passages are from works that are still preserved, and some of those from lost works are quoted independently by other ancient authors. Later Roman encyclopedists used the same sources as Varro and not infrequently they quoted Varro himself either with or without giving him credit. Obviously it is a matter of endless toil to construct a text under such conditions, and again and again there is room for several opinions after all the evidence has been brought together and weighed.

Rather than to confront the reader with a largely meaningless text and to suggest in footnotes or commentary solutions for the riddles thus posed, Kent has boldly constructed a straightforward, readable text and has relegated his record of the manuscript readings to the bottom of the page. Supplements and emendations are clearly noted in the text by angular brackets and italics, and if the editor feels that his text is not to be relied upon, a clear statement to that effect is included in the critical apparatus.

As far as I have been able to check it up this extremely laborious task has been done conscientiously and skilfully. The suggestions of others have been used fully and with discrimination. How much easier this edition is to use than the standard critical text of Goetz and Schoell (Leipzig, 1909) may be seen by examining the treatment of the fourth sentence of VI, 4, which reads in Kent (p. 176): *Solarium dictum id, in quo horae in sole inspiebantur, <vel horologium ex aqua>, quod Cornelius in Basilica Aemilia et Fulvia innumbravit.* The earlier editors print the passage without the words in angular brackets and without indicating that anything is wrong. In a footnote they cite passages from Pliny and Censorinus which prove that the statement in the *quod* clause is incorrect as it stands, and in the commentary (pp. 260 f.) they suggest the supplement that Kent has adopted.

Not a few original contributions to the text have been made. I would mention especially V, 157: ab Argo La<ri>saeo "from Argus of Larisa" for the meaningless: ab Argola seu, where Goetz and Schoell are helpless, although they cite Servius' derivation of the word (*Argiletum*) "ab Argo illic sacrato et sepulto." Kent's plausible suggestion is based upon the observations (1) that at least two heroes named Argus are connected with the city of Argos and (2) that the citadel of Argos was named Larisa. Less spectacular but eminently sound is the expanding of Ellis': u<tilis> in VII, 4 to: u<tilis sit>, because the Laurentian manuscript has a blank space for seven rather than for four letters.<sup>1</sup>

Occasionally Kent lacks the courage of his convictions and allows a palpably wrong reading to stand in the text. In VI, 69 there is ascribed to Lucilius a passage that will not scan as it is arranged in the text but that has been reduced to iambic senarii. Kent cites Spengel's suggestion that the real author may have been the comic poet Licinius, but he leaves "Lucilius" in the text. No doubt many will approve, but to me this seems needlessly misleading.

In V, 159 the *Vicus Ciprius* is said to be named from Sabine *ciprum* "bonum." Kent notes that the Sabine word must have been *cupro-*, but he emends the text, not to *Cuprius* and *cuprum*, but to *Cyprius* and *cyprum*. No doubt *Cyprius* can be defended as the name of the Roman street, but not *cyprum* as the Sabine word; and why make one's author more stupid than need be?

Kent's translation is clear, but the mistake has not been made of trying to give Varro too smooth a style. Inaccuracies are extremely rare; I miss a translation of *etiam* in V, 160, l. 7 and of *aliter* in IX, 35, l. 8.

I have noticed only one serious mistranslation. In IX, 95 Varro lists the parts of the verb system as: *tempora, personae, genera, divisiones*, which Kent renders: "tenses, persons, kinds, and divisions." He correctly explains *divisiones*: "There were two divisions, one comprising the tenses of incomplete action, and the other the tenses of completed action." Of *genera* he says: "Apparently a genus of verbs is a group of verbs which make their forms similarly, a conjugation or a group belonging to one conjugation. . . ." Clearly we have here the earliest occurrence of *genus verbi* "voice," which is well known in later grammarians.<sup>2</sup> In the next section Varro says that *discebam, disco, and discam* are taken *ex eodem genere et ex divisione*, and similarly *didiceram, didici, and didicero*. The same meaning of *genus* occurs in the first sentence of IX, 102.

Footnotes supply in briefest form the historical and antiquarian information needed for understanding the text and give references for the numerous quotations from Latin literature. Occasionally a note might have been spared, as the identification of *leviter* "lightly" on p. 234, or the caution against interpreting *postumum* as *post humum* on p. 484. The statement on p. 429 that Varro would have pronounced *boum* and *Ioum* as *bovom* and *Iovom* is incorrect. It has been thought<sup>3</sup> that *boum* came from *bovom*, with restored *v*;

<sup>1</sup> Kent has brought together his contributions to the text in *T. A. P. A.*, LXVII (1936), pp. 64-82.

<sup>2</sup> See *Thesaurus*, VI, 1901, 79—1902, 38.

<sup>3</sup> Sommer, *Handbuch*<sup>2</sup>, p. 162.

but this could not happen until the change of *o* to *u* after *v*. If Varro knew a form (even a written form) *boum*, it must have resulted from the prehistoric change that yielded *deus* from \**dēvos*.

The length of the introduction, unusual for a text in the Loeb Series, is amply justified by the nature of Varro's work and the unsatisfactory state of the text. It contains discussions of the following topics: Varro's Life and Works, Varro's Grammatical Works, Varro's *De Lingua Latina*, The Laurentian Manuscript *F*, the Orthography of the *De Lingua Latina*, Bibliography, The Critical Apparatus, The Translation of the *De Lingua Latina*, The Notes to the Translation, Symbols and Abbreviations.

The well-known fragments are included and translated. There is an Index of Authors and Works, an Index of Latin Words and Phrases treated by Varro, and finally an Index of Greek Words.

Kent's edition of the *De Lingua Latina* is the best one to use in citation, unless one intends to discuss the text in detail. In that case it may be convenient to use a text that follows the Laurentian manuscript more closely. It is by far the most convenient text to use for rapid consultation. If few care to read it through, that is Varro's fault.

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RODNEY S. YOUNG. *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora. Athens, American School of Classical Studies, 1939. Pp. ix + 250; 156 figures. (Hesperia, Supplement II.)*

The latest report on ceramic material from the excavations in the Athenian Agora has an interest for all students of Greek civilization, and not merely for the specialists in Greek pottery, because it spans that period during which the Hellenes split the chrysalis of their primitivism and began to dry the wings of the genius which was soon to lift them so far above the achievements of past and contemporaneous peoples. In the elucidation of what still remains the foremost cultural problem of at least European and Mediterranean civilization, no objects are too humble to be dismissed from consideration, especially since it is household artifacts which form the bulk of remains from the age in question. Of this the author is fully aware, for he does not allow his excellent factual and critical treatment of the archaeological material, with its necessary detail, to exclude broader historical conclusions, the winning of which, after all, is the primary object of archaeological research.

The report is divided into four parts which describe: I, the graves and their furniture; II, sporadic finds in and near the grave precinct; III, the objects from a well of the seventh century; IV, the pottery as a whole, from the points of view of fabric, technique, shape, and decoration, and also the figurines and graffiti. The very careful analysis of every significant fragment, upon which a great wealth of comparative material is brought to bear, gives the first three sections the status of a particularized critique of all late



Geometric and subgeometric Attic pottery. Appendix I is a "List of graves and important Geometric and Protoattic vases, with their probable dating"; in Appendix II, the so-called "Isis" grave at Eleusis is redated to shortly before 700; Appendix III is a report on the skeletal material by J. Lawrence Angel. The chronological base for the Attic pottery is furnished by the well wherein Attic sherds were found mixed with Protocorinthian of the second style; the date of the latter may be fixed in the first half of the seventh century in accordance with Payne's chronology. It can, I think, be said that this chronology is the one most nearly in line with present evidence and that if any changes are foreshadowed, by graves on Cyprus for instance, those changes will result in lowering rather than in raising it. The well, then, dates the Attic pottery of the first half of the seventh century which is found alone in some of the graves and, on the basis of logical development in shape and decoration, it permits specimens from the other graves to be assigned to the last quarter of the eighth. These graves bring one into particularly intimate contact with the early Athenians, for they appear to be a family group, and the precinct a family burying ground, a conclusion which finds independent support in the evidence of the skeletons discussed by Angel.

Valid criticism of the analyses of individual pots would be open legitimately only to one who had made comparisons as complete and as detailed as those of Mr. Young, for his report is primarily a factual one and therefore not subject to any significant range of difference in interpretation. As summarized by the author (pp. 229 and 230), it is a very human picture of the early Athenians which these discoveries present. A feudal and parochial culture, with interests tied to flocks and crops, lags behind its merchant neighbors who seek new contacts across the sea, and therefore it carries the common and indigenous Geometric culture to a more advanced stage than they did. But towards the end of the eighth century, foreign decorative motives begin to appear, coming from the East by way of these neighbors, and serving us as clues to demonstrate the beginnings of Attic commerce. This reorientation of Attic society from a state of agricultural introversion to one of commercial extroversion progressed slowly, in typical human fashion; for example, the decaying subgeometric style lingered side by side with the new orientalizing style far into the seventh century. And of course cultural manifestations of greater value than pot-painting accompanied the changed economic life, for "lyric poet and merchant . . . replaced epic poet and landowning aristocrat" (p. 230).

Students of literature will naturally be most interested in the evidence which these discoveries yield for the history of the alphabet. In brief, seven early inscriptions were found; the earliest of these, on an amphora which dates from "the very end of the eighth, or beginning of the seventh century" (p. 228), consists of an incised symbol which "may possibly be intended to represent the letter epsilon." The other graffiti are of the seventh century. Young considers the inscription on the Dipylon oinochoe still to be the earliest and, on the criteria of the pot's shape and decoration, to be difficult "to date . . . earlier than 700." The Cypriote decoration sometimes found on vases of this shape certainly excludes an earlier dating and may favor even a later one (*A. J. A.*, XLIII [1939],

p. 300). By comparison with the Agora pottery, the inscribed "Geometric" pots from Mt. Hymettus are found to be subgeometric of the seventh century (p. 227, n. 5). "Perhaps the Phoenician alphabet was not the least useful or important of the new devices brought to the orientalizing world of Greece from the East" (p. 230); this statement the author could have expanded to make a further point, namely, that it was exactly that incipient commerce of the early orientalizing age which first brought to the Greeks a practical need for writing. This need does not exist in the pastoral and agricultural life of any self-contained early culture, whether its genius finds expression in epic poetry or not.

The recent monographs on pottery from the Agora have set such a high standard that any criticism of their form may seem carping. But this very proximity to the ideal increases desire for its attainment. It is true that studies such as Young's are intended to be factual records of discoveries, but it is equally true that their completeness causes them to become handbooks within the given limits of their subject. This is even more the case now that disturbances abroad promise to postpone the appearance of more comprehensive studies. One feels specifically the need of an outline, graphic, and pictorial presentation of the conclusions which are drawn from the recorded evidence. The "List of Graves" of Appendix I, for instance, is an admirable example of this in the present report. On the other hand, although the information is copious, well written, and amply documented by reference to the illustrations, the reader can get no clear or lasting visual image of the change in the ornament or of the development of the pottery shapes, because he must refer hither and yon among the illustrations which of course are grouped, quite properly, by other categories. The solution would lie in the addition of chronological tables, with small, line drawings of the designs and small scale, outline drawings or photographs of the forms of pots, arranged by type under date. But this comment is intended rather as a suggestion for future than as a criticism of past monographs, for they have indeed made significant advances over the obnoxious but by no means obsolete "literary" tradition of archaeological reporting. In this and in all other respects, Mr. Young's work is highly meritorious.

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GLENN R. MORROW. *Plato's Law of Slavery in its Relation to Greek Law*. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1939. Pp. 140.

For many years scholars have lamented the absence of an edition of Plato's *Laws* which should be comparable, in scope and thoroughness, to Newman's work upon Aristotle's *Politics*. For several reasons the task has appeared too extensive. The mere size of the *Laws* has operated as a deterrent. In addition, students have been frightened off by the difficulty of understanding Plato's proposals in the light of Greek political experience. Gradually, however, the conviction has gained ground, in considerable degree because of the encourage-

ment given by Dean Sabine of Cornell, that the only way to approach such a lengthy task was to initiate and carry through a series of separate studies, each dealing with some particular aspect of Plato's regulations.

Such is precisely the nature of Professor Morrow's admirable work. In the present volume he has discussed, at length and in detail, one special problem dealt with in Plato's political treatises, chiefly in the *Laws*: the relationship of Plato's rules governing slaves to the positive Greek law upon the same subject. Professor Morrow's treatment, it seems to the reviewer, is exact, scientific, and exhaustive. He "endeavored first to elicit the principles underlying Plato's legislation on the point under examination, and to elicit them from Plato's text itself, appealing as little as possible to the evidence of positive law until Plato's principles were already clear" (p. 16). Then, when this work was done, there came "the nice task of comparison with positive law" (*ibid.*).

In carrying out this procedure, Professor Morrow has divided the entire topic into nine parts. In the first chapter he discusses the general characteristics of the slave class (chiefly privately owned: see p. 17) in Plato's legislation. In Chapter II, which is the longest in the book, we have a treatment of the relations between master and slave. With the third chapter we pass to a consideration of the protection afforded the slave's person. Even Plato, it will be seen, held that the slave was "worthy of protection" (p. 55). In Chapter IV Professor Morrow describes the offenses which slaves commit. By "offenses" Plato did not mean mere "breaches of household discipline" (p. 57), for which the slave was accountable only to his master, but rather wrongs committed by the slave against "persons other than his master," i. e., violations of the city's law. Chapter V presents Plato's rules concerning the legal capacity of slaves, chiefly as those rules affect their right to appear as witnesses. The next three chapters treat questions of status, i. e., the inheritance of servile status, the change in legal position produced by emancipation and the legal lot of the freedman, and the procedure for determining disputed status. In the ninth, and final, chapter Professor Morrow summarizes the various matters treated earlier in the book.

In the reviewer's opinion, Professor Morrow's analysis may well serve as the pattern for subsequent studies. At all points the account seems careful, accurate, and well-considered; and his use of the fragmentary evidence for the positive law concerning slaves is both skilful and circumspect. The reviewer has no adverse comments or criticisms to make.

Fortunately for the general student of Greek political thought, Professor Morrow does not limit his inquiry too closely to the precise relation between Plato's rules and the positive law. For example, he shows, beyond any reasonable doubt, that Plato approved of slavery as an institution because it fitted in with "his fundamental political principles" (pp. 34-35, 129-133). This conclusion is perhaps less surprising than the view, amply supported, that, in spite of an apparent sympathy for the more austere Spartan state, Plato envisaged the institution of slavery much more as it existed at Athens (pp. 21, 23, 28, 124). It may indeed become necessary, as Professor Morrow suggests, for scholars to revise their opinion that "Plato's

political ideals were much influenced by his admiration for Sparta and Spartan institutions" (p. 124).

While tracing Plato's views upon slavery, the author is led at times to discuss certain general problems of Greek law. Such, for example, is his treatment of *ὑβρις*, not only in connection with slaves but also as a broad legal term (pp. 37-41). Similarly, in his account of the legal capacity of slaves, Professor Morrow considers at length the evidence supplied by the orations of Antiphon (pp. 83-87). A third illustration is afforded by his account of the process *ἀφαίρεσις εἰς ἑλευθερίαν* (pp. 111-119).

The general tendency of Plato's rules is not to be mistaken. There are, to be sure, some provisions in his code which seem to have the interests of the slaves at heart. Plato does emphasize the wrong of *ὑβρις* and "unholiness" towards a slave (pp. 40-41). He would give protection to a slave who turned informer (p. 56). When a slave gives testimony in court, he is to give it like a freeman and not under torture (p. 81). In cases where a slave steals public property or robs a temple, he is to be more lightly punished than a freeman (p. 71). These ameliorations of the slave's lot do not, however, compensate for Plato's general harshness and ungenerosity (pp. 29-30, 42-46, 47-48, 54-55, 68-70, 93-94, 107-112, 125-127). His attitude is most clearly indicated by the fact that he allowed private vengeance to be wreaked upon a slave found guilty of murder, that he adopted the principle of *deterior condicio* in connection with the inheritance of servile status, and that he apparently did not recognize the slave's right to asylum.

Professor Morrow's volume reflects the highest credit upon himself and upon the press which published the work.

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Demosthenes, Private Orations, with an English translation by A. T. MURRAY. Vols. II-III (Orations XLI-XLIX and L-LIX). Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann, Ltd., 1939. Pp. viii + 419 and viii + 451. Each \$2.50. (*Loeb Classical Library*.)

In these volumes Murray has adhered to the admirable principle that the Loeb Classical Library was designed for the purpose of presenting classical literature to the layman rather than the results of exhaustive research to the scholar. This is apparent in the clear and simple introductions, where appropriate references to Blass and Schaefer replace detailed discussion of complicated questions of authorship; in the select bibliography and the Table of Athenian Money prefixed to each volume; in the elementary nature of the countless footnotes; and in the paucity of textual notes, ample evidence of the few departures from the text of Blass.

A list of Athenian months at the beginning of each volume, with a brief explanatory paragraph, would have eliminated the need for

the many notes which give Julian equivalents; these are inconsistent in form and frequently inaccurate. Hecatombaeon, for example, should not be equated with July alone, but with July-August. In the bibliography I miss Sandys, and Sandys and Paley, both of which are later cited without title (e. g., II, pp. 177 and 198-199; III, p. 156). In the introduction to L the confusing chronology should be explained more fully; in XLIX the peace of Antalcidas is wrongly dated in 377 B. C.; a reference to Pericles' citizenship law of 451 would be pertinent in LVII (see also the note on p. 252); in LIX (in *Neaeram*) the paragraph concerning the date is not happily expressed.

The notes contain certain faults, a few of which I mention here. The cross-references from volume to volume are irritating when the information could be conveniently repeated. Too often (Murray is not consistent) a single Julian year is assigned to the eponymous archon. The spelling "Eretheis" occurs throughout. II, p. 300: "prytanes" is surely an error for "prytanies." III, p. 17: "also" belongs in note *e* (not *c*). III, p. 246: Cleisthenes' reforms should not be assigned dogmatically to 509 B. C.; they can scarcely date earlier than 508/7 (see Walker, *C. A. H.*, IV, pp. 139-140, following Aristotle). III, p. 310: *Ten* archons? III, p. 427: the latest edition of the inscription cited is in Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 19; on the same page the attack on Plataea is dated to 428, instead of 431 (Archidamus made his attempt in 429). III, p. 443: "hierophant" should not be capitalized (see the translation at the foot of p. 441).

I note the following typographical errors, in addition to those listed from Volume II by Rüger, *Phil. Woch.*, LIX (1939), p. 998. XLI, 23: accent missing from *δικαία*. XLII: misprint in the Greek title. XLIX, 25: for *αὐτὸν* read *αὐτῶν*. III, p. 351: for "this hands" read "his hands."

The translation, although not inspired (and after all there is little to inspire in these speeches), is sound and accurate. Perhaps accuracy is carried too far, for it cannot be denied that the literalness of Murray's rendition at times creates an awkward effect. There is a tendency to lengthen sentences to an extent that impedes easy comprehension; this may follow the structure of the original but it is difficult for the reader. And most of the speeches are so clear and straightforward stylistically that such loyalty to the form fails to reproduce the spirit of the Greek. In XLII, 1-2, for example, a sentence runs to 25 lines (cf. XLIX, 4; LIV, 30-32). Again, the future perfect may be exact, but it has little place in good idiomatic English (see XLII, 32; XLIX, 18 and 21). Of a similar nature are the clumsy passives and the ambiguous personal pronouns.

The translation is remarkably free from actual error. In XLI, I the change of tense in *ἐμαυτὸν ἀν' ἡτιώμην* has been missed. In LIX, 22 the translation of the final sentence is infelicitous. In LIX, 65 the antecedent of "who" appears to be "Nausiphilus," whereas the pronoun really refers to "Nausinicus" (the specialist might know but the general reader, whom Murray scrupulously considers, would be lost without the note). In LIX, 104 I question "civil and religious" for *ιεράων καὶ δαίμων* (the adjectives should at least be transposed.) The repetitions in XLI, 27 and LIX, 43 are ugly. "Senate"

is everywhere used, most unfortunately, for βουλή. φρατρία and γένος become "clan" and gens ("phratry" or "brotherhood," and "clan"? Cf. Cary, *C. A. H.*, III, pp. 582-586).

These trifling criticisms of a few minor points in a translation covering over 400 pages do not of course detract from the value of what is basically a sound piece of work. Murray has performed well a task that could not always have been attractive, and by making the private orations accessible in a convenient modern edition has rendered a service to classicist and dilettante alike.

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SIEGFRIED MÜLLER. Das Verhältnis von Apuleius De Mundo zu seiner Vorlage. Leipzig, Dieterich, 1939. Pp. 179. RM. 11. (*Philologus*, Supplementband XXXII, Heft 2.)

The precise relationship between pseudo-Aristotle *Περὶ Κόσμου* and the Latin work *De Mundo* in the Apuleian corpus is an old problem with many ramifications, most of which Müller wisely skirts. So, as regards *De Mundo*, he assumes that Apuleius is the author, though his vindication of the writer's knowledge of Greek is in itself an indirect proof of Apuleian authorship. As he points out, the supposed ignorance of the translator, when compared with Apuleius' well-known boast of his proficiency in Greek, has strongly supported the theory that Apuleius was not the author.

Such a theory presumed, however, that the Latin work was intended to be a strict translation, whereas it has long been vaguely realized that "translation" was scarcely the right word to describe *De Mundo*. To underscore that point, Müller constantly compares Apuleius' rendering with two literal ("barbarously literal," Lorimer called one of them) Latin translations of the 13th century (published by W. L. Lorimer, *Text Tradition of ps-Arist. De Mundo*). The comparison emphasizes the fact that Apuleius nowhere aimed at strict literalness. Instead, his affinity is rather with the Greek and Latin paraphrasers of the fourth and later centuries, e.g., Themistius and Chalcidius, than with even Cicero's free translation of the *Timaeus*.

In this connection, Müller produces a highly suggestive parallelism in terminology between Themistius' program in the preface to his paraphrase of Aristotle, *De Anima* (ὅσα δυνατόν σὺν ἐπιστήμῃ λαβεῖν, ἀκολουθοῦντας Ἀριστοτέλει πειρατέον ἡμῖν . . . ἐκθέσθαι . . . καὶ ἐξεργάσασθαι) and the end of Apuleius' prologue to *De Mundo*: Quare nos Aristotelen . . . auctorem secuti, quantum possumus cogitatione contingere, dicemus . . . et . . . explicabimus. Not that Apuleius and Themistius are equally free in their renderings. But, the closer fidelity of Apuleius to his original is due not so much to a basic difference in intention as to the facts that he is some two centuries earlier than Themistius and writes in a language different from that of his original.

Müller supports this general view by a detailed and careful comparison of all the chief passages in Apuleius and ps.-Aristotle, and finds only nine sentences in Apuleius which are "practically verbal" translations. His most valuable contribution, however, is in cataloguing the freer adaptations of Apuleius according to their degrees of literalness, and, above all, in tracing the motives for many of the divergences. Thus, Apuleius sometimes rearranges a whole section to high-light what he conceives to be the central thought; sometimes he leaves untranslated in their proper places, words, phrases, or even sentences, and then introduces them into an entirely different context; and sometimes he incorporates material from other sources. The catalogue of winds in chaps. 13-14, borrowed from Favorinus *ap. Gellius, N. A.*, II, 22, is a well-known instance of the last; but what has not been so well known is the way in which this section re-acts upon Apuleius' "translation," in chap. 11, of ps.-Aristotle 394b 19 ff. Similar phenomena on a smaller scale are the verbal reminiscences of Cicero, Vergil, Lucretius, etc., which Müller conveniently assembles in an *Index Similium*.

It is interesting to note how frequently Apuleius' free adaptations give what seems to be the underlying thought of the original better than the original itself. It seems to me demonstrable, for example, that the end of chap. 4 (396a 27 ff.) in ps.-Aristotle really derived from the quite different sources of chap. 5, though he blurs the antithesis between the two chapters by using the passage rather as a summary (ὥς δὲ τὸ πᾶν εἰπεῖν) of what precedes than as an introduction to what follows. Apuleius, on the other hand, writes a new and emphatic sentence (19, 7 ff.) which sharply severs the passage from chap. 4 and joins it to chap. 5. Again, Apuleius' appeal to Theophrastus at the end of his prologue (nos Aristotelen . . . et Theophrastum auctorem secuti) may be, as Müller thinks, merely rhetorical emphasis, but a comparison of Περὶ Κόσμου, chap. 5, with Philo, *De Aet. Mun.*, will show that much of the argumentation in that chapter was in fact taken from Theophrastus.

In conclusion, two distinctly minor criticisms. P. 23: in τῷ δὲ [θεῷ] ἄλυπὸν [*sc. τὸ ἄρχειν*] τε καὶ ἄπονόν τε καὶ . . . κεχωρισμένου (400b 10), the first τε καὶ is, no doubt, a misprint; but I do not understand Müller's insistence (also pp. 24, 125) upon reading the unsupported and very difficult Gen. Abs. for the MSS *κεχωρισμένον*. Nor does his explanation (pp. 75 f.) of Apuleius' apparent ignorance (24, 1 ff.) in translating κεφαλαιῶδως as *quod caput est*, seem convincing.

But these are trivialities. The book is a thoroughly sound one which for the first time makes Apuleius' technique of "translation" intelligible. The four indices are all valuable, the Latin-Greek and the Greek-Latin particularly so.

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L. A. STELLA. *Importanza di Alcmeone nella storia del pensiero greco*. Rome, Bardi, 1939. Pp. 55. (*Accad. dei Lincei, Memorie*, Ser. VI, VIII, fasc. 4.)

This memoir is very useful, because it conveniently integrates the literature of the last few decades and because it deals more extensively than any earlier study, except Wachtler's dissertation, with all the testimonies preserved concerning Alcmaeon's personality and teaching.

• The importance which Stella ascribes to this philosopher is great indeed. According to her, Alcmaeon was the man who put the mythical concepts of Pythagoras on a scientific basis. He introduced into Greek philosophy the notion of contraries; through him the idea of immortality and of the divinity of the stars was passed on to Plato and Aristotle; not to mention the fact that he was the founder of the experimental method, that he was decisively influential in the development of anatomy, psychology, and medicine in general. In short, it is South Italy, not Ionia, or at least Southern Italy as much as Ionia, that created Greek science and philosophy.

In view of these claims it is the more astonishing that Stella nowhere discusses the date of Alcmaeon but takes it for granted that he lived in the second half of the 6th century B. C. (p. 5). She does not say what she thinks about Ross' emendation of the one testimony on which this chronology is based (W. D. Ross, *The Works of Aristotle*, VIII, *Metaphysics* A5 986 a),<sup>1</sup> nor does she explain why she rejects Wellman's assumption that Alcmaeon flourished in the first half of the 5th century A. D. (*Archiv f. Geschichte d. Medizin*, XXII [1929], p. 302; *Archeion*, XI [1929], p. 156) or why she does not accept the dating around 450 B. C. (cf. K. Deichgräber, *Hippokrates, Über Entstehung und Aufbau des menschlichen Körpers* [Περὶ σαρκῶν], 1935, p. 37; now also W. A. Heidel, *A. J. P.*, LXI [1940], pp. 3 ff.; *Hippocratic Medicine*, 1941, pp. 42 ff.). It is also astonishing that Stella nowhere touches upon the problem of the authenticity of the fragments, imperative as such an investigation would be (cf. the hint given by E. Frank, *Plato und die sogenannten Pythagoreer*, 1923, p. 143). To be sure, no proper evaluation of Alcmaeon's position in the history of Greek thought can be made until his date has been settled definitely and until the genuineness of the fragments has been determined.

Generally speaking Stella's essay increases the suspicion that Alcmaeon cannot possibly have been a man of the 6th century. One must probably go still further than did those who contested this date and assume that Alcmaeon belonged to the Pythagoreans of Socrates' time or even later; all the convictions ascribed to him seem indicative of such an attribution. Certainly, had Alcmaeon lived at the end of the 5th century B. C. instead of in the 6th, his views as outlined by Stella according to the testimonies preserved would be more plausible though far less original. Whether this traditional picture itself will have to be modified as a result of an inquiry into the genuineness of the fragments, nobody can as yet say.

<sup>1</sup> Strangely enough a reference to Ross' reading is missing also in Diels-Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 1934 (24 A 3).



In one regard Stella, in my opinion, is more correct than most modern interpreters: she calls Alcmaeon a physician and philosopher whereas it is now usual to dub him physician only (cf. Wellman, *loc. cit.*; Heidel, *loc. cit.*; but even J. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, 1930,<sup>4</sup> p. 194, finds in Alcmaeon's style "that reserve which marks all the best Greek medical writers"). The latter characterization hardly squares with the fact that the great majority of Alcmaeon's opinions as related by tradition concern philosophical, not medical problems; that Aristotle (24 A 3 Diels) and Isocrates (*ibid.*) and Theophrastus (A 5) range Alcmaeon together with the other ancient philosophers; that Galen in speaking of the Italian physicians does not mention Alcmaeon (X, p. 6 K.). Alcmaeon is a typical representative of "Pre-Socratic" research where no distinction is made between "philosophical" and "physiological" investigations; in this respect he is not different from men like Anaxagoras and Democritus. To be sure, Diogenes Laertius claims that most of Alcmaeon's writing, though he also philosophizes, concerns medicine (A 1 Diels). Such a claim is most easily interpreted as the judgment of someone who no longer understands the preoccupation of a philosopher with physiological questions.<sup>2</sup>

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JOHN WESLEY HEATON. *Mob Violence in the Late Roman Republic*, 133-49 B. C. Urbana, The University of Illinois Press, 1939. Pp. 107. \$1.50.

The author has here presented within the convenient limits of a single volume the collective, pertinent evidence regarding mob force in Roman politics from the period of the Gracchi to the downfall of the Republic. On the whole this is a sound piece of work and should prove to be most welcome to the student of Roman history. The subject has never been treated individually before and in general works where it has been discussed at all it has usually received but perfunctory attention, a surprising fact when one realizes the profound influence mob action exerted upon legislation and government during the closing scenes of the Republic. The usefulness of the volume is further enhanced by the addition of an appendix wherein is given a fairly creditable appraisal of the available sources for the period covered and also by the inclusion of a substantially complete bibliography and index.

While not marring the general value of the essay some points about it seem to fall definitely within the class of *errata* and these might be enumerated briefly. For example, the theory (p. 10) that the importation of wheat from Sicily into Italy, after the island became a Roman province, crowded out the small Italian farmer should not be overstressed. There were and had been other forces at work

<sup>2</sup> The same word (*ιατρολογεῖν*) that Diogenes uses in regard to Alcmaeon he also applies to Epicharmus (23 A 3 Diels).

contributing to this end. For instance the great influx of peoples into central Italy in the century or two before the First Punic War and the intense cultivation of the soil which ensued resulted in soil exhaustion and precipitated the turn to viticulture and olive growing which found its culmination—but not its actualization—in the post-war period. Moreover, we do not hear, anywhere, of complaints from Italian farmers over the importation of cheap Sicilian grain, a surprising fact if the theory that Sicilian wheat imports spelled the doom of the small land owner is a valid one. The statement (p. 11) that the citizen population did not grow appreciably after the Hannibalic War is a bit misleading. Strictly speaking there was an increase of about 76,000 during the *lustrum* after 131 (cf. Livy, *Epit.*, 59; *ibid.*, 60). The increase shown in the census of 85 over that of 115 can scarcely be called a little one (p. 36). It amounted to about 70,000 souls. Some explanatory remarks might have been made about the legislation of Sempronius Asellio (mentioned on p. 36) where we find creditor-debtor cases of an unusual character. Sempronius' act in invoking laws which had been dead for some 200 years and which forbade the taking of interest on money loaned was a measure calculated to aid the *aristocrats*, who were at this time in dire financial straits. Sempronius himself was an aristocrat and his legislation was an integral part of that consistent aristocratic legislation during the years 90-88 B. C. The truth is that during these years—i. e., the period of the Italian War—the pinching shoe of depression was on the other foot. The landed aristocracy had lost their estates through the ravages of the war and were forced to live on borrowed money. It was this class, then, which favored inflation (cf. the inflation law of the aristocratic tribune Drusus, Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIII, 46) and debt relief, whereas the plebs and the equestrian order—i. e., the money lenders who at this period belonged to the democratic party opposed to Sulla—desired sound currency and it was this latter group which was responsible for the death of Asellio. The financial legislation of Sulla in 88 was another logical step in this aristocratic financial program. At this time Sulla apparently established the legal interest rate at 12% and cancelled 10% of all debts (cf. the *Lex Unciaria* quoted by Festus, p. 516, L.; on the whole see *A. J. P.*, LIV [1933], pp. 54 ff.).

There is no evidence to support the view (p. 66) that Caesar concocted the Vettius affair.

The purpose of the law *de provinciis*, passed by Pompey as the tool of the senate, was probably not so much "to lessen the glittering possibilities of office" (p. 82) as to get Caesar in the position of a private citizen and thus amenable to impeachment by the simple device of having him relieved of his provincial command on the legal date of its expiration. It is hardly fair to say of Livy as an historian that "he lacked the power of sifting the evidence in a satisfactory manner" (p. 94). Recent criticism has proved that Livy showed keen discernment in his use of the sources he had to hand. In cases where his sources were of an inferior character—as, for example, the romanticisers of the Sullan Age—and the only ones available, he simply had to make the most of a bad situation and use the best he found therein.

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ROBERT G. NISBET. *M. Tulli Ciceronis De Domo Sua Ad Pontifices Oratio*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1939. Pp. xlv + 232. \$3.00.

This new English edition of an important, if infrequently read, speech of Cicero's will undoubtedly be much welcomed by scholars. The *Pro Domo* has not been edited in English for some eighty-five years and since that time a good deal of criticism in connection with the speech has flowed beneath the philological bridge. Nisbet's edition is quite a comprehensive one. The introduction includes a short but adequate section on the historical background, a pertinent section on Cicero's attitude toward religion, a section covering an analysis of the speech, and finally some few pages on its authenticity wherein the author recapitulates the various arguments for and against its genuineness from mediaeval times right down to our own, even citing the complicated mathematical formulae of Zielinski, which the latter computed from the evidence of the *clausulae*, against the arguments for its spuriousness. The introduction contains, in addition, a convenient table of dates, a note of appraisal on the MSS for the speech, and a full bibliography. In the actual text the author seems to have taken good account of all the attempts of former editors to improve the reading and a good *apparatus* occurs at the bottom of each page. The notes in the commentary are full, comprising more than half of the book, and this fact should render it particularly useful both for technical purposes and as a classroom text. Seven appendices are added on some grammatical and syntactical problems in connection with the speech and on some legal terminology which Cicero employed. The inclusion of a substantial index rounds out quite a useful volume.

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A. ERNOUT and A. MEILLET. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine: histoire des mots*. Nouvelle édition, revue, corrigée et augmentée d'un index. Paris, Klincksieck, 1939. Pp. xxi + 1184. Fr. 375.

The first edition of this work appeared in 1932 but does not seem to have been reviewed in this Journal. It inevitably invites at once comparison and contrast with the *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* of A. Walde (2nd ed., Heidelberg, 1910), of which the third edition, under the editorship of J. B. Hofmann, is now appearing (vol. I, A-L, Heidelberg, 1938). The two works supplement each other. The Walde-Hofmann, as is well known, lays practically all its stress on the etymology of Latin words as related to Indo-European, gathering all possible Indo-European cognates of Latin words and citing etymological literature with great fulness; it is, in short, the Latin appendix to the Walde-Pokorny *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1927-32), which it supplements and corrects. The Ernout-Meillet, on the other hand,

is pre-eminently a dictionary of the history of the Latin vocabulary, *une histoire des mots latins*. Each word is traced in evolution of meaning throughout Latin literature with copious references to the authors employing it; derivatives and compounds are listed in great abundance under the main rubrics; the inscriptions and glossaries are duly considered; borrowed words receive proper attention; and survivals in the various Romance languages are indicated by references to the 3rd ed. of W. Meyer-Lübke's *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1935). This section of the work, written by M. Ernout, is much fuller than the corresponding part of Walde-Hofmann.

Etymology, on the contrary, from the pen of M. Meillet, whose death has been an irreparable loss to the linguistic world, is intentionally restricted, as he once told this reviewer before the first edition appeared, and as his preface states, to cognates which may be deemed certain; more or less ingenious hypotheses proposed by various investigators are designedly omitted; and no attempt is made to record a multiplicity of forms in non-Italic languages. The principle here adopted is one which M. Meillet constantly observed: his many contributions to technical journals, profound and acute, were not always without a discreet daring; his volumes contained only what he considered definitely assured.

If, for example, we take, at random, the article *domus*, the etymological section in Walde-Pokorny contains 85 lines, the historical Latin part has 16; in Ernout-Meillet the numbers are 26 and 59 respectively. We may say that the Walde-Hofmann is a Latin etymological dictionary for Indo-Europeanists, the Ernout-Meillet is one for Latinists. One may sometimes regret the conciseness of the etymological part, as when *acaunumarga*, for instance, is given simply as "mot celtique," though the second component is still represented by Breton *marg* "merl"; but the conciseness is a matter of principle adopted after long consideration of arguments for and against.

This portion of the work remains essentially unchanged from the first edition; the purely Latin part, on the other hand, has been enriched with many details of new material gathered by M. Ernout; and a most welcome addition is the full and valuable index of non-Latin words, for which the gratitude of all is due to Mme. Meillet.

The vocabulary in Ernout-Meillet is larger than in Walde-Hofmann, since Latin words borrowed from Greek are included (e. g., *abrotonum*, *adamās*, *āēr*, *angistrum*, *apsis*, *artopta*, *astrum*, *attagēna*, *aula*, *azymus*, as are words from other foreign sources: *abonnis*, *achasius*, and *ascus* from the Salic Law; the magic term *abracadabra*; *apiastra* and *apocalama* from Servius and Isidore; *arcisium* from the Glosses; the Teutonic *annepum*; *ascarii* from Ammianus, and *axis* from Pliny).<sup>1</sup>

Even more than in its first edition, this second edition of the Ernout-Meillet is indispensable to all Latinists and to all Indo-Europeanists.

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<sup>1</sup> This survey has been restricted to the letter A since the method and treatment are uniform throughout the volume.

ROSAMUND E. DEUTSCH. *The Pattern of Sound in Lucretius*. Bryn Mawr, 1939. Pp. viii + 188. (Diss.)

There is something mysterious in the sound of a well wrought verse or group of verses. Any painstaking effort, like the present one, to solve even some of the aspects of this mystery is praiseworthy.

Dr. Deutsch analyses many sound effects found in Lucretius, arranging them into patterns. She begins with alliteration, assonance, and onomatopoeia (pp. 9-19) and goes through the many kinds of repetition at any position (pp. 20-47) or in the same position (pp. 48-96) within a verse or in consecutive verses. She gives prominence to the repetition of theme words or phrases (pp. 97-120). She continues the study of repetition in Lucretius from the point of view of rhyme schemes (pp. 121-153), adds a brief investigation into the repetition in Catullus, Cicero (*De Consulatu*, II, 50-70: p. 158), and Vergil's *Georgic* II (with a few references to *Georgics*, I, III, IV: pp. 162-163) and *Eclogues* (pp. 169-171), and reaches the expected conclusion that the pattern of sound in Lucretius is based upon repetition (p. 172). A short but interesting appendix on the aid that repetition may give to the solution of some textual problems in the poem brings the author's task to an end.

She may well be satisfied with this research work. With it she joins the company of those who with their monographs have made valuable contributions to the understanding of Lucretius' art, such as Gneisse (1878), Rasi (1891), Schneider (1897), Hartmann (1909), Merrill (1921, 1924, 1929), Dubois (1933, 1935), Lenz (1937), and Raubitschek (1938).

In a work of this type it would be unreasonable to require that the author in each chapter should be treading upon

avia . . . loca nullius arte  
trita.

Its originality is mainly due to the wide range of the study of repetition. A reader's attention will undoubtedly be attracted by the many rhyme schemes that the author observes, e.g., *abab* in VI, 610-613 (p. 121); *abba* in IV, 840, 841, 845, 847 (p. 123); *abcabc* in III, 283, 288, 290, 291, 295, 300 (p. 125); etc. Quite correctly Miss Deutsch calls attention to the fact that the scheme *abba* is found in the Italian sonnet (p. 123). Yet another step into Italian poetry would have led her to the important discovery that the scheme *ababcbbe* (p. 132) is a slight variation of Dante's terza rima *ababcbc*; *abcbadecde* (p. 139) is a variation of Petrarch's *abcbaccededfdff* (cf., e.g. Canzone LXXII in Carducci and Ferrari's edition, 1908); and that the freedom of the longer schemes with the repetition of sounds within the lines is well matched by some of Leopardi's schemes (cf., e.g., *Il Sabato del Villaggio*).

But the similarity is only in the appearance of the scheme, not in its application. Often Dr. Deutsch's scheme is so widely spread through so many lines that it loses its effect. Also her frequent method of quoting only the lines that form the scheme without regard to the completion of the expression of the thought gives an effect of sound, to be sure, but sound divorced from thought, an un-Lucretian effect.

Keeping in mind the poet's fondness for repetition the author plausibly, it seems to me, accepts the reading of OQ in VI, 1012, *quod dicitur ex elementis*, while Lambinus, Lachmann, Brieger, Munro, Giussani, and others either reject or question it. She discusses twenty-nine more similar cases (pp. 178-179).

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RODNEY P. ROBINSON. Manuscripts 27 (S. 29) and 107 (S. 129) of the Municipal Library of Autun: A Study of Spanish Half-uncial and Early Visigothic Minuscule and Cursive Scripts. New York, 1939. Pp. ix + 87; 73 plates. (*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XVI.)

Scholars would welcome a detailed history of the minuscule book hand which developed in the Visigothic kingdom presumably in the seventh century and continued in use until its suppression in the twelfth century by an ecclesiastical council. The present work is one of several preliminary studies which will eventually make such a history possible. It offers us in *Autun* 27 the oldest extant specimens of Visigothic cursive and minuscule as well as an early specimen of Spanish half-uncial; for good measure, it also describes the early Visigothic cursive marginalia of *Autun* 107.

The manner of presentation is admirable, following in its main lines the models set by Luigi Schiaparelli (*Il codice 490 della Biblioteca Capitolare di Lucca*) and E. K. Rand (*The Earliest Book of Tours*).<sup>1</sup> The text is supplemented by excellent reproductions<sup>2</sup> of the two manuscripts discussed and of several others with which these two are compared; in the few instances in which the primary writing of a palimpsest manuscript seems illegible (Pls. 16a and 17a, e.g.) the fault is doubtless that of the original. A "descriptive index," moreover, provides us with bibliographies, the contents of the manuscripts, and transcriptions of writing which is difficult to read.

Our author's method deserves inspection. It is in most ways highly commendable, but one must bear in mind the fact that the judgments as to date and provenience are based almost wholly upon

<sup>1</sup> Prickings ("punctures") are noted, but the systems involved are of course not described, since our author's work antedates the discovery of the existence of these systems. Perhaps our author will some day have an opportunity to report them. A cursory study of Plates 4-11 (which include most of the leaves of a single quaternion of Part II of *Autun* 27) is tantalizing; it is possible, but not certain, that system "1" has been used. (Cf. E. K. Rand, "Prickings in a Manuscript of Orléans," in *T. A. P. A.*, LXX [1939], p. 329, and L. W. Jones, "'Pin Pricks' at the Morgan Library," *ibid.*, p. 320. Cf. also E. K. Rand, "Traces de piqures dans quelques manuscrits du haut moyen âge," in *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus* [Paris, 1939], pp. 411-431.)

<sup>2</sup> On p. 62, col. 1, B, line 5, for *Pl. 44.4* read *Pl. 42.4*.

palaeographical minutiae and therefore subject to correction after the study of additional items. Thus, the dating of several Visigothic cursive codices (p. 39) depends upon their resemblance to *Escorial R. II. 18*, for whose date we have only a probable *terminus post quem non*. Again, in a discussion of Spanish cursive (pp. 37-38) due allowance is not made for deviations at individual scriptoria from the supposed logical and gradual development of this script,<sup>3</sup> and, except for a brief treatment on pp. 41-42, there is nowhere an attempt to compare this script with Merovingian cursive and minuscule, both of which are crying out for study.

Despite these limitations, however, the keen palaeographical perception and the thorough scholarship of our author have given us sounder criteria and much more information than we have had before. The following miscellaneous discoveries will illustrate the great usefulness of the work. (1) Good reasons are found (pp. 51-52) to prove that the cursive on fol. 63<sup>r</sup> of *Autun 27* is Visigothic and not Merovingian. (2) For the first time, the palimpsest nature of some of the writing on fols. 32<sup>v</sup>-33<sup>r</sup> of the same MS is noted and the primary writing described (p. 50). (3) Spanish symbols of omission are recorded (p. 30). (4) A peculiarly Spanish mark of punctuation is treated (p. 15). (5) *I-longa in hiatus* is observed as characteristic of Visigothic cursive and minuscule (p. 48). (6) The presence or absence of a special symbol for assimilated *ti* is noted as a criterion for date (p. 26). (7) It is pointed out (p. 50, col. 1, n. 6) that the *z* used over the *t* in the compendium for *-tur* may have descended from a general abbreviation symbol used in later Roman cursive. (8) The "Insular" symbol for *per* is shown to have been probably a cursive variety of an abbreviation known originally on the Continent as well as in Great Britain and Ireland (p. 49). (9) The s-flourish in compendia for *-bus* and *-que* is shown to be apparently older than the "semicolon" (p. 33, col. 1, n. 5).

May we have more studies like the present one!

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HENDRIK BOLKESTEIN. *Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege im vorchristlichen Altertum*. Utrecht, A. Oosthoek, 1939. Pp. xvi + 492.

This stout volume, written in German, contains a systematic study of charity and poor-relief in Egypt, Palestine, Greece, and Rome, from the earliest historic records down to the Christian era. In each country charity as a virtue and the position of the poor in social ethics are first discussed, with a distinction, wherever possible, between ethical ideals and daily practice. The groups of persons towards whom moral obligations were recognized—such as kinsmen, widows, orphans, and prisoners—the chief social virtues en-

<sup>3</sup> Cf., in the script of Tours, the conservatism of Marmoutiers and the progressiveness of St. Martin's of Tours.

couraged—e. g., mercy, sympathy, helpfulness, generosity, and hospitality—, and the various motives leading men to private benevolence are methodically set forth, along with an account of the different organized social and political institutions by which the poor and unfortunate were assisted. All is methodically described, with a careful appraisal of the sources employed and with adequate documentation. As is not surprising, a considerable difference is found between the Orient (Egypt and Palestine) and the West, in that the East, like the Christian ethics later developing in it, fostered aid by the rich to the poor (who were considered as especially pious), while the West practised *φιλανθρωπία* towards all men, irrespective of wealth or poverty. The earliest occidental example of the oriental attitude towards almsgiving is the case of C. Atilius Euhodus (Dessau, 7602); later, especially with the rise of Christianity, the West in this respect became more orientalized.

Many interesting details grow out of the present study, such as the nature and use of asylums, the custom of *ξενία*, the lack of charitable foundations in Israel, the different senses of *φίλος*, the development of words for "alms," the significance of the terms *πένις*, *πτωχός*, and *pauper*, the difference between East and West in the matter of "big business," Solon as a great social revolutionary, the Gracchi and land distributions, an analysis of certain technical terms, such as *ἔλεος*, *φιλανθρωπία*, and *δικαιοσύνη*, the effects of slavery, laws against begging, strikes, the Greek attitude towards banausic occupations, Roman distributions of food and other necessities, and the personal charities of the Roman emperors. In Greece the author finds no essential connection between social ethics and the established religion, and he more than once asserts that the foundations of Christian charity are not originally Christian or even Jewish but rather oriental, being discoverable some centuries earlier in Egypt. Christianity's distinct addition was love toward God as including love toward one's fellowmen.

The plan of the work necessitates a certain amount of repetition and recapitulation which suggests that the whole might have been considerably condensed. Materials have been carefully collected, at least from the more familiar authors, and not a few recondite sources are employed. Modern literature is freely cited, though one misses allusions to two brief but pertinent works: E. Wolff, *Philanthropie bei den alten Griechen* (1902), and P. A. Frey, *Das Problem der Menschenliebe (φιλανθρωπία) in d. älteren Stoa* (1908). The control of Egyptian materials—perhaps not unnaturally—seems less at first-hand than that of the Greek and Latin authors. On the other hand, allusions to a variety of modern literary men, from Shelley to Anatole France (an especial favorite), reveal the breadth of the author's interests. I miss in his discussion any full treatment of the parasite, but perhaps this is considered as a literary rather than a real type. Some misprints, especially frequent in Greek words, mar an otherwise attractive volume, the most serious being the omission of four consecutive footnotes on p. 413, but the recurring form *Nazianza* (pp. 434 and 481) seems unlike a misprint. Altogether, however, the work is a useful one which should stimulate more detailed investigations along many lines.

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A Hellenistic Greek Reader: Selections from the Koine of the New Testament Period, with Vocabulary and Notes by ERNEST CADMAN COLWELL and JULIUS R. MANTHEY. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. xv + 229. \$2.00.

This attractively bound volume, like many recent publications of the University of Chicago, was produced by one of the comparatively inexpensive off-set printing methods.<sup>1</sup> The preliminary typing was done with commendable care and neatness, so that the pages are as pleasing to the eye as typescript can be, except for the underlining of titles as a substitute for italics. Though such marks may have their place in a manuscript for the guidance of the printer, they are more disfiguring than useful in the finished book. If it was impossible to find a machine with an italic type-plate, it would have been better to dispense with underlining altogether.

The purpose of the compilers was to provide in a single inexpensive volume all of the texts and aids necessary for a comprehensive reading course in the Greek of the New Testament period. Evidently it is because of this chronological limitation that Polybius, commonly regarded as one of the most instructive koine writers, is not represented, though Diodorus, whose style strikes most readers as being rather tame, finds a place along with Strabo and Epictetus in the purely secular group. There are ten non-literary papyri, brief but of varied interest, all reproduced from Goodspeed and Colwell's *Greek Papyrus Reader*. Two literary texts deserve particular mention because of their fairly recent appearance: the last chapters of the Book of Enoch, published by Professor Campbell Bonner, and the story of the baptized lion from the apocryphal acts of Paul, published by Professors Carl Schmidt and Wilhelm Schubart. In making their selections from the Septuagint, the editors strove to illustrate the whole range of styles, relying on the classification of Thackeray. The New Testament is represented by passages from the synoptic Gospels, John, the Pauline Epistles, Hebrews, James, and the Apocalypse. Interesting supplementary material comes from Philo Judaeus, Josephus, the bishop Ignatius, the *Didache*, Clement, and Justin Mártir.

There is a useful critical bibliography, with a brief but sprightly introduction which will serve well to arouse the student's interest in the subject. The notes are helpful as far as they go, but there are many additional points about which an alert class would be expected to ask questions. On the other hand one might question the advisability of explaining so many verb-forms which ought to be identified by anybody who has studied a beginner's Greek book; forms like *εἰποσαν* are of course a different matter. The student would learn better to distinguish between classical and post-classical forms if he were helped only with the latter and encouraged to work out the others on the basis of his earlier training. The vocabulary is followed by an index of proper nouns, each of which, with few exceptions, is designated only as a "person," "country," "city,"

<sup>1</sup> I find that even the experts are prone to use the terms "planographing" and "lithoprinting" interchangeably in spite of minor technical differences.

"deity," etc. Here it would clearly have been possible to give the student something better at little cost of space or effort.

But, everything considered, the editors have succeeded admirably in their purpose; it is to be hoped that the book will be widely circulated and used, as it deserves.

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ELINOR HUSSELMAN. A Fragment of Kalilah and Dimnah from MS. 397 in the Pierpont Morgan Library. London, Christophers, 1939. Pp. vii + 35, 6 plates. (*Studies and Documents*, ed. by Kirsopp and Silva Lake, X.)

Dr. Husselman has succeeded in identifying Cod. Gr. 397 of the Morgan Library (New York) with a long-lost manuscript formerly in the Basilian monastery at Grottaferrata, known as Grottaferrata A. 33. This manuscript she dates between 980 and 1050. Its contents are as follows:

1. Fragment of a Greek version of the Kalilah and Dimnah.
2. A physiological treatise.
3. A Life of Aesop.
4. 226 Fables of Aesop.
5. 31 Fables of Babrius.
6. 7 *Ἀσεία* from the *Philogelos*.

The editor publishes in this monograph only the first of these items, the fragment of Kalilah and Dimnah ("the Fables of Bidpai") which occupies the first seven folios of the manuscript.

These oriental beast-fables, thought to have been composed originally in Sanskrit in the third century A. D., and represented in Indian literature by the Panchatantra, became popular in Western Europe after their translation into Latin in the thirteenth century. About 1080 Symeon Seth translated the Arabic version into Greek; this Greek translation exists in a number of manuscripts. The editor finds, however, that the Greek text of the Morgan manuscript is quite different from the version of Symeon Seth, and, though there is as yet no definitive Arabic text of these fables, that it has features which differ from the Arabic form known to us. The Morgan manuscript itself is earlier than the Symeon Seth version and evidently represents an entirely independent Greek translation from the Arabic, since Symeon Seth cannot have based his translation on the Morgan manuscript version.

Though many of the Arabic manuscripts have not yet been collated, Dr. Husselman has found no trace of the unique features of the Morgan manuscript version in any Arabic source, and she therefore concludes (pp. 21-22) that the Morgan text derives from a Greek adaptation, rather than a faithful translation, of an imperfect Arabic manuscript. She assumes also that the Greek adapter misunderstood the Arabic at certain points, perhaps because of the defectiveness of the manuscript in his hands.

The reproductions of pages of the illustrated Morgan manuscript add to the interest of Dr. Husselman's publication. She has done a careful and valuable piece of work in a field which, it seems, would repay a considerable amount of further cultivation.

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M. Annaei Lucani De Bello Civili Liber I. Edited by R. J. GETTY.  
Cambridge, University Press, 1940. Pp. lxxi + 155. \$1.90.

To the student of Lucan this book can render some service. Getty apparently has done a great deal of work on the manuscripts. His commentary is carefully done and utilizes the results of many studies which have appeared since the commentaries of Haskins and Lejay were published. The commentary strikes me as being more penetrating than that of Haskins and more to the point than that of Lejay. It is neither overburdened with inappropriate learning nor annoying because of trite or pointless remarks, although of course no commentary ever seemed to any reader to be quite without these faults. References are offered to the other books of the poem, so that the usefulness of the work goes beyond Book I.

Those who find fault with the details of the commentary in general will probably be few compared to those who will object to Getty's attitude toward rhetoric. On this point I agree with him. His general thesis is that our lack of attention to the ancient views on rhetoric is responsible for a great deal of inexact interpretation and translation, superficial appreciation of ancient texts, and misunderstanding of ancient literary history.

It will be said that we know that the Romans studied rhetoric and used rhetorical devices more commonly than we do and that there is need neither to insist on that fact nor to call attention in the commentary to every rhetorical device in the poem. Getty has anticipated both these criticisms. He justly says (p. xlv): "A frequent remark of historians of ancient literature is the vague suggestion that so-and-so was influenced by his rhetorical training, but few writers on the subject take the trouble to explain how this rhetorical training manifests itself in a particular work, or how important a knowledge of it is for the interpretation of a given oration or poem." He is right in asserting that we need to think and talk with more exactness about the influence of rhetorical training upon the authors of the Silver Age. He himself has avoided careless generalization on this subject. Naturally his discussion of details is dull, and the multiplication of instances in the commentary is also dull, but the fact remains that to work through them manfully will give a student (and perhaps some older scholars) a better understanding of the influence of rhetoric on this poem.

Getty also expresses the hope that more attention to the details of rhetoric may lead to improvements in interpretation and translation. If possibly he does not give his classical colleagues, past and present,

credit for as much understanding of ancient rhetoric as they have, at least he makes good in the commentary his assertion that mistakes in interpretation and translation can be caused by a lack of knowledge of the subject.

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LANE COOPER. *Aristotelian Papers*, Revised and Reprinted. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1939. Pp. x + 237. \$2.50.

Under the above title Professor Lane Cooper has collected in a single volume with some revision eight articles and ten book reviews which he had previously published in various places. His interest in the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric* is so well known that it is not surprising to find that the book, so far as it is concerned with Aristotle, has to do chiefly with those two works. Some of the articles treat of questions of text and interpretation and are thus truly Aristotelian studies; others have rather more to do with English literature. In the short space at his disposal the reviewer cannot criticize these papers in detail. Perhaps most readers will find the eighth article "The Verbal Ornament," reprinted from the Rand volume, the most interesting of the series. It is a thoroughly sound discussion, with illustrations from ancient and modern literature, of the meaning of *κόσμος* in the *Poetics*.

What has been said of the articles might also be repeated for the book reviews. Some of these, as might be expected, are favorable and others are not. Examples of the first are the two highly laudatory reviews of Gudeman's work on the *Poetics*. Professor Cooper is greatly impressed by the latter's championing of the Arabic translation from the Syriac as a source for the emendation of our text. On the other hand an example of an unfavorable review is the lambasting given a Princeton Doctor's dissertation. Sometimes, for the very reason that he is so much at home in the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric*, he appears less happy by way of contrast in his treatment of books lying outside that field. Thus his review of Smyth's *Aeschylean Studies* can hardly be called satisfactory. Incidentally it might be remarked that he finds much to criticize in Lowes' *Road to Xanadu*.

Friends of Professor Cooper will be glad that these scattered papers have been brought together, and students of Aristotle and of English literature alike will find them interesting reading. It is hardly necessary to add that they are all well written. That might be taken for granted.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED.

(It is impossible to review all books submitted to the JOURNAL, but all are listed under Books Received. Contributions sent for review or notice are not returnable.)

Amyx (D. A.). An Amphora with a Price Inscription in the Hearst Collection at San Simeon. (*Univ. of California Publ. in Classical Archaeology*, I, 8 [1941], pp. 179-206; pls. 25-27; 2 text figs.)

Atkins (Samuel D.). Pūṣan in the Rig-Veda. Princeton, Private ed., 1941. Pp. xiii + 102. \$1.50. (Diss., obtainable from author, 28 Edwards Place, Princeton, N. J.)

Cox (D. H.). A Tarsus Coin Collection in the Adana Museum. New York, *The American Numismatic Society*, 1941. Pp. 67; 12 plates. (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 92.)

De Lacy (Phillip Howard) and De Lacy (Estelle Allen). Philodemus: On Methods of Inference. A Study in Ancient Empiricism. Edited, with Translation and Commentary. Philadelphia, *American Philological Association*, 1941 (to be ordered from Lancaster Press, Inc., Lancaster, Pa.; B. H. Blackwell, Ltd., Oxford). Pp. ix + 200. (*Philological Monographs*, X.)

Fern (Sister Mary Edmond). The Latin Consolatio as a Literary Type. St. Louis, Mo., 1941. Pp. ix + 230. (Diss.)

Ginsburg (Michael). Hunting Scenes on Roman Glass in the Rhineland. \$0.75. (*Univ. of Nebraska Studies*, XLI, 2 [Aug., 1941], pp. 31; *Studies in the Humanities*, No. 1.)

Hagendahl (Harold). Orosius und Iustinus. Ein Beitrag zur Iustinischen Textgeschichte. Göteborg, *Wettergren & Kerbers Förlag*, 1941. Pp. 48. Kr. 4. (*Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift*, XLVII, No. 12.)

Lind (L. R.). Medieval Latin Studies. Their Nature and Possibilities. Pp. 48. \$0.50. (*Univ. of Kansas Publ., Humanistic Studies*, No. 26.)

Lobel (E.), Roberts (C. H.), Wegener (E. P.). *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XVIII, Nos. 2157-2207, Edited with Translations and Notes. London, *Egypt Exploration Society*, 1941. Pp. xii + 215; portrait; 14 plates.

Metcalf, John Calvin: Humanistic Studies in Honor of. Charlottesville, Va., *Publications Committee, Univ. of Virginia, Extension Division*, 1941. Pp. x + 338. \$3. (*Univ. of Virginia Studies*, I.)

Nilsson (Martin P.). Geschichte der griechischen Religion. Erster Band: Bis zur griechischen Weltherrschaft. Munich, *Beck*, 1941. Pp. xxiv + 823; 52 plates; 8 text figs. M. 45. (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, V, 2, 1.)

Prentice, William Kelly: Studies in Honor of. The Greek Political Experience. Princeton, *Princeton Univ. Press*, 1941. Pp. x + 252; 3 maps. \$3.

Ramsay (Sir William M.). The Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor. Prepared for the Press by J. G. C. Anderson. Aberdeen, *Aberdeen Univ. Press*, 1941. Pp. xii + 305.

Robinson (Richard). Plato's Earlier Dialectic. Ithaca, N. Y., *Cornell Univ. Press*, 1941. Pp. x + 239. \$3.

Schullian (Dorothy M.). The Italian Cultural Gardens in Cleveland. Privately printed, 1941. Pp. 6.

Solmsen (Friedrich). Plato's Theology. Ithaca, *Cornell Univ. Press*, 1942. Pp. xii + 201. \$2.50. (*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*, XXVII.)

Tait (Jane Isabella Marion). Philodemus' Influence on the Latin Poets. Bryn Mawr, 1941. Pp. v + 118. (Diss.)

West (Louis C.). Gold and Silver Coin Standards in the Roman Empire. New York, *American Numismatic Society*, 1941. Pp. 199. (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 94.)

Wistrand (Erik). Der Instrumentalis als Kasus der Anschauung im Lateinischen. Göteborg, *Wettergren & Kerbers Förlag*, 1941. Pp. 30. Kr. 3. (*Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift*, XLVII, No. 25.)

# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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## CAESAR'S COLLEAGUES IN THE PONTIFICAL COLLEGE.

A list of members of the pontifical college during the republican period was prepared by C. Bardt in his important work, *Die Priester der vier grossen Collegien aus römisch-republikanischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1871). In the period 218-167, when Livy gives fairly complete records of the elections of the chief priests, the names of the pontifices are arranged by Bardt in order of their entrance into the college. But for the time of Caesar he found no criteria which enabled him to determine the order of election of the majority of the pontifices. It is my purpose in this paper to attempt to establish such criteria through a study of two ancient lists of pontifices and to arrange as far as possible in order of seniority in the college a roll of members from the time of Caesar's election in 74-3 to his death in 44.<sup>1</sup> In my list which comprises the entire membership of the college for the year 57 I have included wherever possible the names of the predecessors of the various pontifices. The great Roman priestly colleges in their rolls of membership regularly recorded the name of each

<sup>1</sup> References to ancient sources for well-attested facts in the lives of the pontifices have in general been omitted. For most of the men the full evidence will be found in Drumann-Groebe, *Römische Geschichte* and in the biographical articles in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, many of which were written by Münzer. Necessary references are given for doubtful questions and for essential biographical details on all men not discussed in these two works. I have only one new name in this period, Mamercus Aemilius Lepidus, to add to Bardt's lists of the pontifices, and the evidence in his case is not conclusive. Bardt's material is repeated, with a few additions which are not always to the point, in Brissaud's list added to his translation of Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, III (*Le Culte chez les Romains*, I [1889], pp. 385-404).

priest's predecessor in office.<sup>2</sup> While Livy gives the predecessors for the years 218-168, the information is often lacking for the late republic.

The history of the individual places is of some interest because of the division between patricians and plebeians. Before 300 B. C. there were, according to Livy, four pontifices and four augurs, all patricians. The *Lex Ogulnia* of that year provided four new places in the pontificate and five in the augurate, all to be held by plebeians.<sup>3</sup> In the period 218-167, when we have Livy's records, there were nine places in each priesthood, divided between four patricians and five plebeians.<sup>4</sup> In every case recorded the successor belongs to the same order as his predecessor. When Sulla raised the membership of both colleges to fifteen, some of the new places must have been open to patricians, for Cicero says that patricians made up half of the priesthoods,<sup>5</sup> and the college of pontifices of 57 consisted of seven patricians and eight plebeians. From a statement of Cicero on the restrictions of patrician birth it appears that all places in the priesthoods, like both places in the consulship, were actually open to

<sup>2</sup> Two types of records of Roman public priests are found in inscriptions. The first, illustrated by the *Fasti* of the *Salii* (Dessau, 5024, 9339) consists of names arranged in order of election to the college, each name being followed by the name of the man whose place he took. The other type is a record of all the holders of an individual place (the word *decuria* is used technically to describe a place in a priesthood) with dates to show when the place fell to a new priest. To this group belong the inscriptions of the *Sodales Augustales* (Dessau, 5025) and the fragmentary *Fasti sacerdotum* which are records either of the augurs alone or, more probably, of the augurs and pontifices combined (Dessau, 9338). As in the *Fasti sodalium Aug.*, the *decuriae* in the *Fasti sacerdotum* were numbered. There are remains of the end of the first *decuria* and of the beginning of the second, and there is a fragment which belongs to one of the new places established by the *Lex Ogulnia* in 300 B. C. The number of the *decuria* in this case is lost, but it must have been something between five and nine, and was perhaps eight. See Huelsen, *Klio*, II (1902), pp. 275 f., and Münzer, *Hermes*, LII (1917), pp. 152 ff. The first four places in the pontificate and in the augurate seem to have been open to patricians.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, X, 6, 3-9, 2. On Livy's uncertainty about the numbers of augurs see X, 6, 7-8. Cf. Cicero, *Rep.*, II, 26. See Wissowa, *R. K.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 503.

<sup>4</sup> Bardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 f.

<sup>5</sup> *De Domo*, 38: Ita populus Romanus brevi tempore neque regem sacrorum neque flamines nec Salios habebit nec ex parte dimidia reliquos sacerdotes.

plebeians, while the patricians could only compete for certain restricted places.<sup>6</sup> But the patricians seem usually to have secured the places open to them, though, as we shall see, there are several instances in the late republic in which successor and predecessor belong to different orders.

The method of electing the pontifices is important in a consideration of the membership in the college.<sup>7</sup> Until the year 104 B. C. the pontifices, the augurs, the *decemviri* (after Sulla *quindecimviri*) *sacris faciundis*, and probably the less well known *epulones* were elected by coöptation within the colleges, which were thus self-perpetuating bodies. Although the vote of the majority usually prevailed, it was not, as Cicero tells us, customary to choose a new member who was a personal enemy of any member of the group.<sup>8</sup> At least from the late third century B. C. the head of the pontifical college, the semi-magisterial *pontifex maximus*, was elected from the members of the college by a special assembly of seventeen of the thirty-five tribes chosen by lot. In 104 the tribune, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, angered because he had not been coöpted into the pontificate as his father's successor, sponsored a law which transferred to the special assembly which elected the *pontifex maximus* the right of electing all the members of the major priesthoods. Under the *Lex Domitia* the priests, though they could not elect, had the exclusive right of making nominations to the people for their respective colleges;<sup>9</sup> they also went through the old ceremony

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 37: Cur enim quisquam vellet tribunum plebis se fieri non licere, angustiores sibi esse petitionem consulatus, in sacerdotium cum possit venire, quia patricio non sit is locus, non venire. Cf. also *Pro Scauro*, 34: illum in pontificatus petitione . . . meminerat fuisse patricium. See Mommsen, *Röm. Forschungen*, II, pp. 80-92.

<sup>7</sup> On the election of priests see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II<sup>2</sup>, pp. 24-36, where the evidence is cited in full.

<sup>8</sup> See the letter to his colleague in the augurate, Appius Claudius Pulcher, *Ad Fam.*, III, 10, 9: amplissimi sacerdotii collegium in quo non modo amicitiam violari apud maiores nostros fas non erat sed ne cooptari quidem sacerdotem licebat qui cuiquam ex collegio esset inimicus.

<sup>9</sup> The procedure is best attested by Cicero's account of his nomination by Pompey and Hortensius for the augurate, *Phil.*, II, 4. From *Auct. ad Heren.*, I, 20, Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II<sup>2</sup>, p. 30, concluded that each priest had to make a nomination; from Cicero's statement, *loc. cit.*, it is clear that at the time of his election (53-2) not more than two priests could nominate the same man.



of coöpting formally the new member designated by the people. Whereas coöptations within the colleges had usually occurred as soon as there was a vacancy, the elections henceforth seem to have taken place once a year, apparently between the consular and the praetorian *comitia*.<sup>10</sup> They were among the most hotly contested elections of the Roman state. The *Lex Domitia* remained in force until Sulla, after his victory in 82, restored to the priests the right of electing their own members.<sup>11</sup> In the year 63 the tribune Titus Labienus, supported by Caesar, who was then a candidate for the office of *pontifex maximus* made vacant by the death of Metellus Pius, secured the passage of a law which revived the *Lex Domitia* and restored the election of the priests to the special assembly.<sup>12</sup> The pontifices of the period 74-44 thus include members elected at different periods under two different systems.

In addition to the fifteen pontifices, who made up the full quota after Sulla, there were other priests who regularly sat with the pontifices—the *rex sacrorum* and the *flamines Martialis* and *Quirinalis*, all three of them patricians, and at least three *pontifices minores*, who were plebeians.<sup>13</sup> The two lists which have come down to us from the time of Caesar include names of these priests. The *rex* and the *flamines* were never, as far as we know, elected by popular vote. They were chosen by the *pontifex maximus* from nominations made presumably by members of the college.<sup>14</sup>

#### 1. Metellus Pius' incomplete List

This list is a record which the *pontifex maximus* Q. Metellus Pius kept of a dinner given on the occasion of the inauguration

<sup>10</sup> See Livy's account of the coöptation of a new pontifex to succeed the *pontifex maximus* in the college, Livy, XXV, 2, 1-2, followed some months later by the election of a new *pontifex maximus*, XXV, 5. See Wissowa, *R. K.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 488 f. On the time of the *comitia sacerdotum* see Cicero, *Ad Brut.*, I, 5, 4; *Ad Fam.*, VIII, 4, 1.

<sup>11</sup> Ps. Asconius, p. 188 (Stangl).

<sup>12</sup> Dio, XXXVII, 37, 1. This is the only specific reference to the *Lex Labiena*. *Comitia pontificia* are referred to by Cicero, *Pro Caelio*, 19.

<sup>13</sup> See Wissowa, *R. K.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 501-8. There was no *flamen Dialis* after the death of Merula in 87 until 11 B. C. Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.*, III, 58; Dio, LIV, 36, 1. See my paper, "Caesar's Early Career," *Class. Phil.*, XXXVI (1941), pp. 113-132.

<sup>14</sup> Livy, XL, 42, 11; Tacitus, *Ann.*, IV, 16. See Wissowa, *R. K.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 487 and 510, note 3.

of L. Cornelius Lentulus as *flamen Martialis*. Macrobius (III, 13, 11) quotes Metellus Pius' account as follows: duobus tricliniis pontifices cubuerunt Q. Catulus, M. Aemilius Lepidus, D. Silanus, C. Caesar . . . rex sacrorum, P. Scaevola, Sextus . . . Q. Cornelius, P. Volumnius, P. Albinovanus et L. Iulius Caesar augur qui eum inauguravit.<sup>15</sup> This list dates between 74-3 B. C. when Caesar became pontifex<sup>16</sup> and 64-3 when Metellus Pius died. The pontifices mentioned are the following:

- Q. Metellus Pius, pontifex maximus, consul 80, plebeian
- Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul 78, plebeian
- M. Aemilius Lepidus (see discussion *infra*), patrician
- D. Iunius Silanus, consul 62, plebeian
- C. Iulius Caesar, consul 59, patrician
- ....., *rex sacrorum*, patrician
- P. Mucius Scaevola, not otherwise known, plebeian
- Sextus ....., identity unknown
- L. Cornelius Lentulus, candidate for the consulship 58, inaugurated as *flamen Martialis*, patrician

In addition there were present three men, Q. Cornelius, P. Volumnius, and P. Albinovanus, whom we can identify as *pontifices minores* (and therefore all plebeians) since two of the three appear with that title in the second list, and L. Iulius Caesar who attended not as a member of the college but as the augur who officiated at the inauguration of the new *flamen*. Absent from the dinner—or perhaps omitted from the text—were the *flamen Quirinalis* and eight pontifices who made up the full quota of the college as fixed by the Sullan regulations. I shall return to a discussion of the college of pontifices at this period after considering the second and more complete list.

## 2. Cicero's List; the complete College of 57 B. C.

This later list consists of thirteen pontifices, two *flamines*, the *rex sacrorum*, and three *pontifices minores*, all of whom attended the meeting of the college, held on September 29, 57, to pass on the validity of the dedication of a shrine of Libertas on the

<sup>15</sup> The notice continues with a list of the women present: in tertio triclino Popilia Perpennia Licinia Arruntia virgines Vestales et ipsius uxor Publicia flaminica et Sempronia socrus eius. The sumptuous bill of fare follows. Bardt, *op. cit.*, p. 13, argues that the passage is not fragmentary.

<sup>16</sup> Velleius, II, 43, 1. See *Class. Phil.*, XXXVI, pp. 117-20.

site of Cicero's house. Cicero (*De Har. Resp.*, 12), after declaring that ordinarily three pontifices were sufficient for a decision, proceeds in solemn fashion to name the large group which had passed on the question of his house: At vero meam domum P. Lentulus consul et pontifex, P. Servilius, M. Lucullus, Q. Metellus, M<sup>r</sup>. Glabrio, M. Messalla, L. Lentulus, flamen Martialis, P. Galba, Q. Metellus Scipio, C. Fannius, M. Lepidus, L. Claudius, rex sacrorum, M. Scaurus, M. Crassus, C. Curio, Sex. Caesar, flamen Quirinalis, Q. Cornelius, P. Albinovanus, Q. Terentius, pontifices minores, causa cognita, duobus locis dicta, maxima frequentia amplissimorum ac sapientissimorum civium adstante, omni religione una mente omnes liberaverunt. Nego umquam post sacra constituta . . . ulla de re . . . tam frequens collegium iudicasse.

This list comprises the following members:

- P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, consul 57, patrician
- P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, consul 79, plebeian
- M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, consul 73, plebeian
- Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus, consul 69, plebeian
- M<sup>r</sup>. Acilius Glabrio, consul 67, plebeian
- M. Valerius Messalla, consul 61, patrician
- L. Cornelius Lentulus, *flamen Martialis*, candidate for the consulship for 58, patrician
- P. Sulpicius Galba, candidate for the consulship for 63, patrician
- Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio, consul 52, patrician by birth, plebeian after testamentary adoption by the *pontifex maximus*, Metellus Pius
- C. Fannius, *tribunus plebis* 59, probably praetor 55, plebeian
- M. Aemilius Lepidus, consul 46, *triumvir r. p. c.* 42, *pontifex maximus* 44-13, patrician
- L. Claudius, *rex sacrorum*, patrician. The *praenomen* Lucius is probably a mistake, since Lucius was avoided among the Claudii (Suetonius, *Tib.*, 1).
- M. Aemilius Scaurus, praetor 56, patrician
- M. Licinius Crassus, either the father, consul 70 and 55, or the son, quaestor probably in 54, plebeian
- C. Scribonius Curio, consul 76, plebeian
- Sex. Iulius Caesar, *flamen Quirinalis*, perhaps quaestor 47, patrician
- Q. Cornelius, P. Albinovanus, Q. Terentius, *pontifices minores*, about whose careers nothing definite is known, all plebeians

Absent from the meeting were two pontifices who completed the full membership of the college. They were:

- C. Julius Caesar, consul 59, pontifex since 74-3, *pontifex maximus* since 63, patrician. Caesar was in Gaul at the time.
- L. Pinarius Natta, who had held no magistracy, patrician. Natta, who had lately been elected pontifex, was the member of the college who officiated at the dedication of the shrine of Libertas on the site of Cicero's house (Cicero, *De Domo*, 118, 134, 137).

The identical names in the two lists are L. Cornelius Lentulus, *flamen Martialis*, M. Aemilius Lepidus, pontifex, and Q. Cornelius and P. Albinovanus, *pontifices minores*. Caesar, who did not attend the session on Cicero's house, was also a member of the college at both periods. Of the pontifices in Macrobius' incomplete list, Q. Metellus Pius had died in 64-3, Catulus between July 61 and May 60, and Silanus after his consulship in 62. P. Mucius Scaevola and Sextus . . . must also have died, since they have no place in the full college of 57.

In determining the order of entrance into the college Cicero's arrangement of the names is of some significance. P. Lentulus, who heads the list, is obviously placed first because he was consul—and Cicero's benefactor—at the time. The other names, with the *flamen Martialis* and the *rex sacrorum* interrupting the list of the pontifices, are obviously placed in a carefully determined order. The suggestion has been made that, as in inscriptional lists of priests which have been preserved,<sup>17</sup> the names are given in order of entrance into the college.<sup>18</sup> There would seem to be a strong objection to this suggestion because of the fact that the name of M. Aemilius Lepidus occurs in both lists. According to Metellus Pius' list he was a pontifex when L. Lentulus was inaugurated as *flamen Martialis*; in Cicero's list a man of the same name is placed after the *flamen Martialis* and so, if the names are arranged in order of entrance, must have

<sup>17</sup> In addition to the *Fasti Saliorum* mentioned in note 2 *supra*, see the list of *Augustates* of Ostia, *C. I. L.*, XIV, *Suppl.*, 4560-63. The *quindécimviri* listed in the *Acta ludorum saecularium* are probably arranged in order of entrance. Cf. Dessau, 5050; *C. I. L.*, VI, 32323; *N. S.*, 1931, pp. 313 ff. See Mommsen, *Eph. Epig.*, VIII, pp. 242 f.

<sup>18</sup> Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.*, III<sup>2</sup>, p. 243, note 1; Wissowa, *R. K.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 501, note 2. As far as I can ascertain, the suggestion has never been followed up, and no use has been made of it in biographical articles. Thus Münzer, *R. E.*, s. v. Scribonius (10), col. 863, suggests that the elder Curio, who comes last in the list of *pontifices*, secured the priesthood early in his career.

become a member of the college later. In both cases M. Aemilius Lepidus is usually identified with the future triumvir and *pontifex maximus* who was *triumvir monetalis* at some time between 65 and 61, praetor in 49, and presumably held the quaestorship about 58. He was, to judge from his *cursus*, born not later than the year 89. He was the son of the well-known man of the same name who as consul in 78 led a revolt against the Sullan constitution. The son was probably too young to be chosen *pontifex* before his father's revolt, and he would certainly not have been coöpted into a college which was made up of Sullan nobles, among whom was the elder Lepidus' colleague in the consulship and relentless enemy Q. Lutatius Catulus. The younger Lepidus was faithful to his father's memory; on his coins, with other achievements of his ancestors, there are representations of his father's restoration of the Basilica Aemilia.<sup>19</sup> The emblem of the pontificate which appears on the coins probably indicates that he was a *pontifex* at this time, though it is possible that the symbol records the priesthood of his ancestor, the famous *pontifex maximus* of the second century. The younger Lepidus' election to the pontificate should be attributed to the influence of Caesar, who some years before, in his sponsorship of the *Lex Plotia* for the return of the exiled adherents of Lepidus, had shown interest in men associated with the revolt of 78 B. C.<sup>20</sup> The young Lepidus' pontificate must be dated after Labienus' law of 63 placed the election of priests in the hands of the people. He cannot therefore be identified with the M. Aemilius Lepidus of Metellus Pius' list.

It is possible that that M. Aemilius Lepidus is an otherwise unknown member of the house, perhaps someone who did not live to reach higher offices. But it is also possible that in Macrobius' corrupt text M. should, as in other texts, be emended to the more uncommon Mam(ercus). Mamercus Aemilius Lepidus Livianus, consul of 77, appears as M. in the manuscripts of

<sup>19</sup> These coins are dated by Mommsen, *Röm. Münzwesen*, pp. 633 f., about the year 61, and by Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, I, pp. 447-50 (who follows Count de Salis) about 65 B. C. The hoards provide no criteria for accepting the earlier date.

<sup>20</sup> On the *Lex Plotia* see Suetonius, *Iul.*, 5; Gellius, XIII, 3, 5. Compare also Caesar's interest in 63 in the question of restoring the Sullan proscribed to the right of seeking office, Cicero, *In Pis.*, 4; *Ad Att.*, II, 1, 3; Velleius, II, 43, 4; Pliny, *N. H.*, VII, 117.

Obsequens, LVIII and of Cicero, *Pro Cluentio*, 99.<sup>21</sup> There is some reason to believe that this Mamercus, who was one of the richest and most important *consulares* of his day, was a pontifex. When Caesar, who had been nominated under Cinna as *flamen Dialis*, was about to be included in the Sullan proscriptions, he was released through the plea of the Vestal Virgins and Mamercus Aemilius and Aurelius Cotta, whom Suetonius (*Iul.*, 1, 2) describes as his *propinqui* and *adfines*. The Vestal Virgins were naturally associated with the plea because of their close religious connection with the *flamen Dialis*. By virtue of his office as pontifex C. Aurelius Cotta had similar associations. It is likely that Mamercus Aemilius also pled for Caesar as pontifex and that he is the man who is erroneously referred to as M. in the text of Macrobius.<sup>22</sup>

An examination of the names which follow Lentulus in Cicero's list gives some information as to the relative ages of the men in the list. For the moment I shall consider the pontifices alone, omitting the *flamines* and the *rex*. The first six pontifices after P. Lentulus were, with the exception of Galba, all *consulares*, and Galba had been a candidate for the consulship six years before. All six were thus at least four years beyond the consular age, forty-three. The last six pontifices include four men, Metellus Scipio, Fannius, Lepidus, and Scaurus, who had not yet reached praetorian rank. They also include M. Licinius Crassus, who may be either the elder son of Crassus, a youth who had not yet reached the quaestorship, or Crassus himself, one of the three most important *consulares* of the day—so important that Cicero would hardly have named him next to last among the pontifices unless he was following a prescribed order. I am inclined to

<sup>21</sup> Manutius' emendation of M. in the Cicero text to Mam. is certainly correct. See the Oxford text of A. C. Clark (1908) and Münzer, *R. E.*, s. v. Staienus. In *C. I. L.*, IV, 1553 the *praenomen* of Mam. Aemilius Scaurus, *consul suffectus* under Tiberius, is erroneously written as M.

<sup>22</sup> On the plea of the Vestal Virgins in its relation to Caesar's position as a prospective *flamen Dialis* see Münzer, *Philol.*, XCII (1937), p. 221, note; cf. *Class. Phil.*, XXXVI, pp. 117-8. Cotta was a pontifex by 76 B. C. (cf. Cicero, *N. D.*, I, 61), and had probably secured the priesthood before his exile in 90. On Mamercus Aemilius see Münzer, *Röm. Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien* (1922), pp. 312 f., 326 f. Nothing is known of him after the period 77-6, although Valerius Maximus' reference to him as *princeps senatus* (VII, 7, 6) has led to the suggestion that he was enrolled as such by the censors of 70.

think that Crassus was the elder son of the triumvir, for there is no other evidence for the father's pontificate, and the elder son may well have been honored by a priesthood just as the younger son Publius was.<sup>23</sup> The latter became an augur, probably as the successor of L. Lucullus in 56.<sup>24</sup> The last pontifex in the list, C. Scribonius Curio, was, next to P. Servilius Isauricus, the ranking *consularis* in the college. But it is obvious that the average age of the last six men was much less than that of the first six.

The first two pontifices mentioned after the consul Lentulus, P. Servilius and M. Lucullus, are named elsewhere by Cicero as the two most dignified and experienced members of the college, the men who might properly have officiated instead of the newly appointed Natta at the dedication of the shrine of Libertas.<sup>25</sup> Servilius had, as an important member of the college, competed with Caesar for the office of *pontifex maximus* in 63. M. Lucullus spoke for the college in the senate to explain the scope of their decision about the dedication.<sup>26</sup> Servilius and Lucullus were certainly the ranking members of the college. There are two other men in the first half of the list whose entrance into the college can be approximately dated. The career of M. Valerius Messalla is known from his *elogium* (Dessau, 46): M. Valerius M. f. M'. [n.] Messalla pontife[x] tr. mil. II. q. pr. urb. co[s.] V. vir a. d. a. i. interr[ex] III censor. As Mommsen has noted,<sup>27</sup> the unusual order of offices, with the pontificate first, seems to be chronological. Messalla, like Caesar, apparently secured the pontificate before he had any elective office. He reached the consulship in 61, presumably at the minimum age of 43, for he was younger than Cicero (*Brut.*, 246), who became consul two years earlier at that age. Messalla's quaestorship would date about 73, and his military tribunate before that. He can hardly

<sup>23</sup> The reference given by Brissaud (see note 1 *supra*) for the pontificate of the elder Crassus, Ovid, *Fasti*, VI, 465, does not apply. The interest of a father in securing a priesthood for his son is shown in Cicero's letters (*Ad Brut.*, I, 5 and 14) urging Brutus to support the young Marcus for the pontificate.

<sup>24</sup> Plutarch, *Cic.*, 36, 1. On the date see Bardt, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>25</sup> *De Domo*, 132-3; cf. 117-8; *Har. Resp.*, 12.

<sup>26</sup> Cicero, *Ad Att.*, IV, 2, 4. Lucullus may have been appointed by the college to speak for the *pontifex maximus* in his absence.

<sup>27</sup> *Eph. Epig.*, III, pp. 1 ff. Cf. De Grassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, XIII, 3 (1937), 77.

have secured the pontificate later than 76. The next name in the entire list is that of the *flamen Martialis* who, as we have seen, entered upon his office between 73 and 63. Galba, who appears next, seems to have been pontifex as early as 69, the latest possible date for his curule aedileship,<sup>28</sup> for coins which he issued in that office have on them the emblems of the pontificate.<sup>29</sup> It is thus clear that four of the seven men whose names follow P. Lentulus entered the college before 63.

\*A *terminus post quem* can also be secured for the election of the eighth man after P. Lentulus, Q. Metellus Scipio.<sup>30</sup> As P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, he was a patrician until 64-3, when, by the will of Metellus Pius, he was adopted into the plebeian house of the Caecilii Metelli. Scipio can hardly have entered the college as a patrician, for in that case a majority of the places in the college would have been open to patricians. Therefore he cannot have become a member until 64-3.

It is moreover significant that the two *pontifices minores* who appear in both lists precede in Cicero, in the same order as in Macrobius, the name of M. Terentius who is not mentioned in Macrobius. Thus they seem to be named in order of seniority.

Since M. Aemilius Lepidus in Macrobius' list cannot be the triumvir, there is no valid argument against the suggestion that Cicero has named in order of election first the pontifices proper with *flamines* and *rex* and then the *pontifices minores*. In favor of that order is not only the curious arrangement of the names but also the advanced age of the men in the first half of the list, the presence in the second half of several comparatively young men, the fact that the two men whom Cicero names as the most experienced come immediately after the consul Lentulus, that four of the first seven names belong to men who had joined the

<sup>28</sup> On 69 as the probable date of Galba's curule aedileship see my discussion, *A. J. P.*, LX (1939), p. 200.

<sup>29</sup> Grueber, *op. cit.*, I, p. 433; Mommsen, *Röm. Münzwesen*, p. 621, note 452. It is of course possible that the symbols of the pontificate refer to the priesthood of an ancestor of Galba. Three Sulpicii Galbae of the late third and early second century (*R. E.*, nos. 49, 50, 56) are listed as pontifices, and other members of the house may have held the pontificate later. But I agree with Mommsen, *loc. cit.*, and with Münzer, *R. E.*, s. v. Sulpicius (55), in thinking that the emblems refer to P. Galba's own office as pontifex. His place on the list supports their view.

<sup>30</sup> On Metellus Scipio see Münzer, *Röm. Adp.*, pp. 315-8; *Hermes*, LXXI (1936), p. 222.



college before 63, and that the eighth man was elected not earlier than 64-3. We may conclude that in the published version of his speech Cicero has carefully placed the members of the college according to the date of their election, perhaps reproducing the order in which, like an academic procession arranged by order of appointment, they filed into the meeting.

There are three pontifices whose names are not arranged in their proper position. They are the consul Lentulus who is mentioned first, and the two pontifices absent from the meeting, Caesar and L. Pinarius Natta. The date of Caesar's coöptation was 74-3, and he should be inserted between Messalla and L. Cornelius Lentulus whose inaugural banquet he attended. The exact position of P. Cornelius Lentulus is impossible to ascertain, but he certainly acquired the office later than Caesar to whom he expressed gratitude *quod per eum in collegium pontificum venerat*.<sup>31</sup> That probably means that he was chosen by popular vote after Labienus' law of 63, and that Caesar was the pontifex who nominated him to the people. L. Pinarius Natta<sup>32</sup> had been made pontifex at the *comitia* of 58, a short time before the shrine of Libertas was dedicated.<sup>33</sup> He was supported by Clodius, the husband of his sister,<sup>34</sup> against the candidacy of Clodius'

<sup>31</sup> Caesar, *B. C.*, I, 22, 4.

<sup>32</sup> The name which Cicero avoids using in the *De Domo* can be identified from the fact that the man in question was a stepson of Murena (*De Domo*, 134) whose name, L. Natta, is given in *Pro Murena*, 73. For the *nomen* see the reference to the cult of Hercules, *De Domo*, 134 and Servius Dan. on *Aen.*, VIII, 270, where he is called Pinarius Natta.

<sup>33</sup> Pinarius had become pontifex *paucis illis diebus* (*De Domo*, 118) when the shrine of Libertas was dedicated in 58. He was evidently elected at the *comitia* of that year. Cf. also 117, 132-5, 138-41.

<sup>34</sup> The identity of Clodius' wife, sister of L. Pinarius Natta (*De Domo*, 118, 134), presents a difficult problem. Clodius had been married to Fulvia (who was subsequently the wife of the younger Curio and then of Antony) long enough before his death in 52 to have two children by her. Cicero indicates that he was already the husband of Fulvia in 58. Cf. *Phil.*, II, 48: *Intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio qui sua erga me beneficia commemorat; eius omnium incendiorum fax, cuius etiam domi iam tum quiddam molitus est. Quid dicam ipse optime intellegit.* Instead of the usual view that Clodius first married a Pinaria (cf. Drumann-Groebe, II, pp. 309 f.) and afterwards Fulvia, one might suggest that Fulvia was, through her mother Sempronia, the half-sister of Pinarius. In that case Sempronia must have been married three times—to Pinarius, to Fulvius Bambalio, and finally (see note 32 *supra*) to Murena. Pinarius' sister,

brother.<sup>35</sup> Natta belonged to an ancient patrician family, famous for its association with the cult of Hercules, but not prominent in political annals. He was still a young man in 57 and had held no political office. If he is identical with the Natta mentioned in a letter of Cicero in 56,<sup>36</sup> he died in that year. Another L. Pinarius is known from the late republic, Caesar's nephew or grandnephew who shared with his cousin Q. Pedius the second place after Octavian in Caesar's inheritance. I would suggest that the pontifex Pinarius Natta was the husband of Caesar's niece and the father of Caesar's heir.<sup>37</sup>

A surer indication of advancement for Caesar's own family is to be found in the appointment of the *flamen Quirinalis* after the election of Curio. For this priesthood, regularly, as we have seen, appointed by the *pontifex maximus*, Caesar chose Sextus Julius Caesar, probably a grandson of the consul of 91, who seems to have been Caesar's uncle.<sup>38</sup> The *flamen* is probably identical with the quaestor of the same name whom Caesar left in charge of Syria in 47—a man who is frequently referred to as a relative of Caesar.<sup>39</sup> This priesthood was desirable because it did not disqualify its holder from a political career.

who with her mother urged him to dedicate the shrine, has Fulvia's characteristic energy (*De Domo*, 118, 139). Fulvia and Sempronia appear together as witnesses in the trial of Milo in 52, Asconius, *In Milon.*, p. 40 (Clark).

<sup>35</sup> *De Domo*, 118. See R. G. Nisbet's edition (Oxford, 1939) where the suggestion is made that the brother referred to was not the well-known Appius, who was an augur, but Gaius.

<sup>36</sup> Cicero, *Ad Att.*, IV, 8a, 3: De Natta ex tuis primum scivi litteris; oderam hominem. The last two words accord with Cicero's sentiments toward the pontifex Natta.

<sup>37</sup> Suetonius, *Iul.*, 83; Appian, *B.C.*, III, 22. See Münzer, *Hermes*, LXXI (1936), pp. 226 ff. on the question whether Pinarius and Pedius were nephews or great-nephews of Caesar. If my suggestion is correct, Caesar's heir would have had the *cognomen* Natta, and so would not be identical, as Münzer believes that he was, with Pinarius Scarpus, legate of Antony in command of the Cyrenaica. See *Pros. Imp. Rom.*, III, p. 40.

<sup>38</sup> See the genealogical table of the Iulii, *R. B.*, s. v. Iulius, col. 182.

<sup>39</sup> Amicum et necessarium suum, *Bell. Alex.*, 66, 1; *συγγενής*, Josephus, *Ant.*, XIV, 160; Dio, XLVII, 26, 3; Appian, *B.C.*, III, 77; IV, 58. Münzer, *R. B.*, s. v. Iulius (152, 153), col. 477 assumes that the *flamen Quirinalis* was a son of the consul of 91 and that the quaestor of 47 was a son of the latter. Cf. also De la Courville, *op. cit.*, p. 40. The quaestor of 47, born presumably about 48, was old enough to become a

Caesar had at an earlier period, after the election of Lepidus (in 62?), filled the office of *rex sacrorum*, another one of the special priesthoods over which as *pontifex maximus* he had control. The post, undesirable since it prevented its holder from seeking any magistracy, was bestowed on an unknown member of the Claudian house.<sup>40</sup> But it is noteworthy that Caesar did not fill the office of *flamen Dialis*, which had been vacant since the year 88. This was the priesthood for which Caesar himself had been nominated.

It is possible now to secure approximate dates for the election of the later members of the pontificate. Candidacy under the *Lex Labiena* could hardly have taken place before the year 62, for the pontifices, in anticipation of the law, would have hastened to coöpt immediately members to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Metellus Pius<sup>41</sup> and of any other pontifices who had died at this time. For later years the *comitia sacerdotum* were probably established at this time in their position between the consular and the praetorian elections.

Metellus Scipio probably took his adoptive father's place in 64-3. Sons often sought the places made vacant by the death of their fathers. Fannius, the next man on the list, may also have been coöpted, perhaps to succeed Scaevola of the earlier list, before the *Lex Labiena* was passed. After that law had come into force, the commendation of Caesar as *pontifex maximus* probably had a good deal of influence on the election of members of the college. Fannius would hardly have been supported by Caesar and his henchmen, for he was a staunch conservative. He was one of the accusers of Clodius in the famous trial *de incestu* and one of the three tribunes who opposed Caesar in 59.<sup>42</sup> The later men in the list, beginning with Lepidus, were elected by popular vote. In the period 62-60 there seem to have been

*flamen* about the year 60. Caesar had been destined for the office of *flamen Dialis* when he was sixteen. See *Class. Phil.*, XXXVI, pp. 113 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Cicero, *De Domo* 127: *Etiam tu, rex, disce a gentili tuo* (i. e. Clodius). This passage makes it clear that there is no mistake about the *nomen* of the rex, though his *praenomen* Lucius is probably wrong. See Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.*, I, p. 15, note.

<sup>41</sup> See my note on "The Election of the *Pontifex maximus* in the Late Republic" to appear in *Classical Philology*.

<sup>42</sup> Fannius' pontificate is also attested by coins. Cf. *C. I. L.*, I<sup>2</sup>, *App. Num.* 376. He was probably a grandson of the consul of 122 who opposed Gaius Gracchus.

two important factions at Rome, that of Crassus and Caesar, aided from the year 61 by Clodius, and that of Pompey, who was very successful in obtaining honors for his former officers. These two factions combined in 60 into the ring which is popularly known as the first triumvirate. The control which the triumvirs exercised over the priestly *comitia* is clearly indicated by Cicero's comments on the augurate which he vainly hoped to secure in 59.<sup>43</sup> To the influence of Caesar and Crassus we can attribute the election of the pontifices M. Aemilius Lepidus, whom we have already considered, Crassus (father or son), and probably the consular Curio. In the last contest, if it took place in 61 or 60, Clodius would have had special interest, for Curio, after attempting in vain to forestall senatorial action that was unfavorable to Clodius, defended him in his trial in 61.<sup>44</sup> By the time of the elections of 59 Curio had broken with Clodius and the triumvirs.<sup>45</sup> To the influence of Pompey we can attribute the election of M. Aemilius Scaurus as pontifex. Scaurus had been Pompey's quaestor in the East, and, after staying behind in command of Syria, probably reached Rome in time for the *comitia* of 60.<sup>46</sup> That is the year to which I would assign the elections of Scaurus, Crassus, and Curio. It may be noted that there was at least one plebeian vacancy to be filled in 60, that caused by the death of Catulus,<sup>47</sup> and that Silanus' place

<sup>43</sup> *Ad Att.*, II, 5, 2; 7, 3; 9, 2; *In Vat.*, 19.

<sup>44</sup> *Ad Att.*, I, 14, 5; *In Clodium et Curionem*, *Schol. Bob.*, pp. 85-91 (Stangl).

<sup>45</sup> *Ad Att.*, II, 7, 3; see Münzer, *R. E.*, s. v. Scribonius (10), col. 866. After that time Curio could hardly have been one of the intimates (*familiarissimos*) whom Cicero (*De Domo*, 118) says that Clodius had in the college.

<sup>46</sup> Scaurus had been left in charge of Syria (Josephus, *Ant.*, XIV, 79; *Bell.*, I, 157) on Pompey's departure, presumably late in 63. He was succeeded there probably in 61 by L. Marcius Philippus. Cf. Appian, *Syr.*, 51 and Münzer's discussion *R. E.*, s. v. Marcius (76). Scaurus could easily have reached Rome in time for the *comitia* of 60. From Cicero, *Ad Brut.*, I, 5, 3 it is clear that there was no rule against candidacy for a priesthood *in absentia*, though of course a man who was on hand to solicit votes had an advantage. On Scaurus as a patrician candidate see Cicero, *Pro Scauro*, 34.

<sup>47</sup> Catulus died between July of 61 and May of 60. Cf. Cicero, *Ad Att.*, I, 16, 5; 20, 3. Dio, XXXVII, 46, 3, indicates that his death took place in 61. It is practically certain that the vacancy would have been filled at the *comitia* of 60.

may have had to be filled at the same time. Crassus and Curio would thus have replaced Catulus and Silanus in the college. Lepidus, whose name is separated from theirs by the name of the *rex sacrorum*, was presumably elected earlier. If, as I think probable, he was nominated by Caesar, we must place his election in 62, for Caesar was in Spain at the time of the *comitia* of 61. Lentulus, whom Caesar nominated, must have been elected in a year when Caesar was in Rome—either 62, 60, or 59. Natta, elected in 58, seems still to have been in 57 the last in order of entrance in the college.

### 3. The College in the Seventies

We can now secure a more exact date for the banquet described in Macrobius' excerpt from Metellus Pius' record, and we can study the composition of the college at an earlier time. The banquet must date between the cooptation of Caesar in 74-3, and that of Galba, not later than 69, for Galba was elected after L. Lentulus, the *flamen Martialis*.<sup>48</sup> Metellus Pius' list seems also to be arranged in order of seniority, for the distinguished consular Catulus comes first, and Caesar, who had lately been coopted, comes third from the end. Moreover, as in Cicero's list, the *rex sacrorum* interrupts the order of the pontifices, and the *pontifices minores* come at the end of the list, with the two men who are also in Cicero's list appearing in the same order. The College at that period must also have included all the names which precede the *flamen Martialis* in Cicero—P. Servilius Vatia, M. Lucullus, Q. Metellus Creticus, M'. Acilius Glabrio, M. Valerius Messalla. All these men were either absent from the dinner or have had their names omitted from the fragmentary list.

For the period of this dinner we have the names of eleven of the fifteen pontifices, and the *praenomen* Sextus of a twelfth. In the following combination of the two lists accompanied by notes on the family connections of the men, it is impossible to establish with certainty the relative order of some of the names:

Q. Metellus Pius, *pontifex maximus*, consul 80, plebeian. Son of the famous Numidicus, consul of 109. Metellus had secured

<sup>48</sup> If, as is probable but not certain, Metellus Pius was present at the dinner, the date could be narrowed to the years 70-69, for he did not return from his Spanish proconsulship until the end of 71 (Appian, *B. C.*, I, 121).

election to the pontificate by popular vote when he was still *adulescens*.<sup>49</sup>

Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul 78, plebeian. As son of the great general, rival of Marius for the glory of the conquest of Cimbri and Teutones, he probably secured the office early in his career.

P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, consul 79, plebeian. His mother was a Caecilia Metella, daughter of Q. Metellus Macedonicus and he was a first cousin of Q. Metellus Creticus.

Mam. Aemilius Lepidus Livianus(?), consul 77, patrician.<sup>50</sup> Probably a brother of M. Livius Drusus, tr. of 91. Father-in-law of Metellus Scipio.

M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, consul 73, plebeian. Brother of L. Licinius Lucullus. Their father was praetor in 104; their mother was another Caecilia Metella, daughter of L. Metellus Calvus, consul of 142. M. Lucullus was a first cousin of Q. Metellus Pius, the *pontifex maximus*.

Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus, consul 69, plebeian. Son of C. Metellus Caprarius, consul of 113, distant cousin of the *pontifex maximus*, first cousin of P. Servilius Vatia, father-in-law of the elder son of M. Crassus.

M'. Acilius Glabrio, consul 67, plebeian, son of the tribune of 123 or 122, who seems to have died young and to have left his son to the care of the son's maternal grandfather, a Scaevola, probably to be identified with Mucius Scaevola, the famous augur.<sup>51</sup> Glabrio's wife was Aemilia, daughter of M. Aemilius Scaurus, and sister of the pontifex who was elected later. At the command of Sulla, who married her mother, Glabrio had to give her up to Pompey.

M. Valerius Messalla, consul 61, patrician. Member of a branch of the Valerii which had not reached the consulship since 161; probably a nephew of Sulla's fifth and last wife, a relationship which may explain his advancement.<sup>52</sup>

D. Iunius Silanus, consul 62, plebeian, probably a son of the consul of 109. His wife was the patrician Servilia, mother by a previous marriage of M. Brutus who was later a pontifex.

<sup>49</sup> *De vir. ill.*, 63: Adolescens in petitione praeturae et pontificatus consularibus viris praelatus est. The reference to the praetorship is obviously an error.

<sup>50</sup> See note 22 *supra*.

<sup>51</sup> See Münzer, *Röm. Adp.*, pp. 75-80.

<sup>52</sup> Plutarch, *Sulla*, 35; cf. Münzer, *De Gente Valeria* (1891), p. 52.

C. Iulius Caesar, consul 59, patrician, elected in place of his kinsman, C. Aurelius Cotta, consul 75, plebeian.

P. Mucius Scaevola, plebeian. An otherwise unknown member of an important family which provided three *pontifices maximi* between 132 and 82 B. C. Probably the son of the last of these.<sup>53</sup>

This list provides the names of eight plebeian members and of three patricians. If the college consisted at this period, as in 57, of eight plebeians and seven patricians, the unknown Sextus should be added to the patricians. The *praenomen* Sextus is known in only two of the fourteen patrician *gentes* which still existed in the late republic<sup>54</sup>—the Iulii Caesares and the Quintilii Vari. Since there was already a Iulius Caesar in the college, it is not unlikely that Sextus belonged to the Quintilii Vari, though he cannot be identified with either of the known men of the name—a praetor of 57<sup>55</sup> and a quaestor of 49.<sup>56</sup> There were three additional members, presumably patrician, about whom we have no information.

The college of the seventies, as far as we can reconstruct it, was made up almost entirely of representatives of noble families who were aligned with Sulla in the Civil Wars of 88-2. Through either their fathers or their mothers four of the pontifices belonged to the powerful Caecilii Metelli,<sup>57</sup> and two to the important priestly house of the Mucii Scaevolae.<sup>58</sup> A few men in the list had probably secured the priesthood before the disturbances began in 88. Among them we can certainly include Q. Caecilius

<sup>53</sup> This is the suggestion of Münzer, *R. E.*, s. v. Mucius (18).

<sup>54</sup> See Mommsen's list, *Röm. Forsch.*, I, p. 122.

<sup>55</sup> Cicero, *Or. post Red. in Sen.*, 23. The name given is Sextus Quinctilius.

<sup>56</sup> Caesar, *B. C.*, I, 23; II, 28.

<sup>57</sup> The pontifices were not restricted as the augurs were (Dio, XXXIX, 17) by a rule which forbade the election of two members of one family to the priesthood. After Metellus Scipio had entered the college, probably as successor of his adoptive father, there were again two Caecilii Metelli among the pontifices. In the college of 57 besides Servilius and M. Lucullus, another pontifex, M. Aemilius Scaurus, was the son of a Caecilia Metella. M. Crassus of that list, if he was the son of the triumvir, was the husband of a Caecilia Metella, the woman whose tomb stands on the Appian Way. On some of the relationships see Cicero, *De Domo*, 123; *Or. post Red. in Sen.*, 37. For the family of the Metelli see Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (1939), Genealogical Table I.

<sup>58</sup> In the college of 57 Metellus Scipio was the grandson of a Mucia.

Metellus Pius, Sulla's most important general, who became *pontifex maximus* in 81. It is likely that Catulus and C. Aurelius Cotta whom Caesar succeeded were also elected to the office before the Civil Wars began. After Sulla's victory there were many vacancies to be filled, for priests had lost their lives in the proscriptions and new places were opened by Sulla's enlargement of the college. The pontifices, to whom the right of choosing their own members had been restored, naturally selected members of families belonging to the Sullan oligarchy. Servilius, Catulus, Cotta, Mamercus Aemilius, and M. Lucullus, as well as Metellus Pius, were active under Sulla. Valerius Messalla probably owed his election to his relationship to Sulla's wife.

But there is one name in the list which is distinctly out of place in this group of Sullan supporters—the young Caesar, nephew of Marius' wife and husband of Cinna's daughter whom he had refused to divorce at Sulla's command. In spite of some uncertainty about the relative order of names, there can be little doubt that in the names which precede Caesar's we have nine of the fourteen pontifices who elected him. These nine men were all henchmen of Sulla, and two of them, Metellus Pius and Catulus, were hereditary enemies of Marius. It is evident that in spite of his background Caesar had won the favor of a group of Sullan oligarchs.<sup>59</sup> His vigorous attacks on the Sullan constitution were still in the future.

Caesar's chances of obtaining the pontificate were probably better because he was a patrician, for, with the disappearance of many patrician families, patrician candidates must have been scarce. But it is a curious fact that he succeeded a plebeian, his kinsman, C. Aurelius Cotta. In the great priesthoods this is the first known case in which the office was bestowed on a man of

<sup>59</sup> On Caesar's election to the pontificate see *Class. Phil.*, XXXVI, pp. 117-20. Caesar, who was elected while he was absent in the East and so could have made no personal bid for support, must have had strong influences at work for him at Rome. Mamercus Aemilius, who had pled for Caesar with Sulla, may have been one of his sponsors. I am tempted to suspect that Servilia, whose relations with Caesar were long a subject of gossip in Rome, may have been active in his behalf. She was a member of the famous house of the Servilii Caepiones and a cousin of Catulus. Her second husband Silanus was a pontifex at the time. It is to be noted that later her son M. Brutus and her son-in-law Lepidus were members of the college.



different status from his predecessor. Cotta seems to have held one of the open places. He was probably elected to the pontificate before his exile in 90 B. C.,<sup>60</sup> that is by popular vote under the *Lex Domitia*. The fact that he held a place open to patricians may mean that patricians were at a disadvantage in the elections of 103-82. But under the Sullan system there were no such disadvantages. Sulla, who opened some of the new places to patricians, may have had special interest in maintaining the prerogatives of the group to which he belonged. Sulla's traditions may in part explain why the pontifices elected Caesar and (if I am right in my identification of Sextus) a member of the comparatively unimportant patrician Quintilii Vari.

Immediately after he secured the pontificate, Caesar began his open opposition to the oligarchs in power. He must soon have been at variance with several of his colleagues, notably the important conservatives Metellus Pius, M. Lucullus, and Catulus,<sup>61</sup> who was Caesar's bitter enemy certainly as early as the year 65. It was particularly against Catulus that Caesar conducted his campaign for the office of *pontifex maximus* in 63. Servilius Vatia was also a candidate,<sup>62</sup> and the success of Caesar, a young man who had not yet held the praetorship, against these two distinguished *consulares* was the first great victory of his career. Caesar's election was due to extensive bribery and also to the popularity of Labienus' law which he had supported. The general view that that law dealt with the election of the *pontifex maximus* has no support in ancient evidence.<sup>63</sup> Sulla had probably left the election of the *pontifex maximus* in the hands of the people.

#### 4. The Pontifices from 57 to 44

Between 57 and 50 there were several deaths in the college. L. Lentulus, *flamen Martialis*, died in 56, Natta, if he is the man mentioned by Cicero, in the same year, M. Lucullus and Glabrio<sup>64</sup>

<sup>60</sup> See note 22 *supra*.

<sup>61</sup> These men were among the five *principes civitatis* who were witnesses for the prosecution of Cornelius, the tribune famous for his popular legislation in 67. Cf. Asconius, p. 60 C.

<sup>62</sup> Plutarch, *Caes.*, 7, 1; on the special claims to the office which Servilius had because of his ancestry see Münzer, *Röm. Adp.*, p. 360.

<sup>63</sup> See note 41 *supra*.

<sup>64</sup> On the date of Glabrio's death see Münzer, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

probably by the year 54, Q. Metellus Creticus between 54 and 50, Curio in 53. M. Crassus, if he is the triumvir, met his death in 53, if he is the triumvir's son probably in 49 or 48. Scaurus, who was exiled in 52, was presumably replaced, for, unlike the augurs (Plutarch, *Q. R.*, 99), the pontifices had no rule against filling a vacancy caused by exile. The only men known to have been elected to the pontificate between 57 and 50 are the younger Curio, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Q. Caepio (M. Iunius) Brutus. The first two men secured the priesthood as plebeians, the third as a patrician. Curio was elected, perhaps as his father's successor, in 52 or 51.<sup>65</sup> At that time he had not yet gone over to Caesar. Domitius, son of the *pontifex maximus* who had, as tribune, first given the people the right of electing priests, secured his priesthood, as he did his consulship for 54, in open opposition to Caesar and perhaps to Pompey too, whom he did not join until the beginning of the Civil War. His election should be placed before the year 50, in which he was defeated for the augurate by Antony, the candidate supported by Caesar's influence. Otherwise Caelius, who writes to Cicero of the contest for the augurate (*Ad Fam.*, VIII, 14, 1), would surely have mentioned the pontificate. Domitius, who was not less a demagogue than his father, was apparently trying to have himself elected to the two chief priesthoods in the state—a goal that no man of the late republic except the dictator Caesar reached. Brutus must have been a pontifex before the year 49, for Cicero (*Brut.*, 211-2) speaks of Metellus Scipio as his colleague, and the two must therefore have served together before the Civil War. For his election Brutus may well have had the support of Caesar who, because of his devotion to Brutus' mother, had protected the young man against the accusations of Vettius in 59. Caesar's interest in the candidacy of Antony for the augurate in 50 (*B. G.*, VIII, 50) shows that he concerned himself with priestly elections while he was in Gaul.

<sup>65</sup> Curio was already a pontifex in 50, the year of his tribunate, when he made an unsuccessful attempt to force the college to intercalate a month (Dio, XL, 62, 1; on the date see Caelius' letter, Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, VI (1, 6, 5). In a letter written to Curio late in 51 Cicero (*Ad Fam.*, II, 1-3) recalled his activity in commending Curio for the priesthood. Since the letter implies that Curio had been elected to it, the question recently, the election may have taken place in 51, though by Curio's credit. See also Caelius' letter, *Ad Fam.*, VIII, 4, in which the priestly *comitia* and Curio's candidacy for the augurate are mentioned.

In the Civil War which broke out in 49 the pontifices were divided in their allegiance between Caesar and Pompey. Among Caesar's active supporters were M. Aemilius Lepidus, Curio, and the younger Crassus (pontifex?). Caesar seems also to have had the passive support of the aged Servilius whose son was made consul in 48. With Pompey's forces were his father-in-law Q. Metellus Scipio, C. Fannius, P. Lentulus, Domitius, and Brutus. According to Caesar there was an altercation in Pompey's camp between Domitius, Lentulus, and Scipio, each man urging his claims as successor to Caesar's priesthood.<sup>66</sup> The death of these three men and of the younger Curio and C. Fannius took place in the Civil War. Tiberius Claudius Nero, father of the emperor, succeeded to the place of Scipio,<sup>67</sup> and Caesar's nephew, the young Octavius, to that of Domitius.<sup>68</sup> In the period before the death of Caesar Cn. Domitius Calvinus<sup>69</sup> and C. Antonius<sup>70</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Caesar, *B. C.*, III, 83, 1: *Iam de sacerdotio Caesaris Domitius, Scipio Spintherque Lentulus cotidianis sermonibus ad gravissimas verborum contumelias palam descenderunt cum Lentulus aetatis honorem ostentaret, Domitius urbanam gratiam dignitatemque iactaret, Scipio adfinitate Pompei confideret.*

<sup>67</sup> Suetonius, *Tib.*, 4: Pontifex in locum P. Scipionis substitutus. On the status of the two men see the discussion *infra*.

<sup>68</sup> Nicolaus Dam., *Vita Caes.*, 4: ἐνεγράφη εἰς τὴν ἱερωσύνην εἰς τὸν Δεκτίου Δομνίου τόπον τετελευτηκότος. Cf. Velleius, II, 59, 3: pontificatusque sacerdotio puerum honoravit. Nicolaus dates Octavius' election to the pontificate immediately after he took the *toga virilis*, an event which took place on October 18, 48 B.C. See Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, II, p. 20. But, except for the plebeian officers, no magistrates were elected in that year. The consuls of 47 were not chosen until after Caesar's return to Rome late in 47. Cf. Dio, XLII, 20, 4; 27, 2; 55, 4. Since it seems unlikely that the *comitia sacerdotum* would have been held in a year when *comitia* for the curule magistrates were omitted, I think it probable that Octavius was not elected to the pontificate until 47. Octavius, who was still a plebeian at this time, succeeded to a plebeian place. The inscription *C. I. L.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 794, C. Iulius Caesar pontif., is probably a record of his pontificate set up in 44 after he had been adopted by Caesar's will.

<sup>69</sup> Domitius Calvinus' pontificate is attested by *C. I. L.*, VI, 1301 and by the emblems of the pontificate on coins (Grueber, *op. cit.*, II, p. 373). Valerius Maximus (VIII, 11, 2) reports that Caesar and Spurius met at the house of Calvinus *ad officium* on the morning of the Ides of March. Münzer, *R. E.*, s. v. Domitius (43), associates the *officium* with a sacrifice, and concludes that Calvinus was already a pontifex at that time. As pontifex Calvinus restored the Regia in 36.

<sup>70</sup> His pontificate is recorded on coins which he issued as proconsul of

seem also to have obtained the pontificate. But we cannot reconstitute the whole college at any period after the year 57.

In the years of his dictatorship Caesar increased the membership in the great colleges from fifteen to sixteen and was himself elected to the augurate.<sup>71</sup> He is the first man since the famous Cunctator, Q. Fabius Maximus, who is known to have been a member of the two most important priestly colleges.<sup>72</sup> In his *Lex de sacerdotiis* Caesar made some changes in the election of priests.<sup>73</sup>

Actually the election of priests from the year 49 on was as much a sham as was the election of magistrates. Dio tells us that Caesar, during his brief stay in Rome at the end of 49, not only made provisions for magistrates for the coming year, but also filled the places in the priesthoods. For the priesthoods, Dio goes on to say, Caesar did not observe all the usages which had hitherto been customary.<sup>74</sup>

In filling the priesthoods in the years 49-44 one of the things that Caesar seems to have neglected was the balance between patricians and plebeians. In the great priesthoods the only known case before 49 of a successor who differed in status from his predecessor was that of Caesar himself. I have already suggested that this may mean that under the *Lex Domitia* patricians were at a disadvantage in the elections. Under the Sullan regulations and also after the *Lex Labiena* was passed, the patricians, in spite of their diminished numbers, were at no disadvantage. In the years 62-57 five patricians were elected to the pontificate, in contrast to two or possibly three plebeians, and the college of 57 maintained the traditional relationship by which the plebeian membership was larger by one than the patrician. Caesar, whose commendation must have counted for much after he became

Macedonia in 44-3. See Grueber, *op. cit.*, II, p. 470. He had probably secured the office before the death of Caesar.

<sup>71</sup> Dio, XLII, 51, 4; on the use that Caesar made of the priesthoods in rewarding his supporters see XLIII, 51, 9.

<sup>72</sup> For combinations of priesthoods held by one man see Wissowa, *R. K.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 493, note 2.

<sup>73</sup> Cicero, *Ad Brut.*, I, 5, 3. The provisions of the law are not known, though from Cicero, *Phil.*, II, 4 it has been inferred that conditions of nomination were changed.

<sup>74</sup> Dio, XLI, 36, 3: *ιερέας τε ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀντικατέστησεν οὐ πάντα τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ νενομισμένα τηρήσας.*

*pontifex maximus*, was evidently, like Sulla, interested in the advancement of the class to which he himself belonged.<sup>75</sup> But in filling vacancies in the priesthoods after the year 49 Caesar seems at times to have disregarded the status of the candidates. Thus in the pontificate Metellus Scipio, a plebeian, was succeeded by Ti. Claudius Nero, patrician, and in the augurate Appius Claudius, patrician, was succeeded by P. Vatinius, plebeian.<sup>76</sup> The custom of disregarding status in the succession seems to have continued. In 40 B. C. the first place in the augurate, undoubtedly open to patricians, was secured by a plebeian.<sup>77</sup> The continued decline of patrician stock, not adequately supplemented by Caesar's awards of the patriciate, may have had something to do with the change in policy, though it is to be noted that in one instance a patrician secured the place of a plebeian.

#### 5. The Effect of Popular Election on the Choice of Pontifices

We now have the names of at least nine men—Lentulus, Lepidus, Scaurus, Crassus, the elder Curio, Pinarius Natta, Brutus, Domitius Ahenobarbus, and the younger Curio—who were elected to the pontificate by popular vote between the passage of the *Lex Labiena* in 63 and the year 49. After that time Caesar had virtually appointive power in the choice of priests. Altheim has recently expressed the belief that the transfer of elections to the people broke the authority of the priestly tradition by enlarging the circle from which the priests might be chosen.<sup>78</sup> Let us see what we know of these nine men. P. Lentulus Spinther, though his father is unknown, was a member of a distinguished branch of the Cornelii which had held many consulships. Lepidus and Scaurus, members of the ancient Aemilian house, both had fathers who had reached the consulship. Lepidus was a descendant of the great man who for about thirty years in the second century was *pontifex maximus* and *princeps senatus*.<sup>79</sup> Scaurus' father was also *princeps senatus*

<sup>75</sup> On the interest of Caesar and Sulla in the patricians see Syme, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 f.; Münzer, *Röm. Adp.*, p. 358.

<sup>76</sup> Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, V, 10, 2; see Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.*, I, p. 81.

<sup>77</sup> Dessau, 9338, 3. Münzer, *Hermes*, LII (1917), pp. 152 ff., suggested that the augur whose place fell vacant in 40 was L. Iulius Caesar.

<sup>78</sup> *A History of Roman Religion*, translated by Harold Mattingly (New York, 1937), p. 331.

<sup>79</sup> Cicero, *Phil.*, XIII, 15: Haec si cogitas, es M. Lepidus, pontifex

and a member either of the pontificate or of the augurate.<sup>80</sup> Crassus—either father or son—also belonged to a consular family, prominent long before the triumvir became one of the ruling men of Rome. The elder Curio was the son of a man who had apparently reached praetorian rank.<sup>81</sup> The younger Curio had the prestige of his father to aid him. Natta, as we have seen, belonged to an obscure patrician house. M. Brutus was by adoption a member of the noble patrician house of the Servilii Caepiones, very important in the late second century. Domitius was the son of the *consularis* and *pontifex maximus* who was responsible for the popular election of priests. The elder Curio secured the pontificate long after, Lentulus only a short time before the consulship, and Domitius obtained the two honors at almost the same time. The five other men in the list secured the priesthood early in their careers. Bardt has shown that the sons of the great consular families often obtained their priest-hoods early, while new men or men of families that were not noble had to wait until late in their careers for such honors.<sup>82</sup> This rule holds for the pontifices Glabrio, Messalla, Caesar, Galba, Metellus Scipio, and Fannius (if he belongs in this list), elected by the college, and it also holds for the majority of the men elected between 63 and 50. It may further be noted that except for the elder Curio and the patrician Natta, all the men in the later list belonged to houses that had lately held consulships. Popular election did not enlarge the circle from which the pontifices were chosen.<sup>83</sup> The Roman electorate was snobbish,

maximus, M. Lepidi pontificis maximi pronepos. On the influence of his ancestor in causing Lepidus to seek the priesthood see Münzer, *Röm. Adp.*, pp. 359 f.

<sup>80</sup> See the priestly *Fasti*, Dessau, 9338, 4. Scaurus is mentioned as an augur by Asconius, p. 21 C. But from the incident reported by Suetonius, *Nero*, 2, it is possible that Asconius has by mistake named him as augur instead of pontifex. See R. M. Geer, *Class. Phil.*, XXIV (1929), pp. 292 ff.

<sup>81</sup> Cicero, *Brut.*, 124.

<sup>82</sup> Bardt, *op. cit.*, p. 37. The *pontifex maximus* Metellus Pius had been elected as *adulescens*, obviously under the *Lex Domitia*. It is interesting that Cicero in 43 was trying to secure the election of his twenty-two year old son to the pontificate.

<sup>83</sup> A study of the augurs, most of whose names are known for the year 50, and of the other priest-hoods, about which we have less information, proves that patricians were also successful in these colleges in securing

and the candidate for the priesthood even more than the aspirants for magistracies had to fear the insistent question *quis homo hic est, quo patre natus?*<sup>84</sup>

There was, however, one distinguishing feature of the men who were elected to the pontificate after the year 63. With the exception of Domitius and perhaps of the younger Curio, who joined Caesar after he became pontifex, they were adherents of all or one of the triumvirs, Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, the men who dominated the elections in these years. Though the new members belonged in general to the old nobility, in most cases they were probably not the nobles whom the pontifices themselves would have selected. The custom of excluding from the college a man who was a personal enemy of any one of the priests was, as Cicero (*Ad Fam.*, III, 10, 9) indicates, no longer observed. Catulus could hardly have welcomed the son of his colleague in the consulship and bitter foe, M. Aemilius Lepidus, and Pompey's opponents, M. Lucullus and Q. Metellus Creticus, could scarcely have viewed with resignation the election of Pompey's quaestor M. Aemilius Scaurus. A strain—already perceptible after Caesar entered on his "popular" course—must have developed at the pontifical dinners magnificently provided by the state at public festivals. A fundamental lack of harmony must have characterized the meetings of the body held to consider religious questions referred to them by the senate. And that lack of harmony may have contributed to the decadence of the state religion which Altheim attributes in part to the popular election of priests.

This paper has examined the membership in the pontifical college from the coöptation of Caesar in 74-3 to his death in 44. Cicero's list of the members in 57 has been shown to be arranged

places open to them, and that in general in the years 63-50 the election went in favor of the old nobility. Cicero, who in 53 or 52 obtained the place of P. Crassus in the augurate, is the only new man in the list of augurs of 50, and he had to wait ten years after his consulship to secure the priesthood which made him, as he had long desired to be, a colleague of Pompey. In the years 74-44 pontifices and augurs were recruited from many of the same families—for instance from the patrician Cornelii Lentuli, Iulii Caesares, Sulpicii Galbae, and Valerii Messallae, and from the plebeian Caecilii Metelli, Licinii Crassi, Licinii Luculli, Mucii Scaevolae, and Servillii Vatiæ.

<sup>84</sup> Horace, *Sat.*, I, 6, 29.

in order of entrance into the college. Metellus Pius' earlier list seems to be based on a similar principle. It has been possible to date between the years 74 and 69 the dinner which he describes and to compile a roll of twelve members of the college in that period. Nine members of the college which coöpted Caesar into membership can be determined. Although patricians may have been at a disadvantage in elections under the *Lex Domitia*, they were eligible for some of the new places created by Sulla, and they suffered no restrictions under the *Lex Labiena*. After 49 Caesar at times disregarded the status of candidates in filling vacancies. The names of the men elected after the *Lex Labiena* show that the priesthoods in general continued to be the prerogative of the old nobility, though the lack of harmony produced by the election of men not on good terms with members of the college may have contributed to the decline of the state religion.

If my interpretation of these lists is convincing, this study has provided prosopographical material of some importance for the careers of a number of men in the late Republic. I append a list of the pontifices with the date or approximate date of their coöptation and death and, where there is evidence, the names of their predecessors. The numbers in parentheses which follow the names of the pontifices refer to the articles (under the *gens*) in the *Real-Encyclopædie*.

## PONTIFICES, FLAMINES, AND REGES SACRORUM

Name		Coöptation or Inauguration	Death
Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius	cos. 80 (98)	before 88, P. M. 81	64-3
Q. Lutatius Catulus	cos. 78 ( 8)	before 88 ?	61-60
C. Aurelius Cotta	cos. 75 (96)	before 90	74-3
? Mam. Aemilius Lepidus Livianus			
	cos. 77 (80)	before 88 ?	before 60
P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus	cos. 79 (93)	before 76	44
M. Terentius Varro Lucullus	cos. 73	before 76	56-54
	(Licinius 109)		
Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus	cos. 69 (87)	before 76	54-50
M'. Acilius Glabrio	cos. 67 (38)	before 76	57-54
M. Valerius Messalla	cos. 61	ca. 79-6	
D. Iunius Silanus	cos. 62 (163)	76-74	61-60 ?
C. Iulius Caesar	cos. 59 (131)	74-3, P. M. 63	44
Successor of C. Aurelius Cotta			
Rex sacrorum .....		74-69	ca. 62
P. Mucius Scaevola	(18)	74-69	ca. 64-3 ?
Sexius (Quintilius Varus?)		71-69	before 60
Kleomen Martialis, L. (Cornelius Lentulus			
	cos. 63 (23)	74-69	66
.....	ca. 63 (23)	ca. 69	



<i>Name</i>		<i>Coöptation or Inauguration</i>	<i>Death</i>
Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio	cos. 52 (99)	64-3	46
Successor of Q. Metellus Pius?			
C. Fannius	tr. pl. 59, pr. 55? (9)	64-3?	48?
Successor of P. Scaevola?			
M. Aemilius Lepidus			
	cos. 46, IIIvir r. p. c. 42 (73)	62?, P. M. 44	13
P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther	cos. 57 (238)	62, 60, or 59	47-6
Rex sacrorum, L. ? Claudius	(21)	62-60	
M. Aemilius Scaurus	cand. for cos. 53 (141)	60?	exiled 52
M. Licinius Crassus	cos. 70 and 55 (68)	60?	53
or			
M. Licinius Crassus,	quaes. 54 (56)	60?	49-8
Successor of Catulus or Silanus			
C. Scribonius Curio	cos. 76 (10)	60?	53
Successor of Catulus or Silanus			
Flamen Quirinalis, Sex. Iulius Caesar			
	quaes. 47? (152, 153)	60-58	46
L. Pinarius Natta		58	56?
Q. Caepio Brutus	pr. 44 (Iunius 53)	56-50	42
L. Domitius Ahenobarbus	cos. 54 (27)	56-51	48
C. Scribonius Curio	tr. pl. 50 (11)	52-1	49
Successor of elder Curio?			
Ti. Claudius Nero	pr. 42 (254)	47	33?
Successor of Metellus Scipio			
C. Octavius (Augustus)	(Julius 132)	48-47, P. M. 12	14 A. D.
Successor of L. Domitius			
Cn. Domitius Calvinus	cos. 53 (43)	before 44	after 36
C. Antonius	pr. 44 (20)	before 44	42

## PONTIFICES MINORES

Q. Cornelius	before 74-69	after 57
P. Volumnius	before 74-69	before 57
P. Albinovanus	before 74-69	after 57
Q. Terentius	after 74-69	after 57
Successor of P. Volumnius		

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## THE TRIBE PTOLEMAIS.

Date of Creation.<sup>1</sup> Dates suggested for the creation of Ptolemais have varied from the time of the Chremonidean War to 222/1 B. C.<sup>2</sup> Recently, the investigations of Ferguson and Dinsmoor, in particular, have narrowed the limits of the controversy to a date between 226/5 and 222/1; Dinsmoor now posits a date in 226/5, Ferguson in 224/3 or 223/2.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As in the case of Hadrianis later, Ptolemais was made the seventh in order of thirteen tribes. This position was not occasioned by any effort to bring the tribe into relation with the intercalary month, as Bates (*The Five Post-Kleisthenean Tribes*, p. 32) has suggested. In this connection, see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 1137; P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, p. 18; and J. Kirchner *ad I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3286 and 3287. For the priest who administered the cult of the new eponymos, see *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4676; Ferguson, *Hell. Athens*, p. 242; Treves, *Les Études Classiques*, IX (1940), p. 147; and Pritchett, *Hesperia*, X (1941), p. 397. The cults of the other post-Kleisthenean eponymoi were similarly administered. For Antigonos and Demetrios, see Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 126, note 1; K. Scott, *A. J. P.*, XLIX (1928), pp. 140-141; W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 14-15; Kirchner *ad I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3424; and A. Wilhelm, 'Apx. 'Eφ., 1937, pp. 203-207. For Attalos, see Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 271, note 2; and *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5080. For Hadrian, see *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3295-3298, 5038; and P. Graindor, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 and 168-169.

The office of the priest of the eponymos has been the subject for much recent discussion. R. Schlaifer (*Harvard Studies in Cl. Phil.*, LI [1940], pp. 251-257) has rightly established that the priesthoods of various eponymoi were controlled by the gene or families which regulated the cults and sanctuaries of these heroes. The priests, accordingly, might or might not be members of the tribes whose eponymoi they served. This same rule of cult control, we now see, was continued in the case of the priesthoods of the post-Kleisthenean eponymoi. There is, therefore, no reason to suppose that this control was gradually transferred from the gene or participating families to the tribes, and none of the evidence which Schlaifer adduces in favor of his so-called "non-gentile" theory seems to me conclusive. Control of the worship of the eponymoi was throughout in the hands of the cults.

<sup>2</sup> See W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 189 ff., and S. Dow, *Hesperia*, II (1933), pp. 430-432.

<sup>3</sup> For recent literature, see Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*<sup>2</sup>, IV, 2, p. 93; S. Dow, *Hesperia*, III (1934), p. 181; Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 90-96; W. B. Dinsmoor, *List*, pp. 160-161, 232; Pritchett, *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), pp. 460-468. Cf. Tarn, *C. A. H.*, VII, pp. 758 and 864; Robert, *Études Épigraphiques et Philologiques*, p. 69; and Treves, *Les Études Classiques*, IX (1940), p. 147. All are agreed that the order of thesmo-

In the great archon-list *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1706, for the text of which reference is made to Dow's exhaustive study in *Hesperia*, II (1933), plate XIV, the nine annual archons, taken from different tribes, are inscribed in their order of rank. In the case of the six otherwise equal thesmothetai, this rank is determined by the official order of the tribes. At the time of Dow's study of the text, it was still considered permissible to assume some duplication of tribes within any given year.<sup>4</sup> The difficulties have resulted from limited knowledge of the demes of the two Macedonian tribes, and the assumption of irregularities in II<sup>2</sup>, 1706 may be dispelled in great part as a result of new information concerning the tribal affiliations of the demes Phyle, Atene, and Anakaia.<sup>5</sup> In the light of this information, the tribal representations for the archons listed in II<sup>2</sup>, 1706 are given in the table on p. 415 which is reproduced essentially from Pritchett and Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, p. 44. Arabic numbers are used to refer to the twelve tribes, numbering from Antigonis to Antiochis. Ptolemais, which became the seventh tribe in official order, is indicated by the letter P.

This table, as now constituted, reveals only one irregularity, the order of the thesmothetai in the year of Antiphilos (224/3). The deme of the third thesmothetes, whose name was inscribed between representatives from tribes III and VI, was Athmonon. This is known to have been a part of Kekropis (IX), and no theory of a divided deme will remove the irregularity.

To the problems of the date of the creation of Ptolemais, the evidence of this archon-table makes a very important contribution: the thesmothetai in the years preceding Antiphilos (224/3) are in order only if Ptolemais did not then exist. In the year of Niketes (225/4), the existence of Ptolemais would result in a

thetai in *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1706, lines 95-100 requires a date before the archonship of Menekrates (220/19), and, indeed, the death of Ptolemy Euergetes and Berenike a date before 221.

<sup>4</sup> See, in particular, the table in *Hesperia*, III (1934), p. 177.

<sup>5</sup> See the summary in *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), pp. 186-193. To the evidence there cited (p. 190) for the assignment of Atene to Demetrias may be added II<sup>2</sup>, 727, line 4. In this inscription, the chairman of the proedroi was from Atene, the first and second symproedroi from the tribes Erechtheis (III) and Aigeis (IV). This order indicates that the chairman must have been from one of the first two tribes, i. e., Demetrias (II), and the prytanizing tribe at the time of the passage of the decree must have been the other, Antigonis (I).

change of order from 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 12, as given in the table below, to 2, 4, 8, 9, 7, 13. Far from hesitating to accept such a change with its resultant irregular order, Dinsmoor expresses his en-

TABLE

Year	• Archon	Phylai of			Phylai of					
		Archon	King	Polemarch	Thesmothetai					
<i>I. G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1706 (Hesperia, II [1933], plate XIV)</i>										
230/29										
229/8	[Heliodoros]	2	8	7	4	5	6	10	11	12
228/7	Leochares	12	5	2	1	4	7	9	10	11
227/6	Theophilos	10	11	8	2	3	5	6	9	12
226/5	Ergochares	7	[4/12]	6	1	2	3	9	10	11
225/4	Niketes	6	10	1 or 3	2	4	7	8	9	12
224/3	Antiphilos	11	2	12	1	3	9	6	?	°
223/2	[ - <sup>9½</sup> - ]									
222/1	[Archelaos]									
221/0	[Thrasyphon]	[2']			[1]	[3]	4	8	10	11
220/19	Menekrates	8	9	12	1	2	4	6	P	11
219/8	Chairephon	12	4	11	1 or 2	°				
218/7	[Kalli ---]									
217/6	[ --- ]								11	12
216/5	Hagnias	4	7	6	2	3	5	P	9	11
215/4	Diokles	1	5	2	4	P	7	8	9	12
214/3	Euphiletos	5	10	8	1	3	P	9	11	12
213/2	Herakleitos	9						7		10?

dorsement of it because this disarrangement would find an explanation in the creation of Ptolemais. He states,<sup>9</sup> "it might be inferred that Ptolemais was created just before" the archonship of Antiphilos (224/3), "and that the disturbance was caused by

<sup>9</sup> The first letter of the demotic of the fifth thesmothetes (line 59) appears to be a pi. The second letter is quite uncertain; if an epsilon, as Dow (*Hesperia*, II [1933], p. 444) prefers, the demotic was probably Περβολδης. The distribution of archons in 224/3 would then be: 11, 2, 12, 1, 3, 9, 6, 8, 10. The fourth thesmothetes is frequently spoken of as being the one out of order (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 463; Dow, *Hesperia*, II [1933], p. 444); if it was a year in the epoch of the twelve tribes, it must have been the third thesmothetes.

<sup>7</sup> For a possible demotic, see Dow, *Hesperia*, II (1933), p. 444; *A. J. A.*, XL (1936), pp. 59-62, 70. Cf. Dinsmoor, *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), p. 461.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), p. 189.

<sup>9</sup> *Archons*, p. 463. Cf. *List*, p. 161, and *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), p. 462.

the insertion of the new tribe. But a disturbance of order caused by this political change might have lasted two years as well as one. Thus we could equally well say that Ptolemais was created just before" the archonship of Niketes (225/4).<sup>10</sup> But it must be noted that the disarrangement in the year of Antiphilos was not caused by a political change; it is of a clerical sort and is not comparable, for example, to a tribal duplication which would be the product of the electoral machinery.<sup>11</sup> The stonecutter's style is identical throughout the monument, and it must have been inscribed and erected after the last archons on the list, those for the year 213/2, were chosen. One error of a clerical sort affords no evidence for the assumption of error resulting from political change.

Another approach for dating the creation of Ptolemais has been attempted through efforts to determine a break in the cycle of archons listed in *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1706. Since the phylai to hold the three senior archonships were allotted *κατὰ φυλάς* for twelve (or thirteen) years, no duplication of phylai was permitted for any one archonship in a cycle.<sup>12</sup> When Ferguson wrote his *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, it was thought that the polemarchs of 228/7 and 227/6 were from the same tribe, Oineis (VIII), and, accordingly, that the year 227/6 was the beginning of a cycle. Ferguson also assumed that the tribe Antiochis was allotted the office of polemarch in the archonships of Antiphilos and Menekrates, dated by him in 224/3 and 222/1, respectively.<sup>13</sup> It followed that there was a break in the cycles between these two years, and it was logical to assume that the break was caused by the introduction of Ptolemais.

Now, however, we know that the best interpretation of the evidence, based on recent Agora discoveries,<sup>14</sup> is that the polemarch of 228/7 came from the second tribe, Demetrias, and that the polemarchs came from Antiochis both in 224/3 and in 220/19.

<sup>10</sup> In similar fashion, Ferguson (*Cycles*, p. 92) has reasoned that the confusion of demes in Antiphilos' year would find a natural explanation if Ptolemais was created in its course.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Dow, *Hesperia*, III (1934), pp. 180 and 188.

<sup>12</sup> See Ferguson, *Cycles*, pp. 50-54.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 50 and 53.

<sup>14</sup> Meritt, *Hesperia*, IX (1940), p. 76, and Pritchett, *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), p. 190. Cf. Dinsmoor, *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), pp. 465-466, and Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 44-45.

It is no longer necessary to assume that a new cycle began in 227/6 and that a break occurred in one of the four years after 224/3; a new cycle did begin after 224/3, but there is no justification for assuming that this constituted a break.<sup>15</sup> On the contrary, not only Dinsmoor in *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), pp. 460-469, but also Pritchett and Meritt in *Chronology*, p. 45, now recognize one of the years after 224/3 as a natural terminus for a completed archon-cycle. Pritchett and Meritt, in presenting their archon-table, have noted that by rotating backward by two cycles the beginning of an archon-cycle would fall in 247/6, or in one of the three succeeding years. A break in the cycles of the secretaries of the Council and of the priests of Asklepios is known to have occurred in the year of Diomedon (247/6); so they begin a new archon-cycle at the same time and determine the date of a beginning two cycles later in 223/2.

But all this throws no light whatever on the date of creation of Ptolemais. Inasmuch as there is no break in the archon-cycle in the twenties, it is no longer possible to utilize the evidence of a break to date the creation of the new tribe. Nor does the end of the archon-list *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1706 in 213/2 have any connection with the span of the archon-cycle, whether broken or not, for this year was fixed for the end of the list by the fact that it was the end of a secretary-cycle, and it is now known that such lists as *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1706 were determined at the end and/or beginning by cycles of the secretaries of the Council.<sup>16</sup>

One may claim that the evidence of II<sup>2</sup>, 1706, because of the order of thethesmothetai in 225/4, supports a date in 224/3 or after for the creation of Ptolemais. It proves a date for Ptolemais earlier than 220/19, because of the order of thethesmothetai in the archonship of Menekrates, but this evidence is less significant. The new tribe must have been created in any case before the death of Ptolemy Euergetes and Berenike in 221.

Dinsmoor, on the other hand, in accord with his theory that Ptolemais was created, not in 224/3 or later, but shortly after the beginning of 226/5, has observed that the Egyptian tribe should be expected to hold each of the three chief offices before

<sup>15</sup> Hence, Pritchett (*A. J. P.*, LXI [1940], p. 193, note 23) is incorrect in referring to a "break in the archontes' cycle" between 224/3 and 220/19. Cf. Dinsmoor, *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), p. 466.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Pritchett-Meritt, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-46.

the termination of the current archon-cycle. Since *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1706 demonstrates that the first of the chief archons who may be assigned to Ptolemais is the archon eponymos of 224/3, he was forced to conclude that the cycle continued for three years after 224 with the king and polemarch coming from this tribe in 223/2 and 222/1 respectively.<sup>17</sup> By rotating back from 222/1 by two archon-cycles of 13 and 12 years, Dinsmoor then finds that a cycle began in 246/5, in the archonship of Diomedon, which is the year of a break in the secretary-cycle and so an appropriate time for a new archon-cycle to commence.

One trouble with this analysis is that Diomedon should be dated not in 246/5, but in 247/6;<sup>18</sup> so the second cycle of archons cannot be made to end later than 223/2, and the three major archonships of Ptolemais cannot be compressed into the two years 224/3 and 223/2 without duplication. A more fundamental difficulty is that the hypothesis of necessary representation by Ptolemais before the end of an archon-cycle is, *ab initio*, completely without foundation. If the new tribe was created in 224/3, then its allotment to the various archonships was precisely on a par with all the other tribes for the new cycle which began in 223/2. But surely the cycle as such had nothing to do with the creation of the tribe; it can only reflect the accomplished fact, and there is no evidence from *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1706 to indicate that Ptolemais was functioning before 220/19.

For Dinsmoor's theory that Ptolemais was created in the second prytany of the year of Ergocharēs (226/5), there remains for consideration his interpretation of the calendar requirements of this year.<sup>19</sup> In his *List*, Dinsmoor's calendar scheme for 226/5 is determined from two inscriptions which give the following equations, as ascertained by Meritt and accepted by Dinsmoor:

*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 838

Μεταγεινιώνος ἐνάτ[ηι μετ' εἰκάδας δ]ευτέραι ἐμβολίμοι = Prytany  
III, 20.

*Hesperia*, IV (1935), no. 39<sup>20</sup>

Μεταγεινιώνος δευτέραι μετ' εἰκάδας = Prytany III, 27.

<sup>17</sup> *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), pp. 460-468.

<sup>18</sup> Pritchett-Meritt, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-34.

<sup>19</sup> *Archons*, pp. 193-195; *List*, pp. 160-161, 231-232; *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), p. 466.

<sup>20</sup> For the most recent text of this inscription, see Hiller von Gaertringen, *I. G.*, XII, supplement, pp. 200-201.

The two inscriptions are dated only seven days apart, and Meritt has shown that they clearly demonstrate the use of backward count with the phrase *μετ' εικάδας*.<sup>21</sup> Dinsmoor interprets the phrase *δευτέραι ἐμβολίμωι* in *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 838 as meaning an intercalary month and obtains the two equations Metageitnion II, 22 = Prytany III, 20 and Metageitnion (II), 29 = Prytany III, 27. The phrase *ἐνάτῃ μετ' εικάδας* in line 5 of *Hesperia*, IV (1935), no. 39 indicates that Metageitnion (II) was a full month;<sup>22</sup> so Hekatombaion was full and the second month hollow. According to Dinsmoor's scheme, then, the two inscriptions were passed on the 81st and 88th days of the year. Dinsmoor, following Kirchner, computes that if the year of Ergochaeres was within the period of twelve tribes, there must have been thirty days in the first prytany, thirty-one days in the second, thirty-two days in each of seven others, and thirty-three days in the three remaining prytanies. He notes that in comparison with the normal scheme for an intercalary year there are two deficiencies, one of two days in the first prytany and the other of one day in the second.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, if the year began as ordinary during the period of twelve tribes with thirty days in the first prytany and thirty-one days in the second and then was changed to an intercalary year of thirteen tribes with thirty days in four and twenty-nine days in seven remaining prytanies, there would be only one irregularity—the excess of one day in the second prytany.<sup>24</sup> Without pointing to other irregular months which were intercalated without the justification of tribal changes<sup>25</sup> and to other conciliar years which contained even greater irregularities in the length of prytanies,<sup>26</sup> it is necessary to make one correction in Dinsmoor's interpretation: the phrase *δευτέραι ἐμβολίμωι* refers not to an intercalated

<sup>21</sup> *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 530-531.

<sup>22</sup> See Meritt, *loc. cit.*, p. 535.

<sup>23</sup> *List*, pp. 160-161.

<sup>24</sup> Dinsmoor (*List*, p. 232) attributes this to the delay in starting the system. The excess of one day, therefore, is required for the second prytany; so Dinsmoor elsewhere (p. 160) should not assign 31 days to the first prytany.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Ferguson, *Cycles*, p. 92, and Dinsmoor, *List*, in Index *s. vv.* Intercalary months.

<sup>26</sup> Cf., e. g., Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 122-123, and Pritchett-Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. 102.



month,<sup>27</sup> but to the specified day.<sup>28</sup> The intercalated month was a second Hekatombaion,<sup>29</sup> and the phrase *Μεταγειτνιώνος ἐνάτ[η] μετ' εἰκάδας δ']εὔτεραι ἐμβολίμῳ* means an intercalated Metageitnion 22.<sup>30</sup> The month Metageitnion contained thirty-one days, and the first two prytanies comprised sixty-two days. So, a comparison of Dinsmoor's system with the orthodox arrangement results in an *impasse*, for in Dinsmoor's system there would be an excess of two days in the first two prytanies or in the orthodox system a deficiency of the same number.

There is, however, a third calendar equation of this year contained in an unpublished Agora prytany inscription discovered on March 7, 1936, and duly reported by Shear.<sup>31</sup> This new inscription, although not complete, provides a most fortunate control over the two systems. It contains a calendar formula which equates the eighth day of a month, the name of which is broken away, with the second or twenty-second day of an undetermined prytany.<sup>32</sup> When a table is drawn up in which the days of the calendar months are equated with the days of the various prytanies as constituted according to both the orthodox and Dinsmoor's systems, it is found that the two days preserved in the new equation coincide only in the orthodox arrangement. One is warranted in claiming this as strong corroboration of the orthodox theory which regards Ergochares' year as being in the period of twelve tribes.

To facilitate computation, a table is given below in which the

<sup>27</sup> Kirchner, *ad I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 838 and 946; Klaffenbach, *Gnomon*, 1926, p. 709; Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 194, 378-379; *List*, pp. 215-216; Meritt, *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 529-532, 537.

<sup>28</sup> See Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>29</sup> West, *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, p. 359.

<sup>30</sup> This seems preferable to West's interpretation that there were two intercalated days; see in particular Usener, *Kleine Schriften*, III, pp. 486-487. Cf. Pritchett-Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. 15, note 53. Another extra day in the civil calendar, however, would reduce the deficiency of the first two prytanies according to the orthodox system to one day and would not alter in any essential the results given below.

<sup>31</sup> Agora Excavations 1936, Weekly Report, Sixth Week. Thanks are here offered to T. L. Shear and B. D. Meritt for permission to include the Agora inscription in this publication.

<sup>32</sup> Restoration of the thirty-second day in the lacuna of line 3 would give to this line 52 letter-spaces and make it longer than any other line of the prescript. In Dinsmoor's system, of course, there is no thirty-second day in any prytany.

eighth day of each of the thirteen months is equated with the day of the year on which it should fall. It is to be noted that the number of the day within the year may be decreased by one in case of the substitution of a hollow month for a full one to compensate for the excessive day in Metageitnion:<sup>33</sup>

TABLE

Month		Day of Year
Hekatombaion	+ (30)	8 = 8
Hekatombaion II	— (29)	8 = 38
Metageitnion	+ (31)	8 = 67
Boedromion	—	8 = 98
Pyanopsion	+	8 = 127
Maimakterion	—	8 = 157
Posideon	+	8 = 186
Gamelion	—	8 = 216
Anthesterion	+	8 = 245
Elaphebolion	—	8 = 275
Mounichion	+	8 = 304
Thargelion	—	8 = 334
Skirophorion	—	8 = 363

According to Dinsmoor's scheme for the length of prytanies, one may divide the last eleven prytanies in several ways: the seven twenty-nine-day prytanies first, the four thirty-day prytanies first, or any alternation of seven twenty-nine and four thirty-day prytanies. Our computation reveals that neither the second nor the twenty-second day of any of these prytanies, variously arranged, can be equated with the eighth day of any calendar month. Nor is the result different if we make the correction of one day as required by the phrase *δευτέραι ἐμβολίμωι*. Dinsmoor's theory of thirteen prytanies is not sustained.

On the other hand, if one assumes that the year contained only twelve prytanies with the last ten prytanies so divided that Prytanies III-V contained thirty-two days each, VI-IX thirty-

<sup>33</sup> Dinsmoor has assumed a similar sequence of hollow months in *Archons*, pp. 434, 437, and 439. In the first example, which occurs in the archonship of Kallimedes, a new date for this archon makes this assumption no longer necessary, for Hekatombaion of this year may be regarded as a hollow month; cf. Kirchner, *ad I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 777. A new summary of the arrangement of the calendar, made in the light of recent discoveries concerning the calendar and archons, is needed to replace, in part, *Archons*, pp. 424-440.

two and thirty-three days alternately, and X-XII thirty-two days, it is found that Prytany VIII, 22 would fall on the 245th day of the year, which according to the civil calendar would be Anthesterion 8.<sup>24</sup>

The inscription is a fragment of Pentelic marble, found in a Byzantine wall in Section N on March 7, 1936. The original top, back, and left side are preserved.

Height, 0.35 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 3684.

# Aiantis

226/5 B. C.

ca. 50

- [Ε]πὶ Ἐργοχάρου ἀρχοντ[ος ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος ὀγδόης πρυτανείας]  
 ἢ Ζωῖλος Διφίλου Ἀλωπ[εκῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν· Ἀνθεστηριῶνος]  
 ὀγδοεὶ ἱσταμένον, δευτ[έραι καὶ εἰκοστὴ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησί]  
 α ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· τῶν προέδ[ρων ἐπεψήφισεν — <sup>ca. 15</sup> — Φα.]
- 5 ληρεὺς καὶ συμπρόεδροι ἔδ[οξεν τῷ δήμῳ *vacat* — — —]  
 Μενεκλέους Ἀφιδναῖος εἶπ[εν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις]  
 τῆς Αἰαντίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερ[ῶν ὧν ἔθνον τὰ πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῷ τε]  
 Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Προστατηρί[ῳ καὶ τεῖ Ἀρτέμειδι τεῖ Βουλαίαι καὶ τοῖς]  
 ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον [ἦν, ἐπεμελήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῆς συλλογῆς τῆς]  
 10 βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τ[ῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὧν αὐτοῖς προσέταττον οἱ]  
 τε νόμοι καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματ[α τοῦ δήμου, ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς πρυτάνεις]  
 τῆς Αἰαντίδος καὶ στεφ[ανῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὖσε]  
 βείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς το[ῦς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ]  
 τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναῖ[ων· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμμα]  
 15 τέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτ[ανείαν ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνει καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανί]  
 κῳ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀ[ναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τεῖ διοικήσει]  
 τὸ γενόμεν[ον ἀνάλωμα. *vacat* ]  
*vacat*

<sup>24</sup> In accord with the Kirchner-Dinsmoor interpretation of the phrase *δευτέραι ἐμβολίμῳ*, the orthodox theory would provide two days which might be restored in the new inscription: the 127th day of the year on which would fall Pyanopsion 8 and Prytany V, 2, and the 244th day with Anthesterion 8 and Prytany VIII, 22. In the former case, it would be necessary to assume that Metageitnion II and Boedromion were both full. The text of lines 2-3 would be:

ἢ Ζωῖλος Διφίλου Ἀλωπ[εκῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν· Πυανοψιῶνος]  
 ὀγδοεὶ ἱσταμένον, δευτ[έραι τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία κυρί]

In line 1 a prytanizing tribe other than Aiantis would be required.

A new *terminus ante quem* for the creation of Ptolemais is provided by an inscription from the year 223/2. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 917, which names a secretary from Kedoi belonging to the tribe Erechtheis, has been assigned by the requirements of the secretary-cycle and of prosopography to this year.<sup>35</sup> The two calendar equations contained in this inscription show that part of the seventh prytany falls in Posideon and that the inscription must be dated in the period of the thirteen tribes.<sup>36</sup>

Ferguson and Dow have recently published a new text of *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1303, which alludes in line 12 to the policy of Athens in the year 224/3: [τεί] τοῦ δήμου προαιρέ[σε]ι τιμᾶν τῷ[ν β]ασ[ι]λ[έ]α.<sup>37</sup> After the Achaean League accepted the alliance with Antigonos Doson, Athens under the leadership of Eurykleides and Mikion arose to the necessity of cultivating the friendship of Ptolemy III.<sup>38</sup> At this same time, the Aitolians became anxious about their neutrality and began courting Egypt.<sup>39</sup> It seems probable that Athens' policy became operative in 224/3 with the Ptolemaia being celebrated in this year<sup>40</sup> and with the functioning of Ptolemais as an official tribe at the end of the year.

**Assignment of Demes.** The number of demes to be assigned to the Egyptian tribe depends in part upon the reading for the deme-list inscribed in the year 201/0 during the short period of the eleven tribes.<sup>41</sup> Independent readings of this stone, now published as *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2362 and bearing the Epigraphical Museum

<sup>35</sup> Dow, *A. J. A.*, XL (1936), pp. 57-60; *Prytaneis*, pp. 76-77; Meritt, *Hesperia*, VII (1938), p. 137; Pritchett, *Hesperia*, IX (1940), pp. 116-118; Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 101-102.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Dinsmoor, *List*, p. 234.

<sup>37</sup> *Hesperia*, II (1933), pp. 447-449.

<sup>38</sup> Ferguson (*Cycles*, p. 93) states: "The creation of Ptolemais is unintelligible without a commitment on Athens' part to the king of Egypt."

<sup>39</sup> Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens à Delphes*, p. 258. The dedication of statues to Ptolemy Euergetes and his family by the Aitolians (*I. G.*, IX, 1<sup>2</sup>, 56) is assigned to this year by Tarn (*C. A. H.*, VII, p. 758), although Flacelière (*op. cit.*, p. 269, note 1) indicates other possibilities.

<sup>40</sup> Concerning the inauguration of the Ptolemaia in the winter of 224/3, the best treatment is that of Ferguson, *Klio*, VIII (1908), pp. 338-345. Cf. *Hesperia*, II (1933), p. 448, lines 6-12.

<sup>41</sup> Three of the demes of Ptolemais (Hyporeia, Klopidae, and Petalidae) do not receive separate articles in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*.

number 8037, have been made by Pittakys in 1840 (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., no. 410), Ross in 1846 (*Die Deme von Attika*, pp. 1-15), Koehler (*I. G.*, II, 991), and Lolling and Kirchner (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2362). The total number of lines per column in this inscription can be estimated at forty-two. Above line 27, which is the fourth line of column II, as numbered in the text published by Kirchner in the *editio minor*, there must have been inscribed two demes of Pandionis in addition to the heading, making a total of seven demes of Pandionis at the top of column II.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, at the bottom of column I, there must have been space for the five remaining demes of Pandionis (or four, if Paiania was inscribed as one deme), the name of the tribe, and the ten names of the remaining demes of Aigeis—all inscribed below the last preserved line of column I (line 26). This gives a total of 42 lines for column I. Below the twenty-fifth line of the second column, there must have been inscribed the three remaining demes of the fourth tribe, Leontis, followed by the name of the fifth tribe, Ptolemais, in line 29. This leaves thirteen lines at the bottom of column II and eleven lines in addition to the heading at the top of column III, for in the thirteenth line of column III is preserved the name Akamantis. Ptolemais, then, probably contained twenty-four demes in 201/0.<sup>43</sup>

Two of the demes now assigned to Ptolemais owe their existence solely to readings first made in the text of this inscription by Koehler and published in *I. G.*, II, 991; there is no other evidence nor do the texts of editors earlier than Koehler include these readings. In lines 50 and 51, the readings ΕΔΩ and ΣΑ are given as the initial letters for demes of Ptolemais. Koehler's reading ΣΑ has been reprinted in the *editio minor*, although Koehler transcribed the sigma with broken lines. Schoeffer restored the deme as Salamis after Philostratos, *Her.*, 314.<sup>44</sup> Dinsmoor has shown that this restoration is historically impossible.<sup>45</sup> As a matter of fact, although squeezes now in the

<sup>42</sup> Dinsmoor (*Archons*, p. 451, note 2) computes forty-three lines in column I by assigning thirteen instead of twelve demes to Pandionis. This probably resulted from the inclusion of Kaitea; cf. Dow, *Hesperia*, III (1934), p. 188. For Dow's estimate of the length of the columns, see *Hesperia*, III (1934), p. 176, note 1.

<sup>43</sup> Variations in the number of lines per column, as in the register of many prytany inscriptions, must be considered a possibility.

<sup>44</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s. v. Δῆμοι, col. 99.

<sup>45</sup> *Archons*, p. 450.

Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton show the two strokes of the lambda, the markings which may have been read as the sigma are not in line with letters above and below. The epigraphical requirements suggest a kappa, and the reading ΚΛ[ωπίδαι], the name of a deme known to have belonged to Ptolemais in the later period, may be suggested.<sup>46</sup> In line 50, one would judge from the squeeze that there are many markings on the worn surface. Traces which Kochler and Lolling may have considered as evidence for the reading ΕΔΩ, though distinguishable, are not characteristic of the letter-forms of this inscription and may well be fortuitous strokes. Final judgment, however, must await an examination of the stone. These letters were not read by editors before Koehler, and their very uncertain existence may hardly be considered as evidence for an otherwise unattested deme.<sup>47</sup> In line 53, Kirchner cites Lolling as reading a rho in the fifth letter-space.<sup>48</sup> This letter must rather be assigned with certainty to the fourth letter-space, for it is above the rho of line 54. There is an iota in the fifth letter-space, and next is the diagonal of what may be an alpha. The name of the deme is to be restored as [Ἰκα]ρία.

Original Tribal Affiliation. Ptolemais was composed of demes taken from all the twelve tribes with the exception of Antigonis and Demetrias, the two Macedonian tribes.<sup>49</sup> There is evidence for the following original affiliation:

Original Tribe		Deme
Erechtheis	1	Themakos
Aigeis	2	Ikaria
		Kydantidai
Pandionis	1	Konthyle
Leontis	1	Hekale

<sup>46</sup> The existence of Klopidae as a separate deme is denied by Koehler (*ad I. G.*, II, 788) and Honigmann (Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s. v. Kropia). They consider Κλωπίδαι as a vulgar form of Κρωπίδαι; cf. schol. to Aristophanes, *Equites*, 79. This is disproved by the separate tribal affiliation of the two, Klopidae being a part of Ptolemais and Kropidae of Leontis. Cf. Kirchner, *ad I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1602 and 2011.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Bötsch, *Die Fünf Post-Kleisthenischen Tribes*, p. 44, who, however, is not so sure as he seems to be. Cf. also Bötsch, p. 38. Schöeller also has suggested (Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s. v. 577, 578, 579, 731).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Bötsch, *op. cit.*, p. 44, and Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

Original Tribe		Deme
Akamantis	1	Prospalta
Oineis	1 (or 2)	Boutadai (Perrhidai?) <sup>50</sup>
Kekropis	1	Phlya
Hippothontis	1	Oinoe
Aiantis	4 (or 3)	Aphidna Perrhidai (?) <sup>51</sup> Thyrgonidai Titakidai
Antiochis	5	Aigilia Kolone Melainai Pentele Semachidai

There remain six other demes which belonged to Ptolemais. Concerning any earlier tribal affiliation, nothing is known.<sup>52</sup> Berenikidai, as Apollonieis of Attalis later, was created either outright or from some preëxisting deme or demes. Eunostidai, Hyporeia, and Klopidae appear first in *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2362 (201/0); there is no evidence of their existence before the time of Ptolemais. There remain Akyia and Petalidai, which are included in the list of demes on the evidence of inscriptions which date from the middle of the second century after Christ. One may suggest that in the light of evidence from the fourth century Petalidai did not have a separate deme existence at least until the creation of Ptolemais. In *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1594, lines 46 and 48, the location of a piece of property is defined as 'Αφιδ. ἐν Πεταλίδωι. In another fourth-century inscription, a field is defined as situated 'Αφιδνησι ἐν Πεταλιδῶν.<sup>53</sup> The delimiting prepositional phrase indicates that Petalidai was a locality within the deme Aphidna.<sup>54</sup> Aphidna was transferred in 223 from Aiantis to

<sup>50</sup> For Perrhidai, see Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 38, especially note 2 (Oineis); Pritchett, *A. J. P.*, LX (1939), pp. 258-259; Kirchner, *ad I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5719; and Wrede, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s. v. Perrhidai (Aiantis).

<sup>51</sup> See note 50 above.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, IX (1875), pp. 413-414; Milchhöfer, *Untersuchungen über die Demeordnung des Kleisthenes* (in *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1892), p. 40; and Schiff, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s. v. Eunostidai, col. 1134.

<sup>53</sup> *Hesperia*, V (1936), no. 10, line 155.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Meritt's translation (*ad loc.*): "in Aphidnai in the district of the Petalidai." The reference is hardly to Aphidnai, possibly the inland trittys of the tribe Aiantis; cf. Kirchner *ad I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5719.

Ptolemais; there is no evidence whether Petalidai was by that time a separate deme.<sup>55</sup>

Trittys Division. Whether the principle of trittyes applied to the post-Kleisthenean tribes has been a matter of dispute.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Concerning three demes of Hippothontis which are known only from the Roman period, compare Pritchett, *Hesperia*, IX (1940), p. 124. Concerning the number of demes in the fifth century, see Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, II<sup>2</sup>, pp. 405-406; Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatskunde*, II, pp. 873-875; and Hommel, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s. vv. Naukraria, cols. 1948-1949, and Trittyes, col. 359.

<sup>56</sup> Similarly, it is uncertain whether the original trittyes were more or less continuous areas within themselves or whether they included isolated demes, frequently referred to as *enclaves*. The question will not be settled until a thorough investigation for the sites of demes is undertaken in Attika. The principle of continuous areas has been strongly defended by Löper (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVII [1892], pp. 319-433; cf. Wade-Gery in *Mélanges Glotz*, II, p. 884). The theory of enclaves, on the other hand, has been held by Milchhöfer (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII [1893], pp. 300-301; in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s. vv. Atene, Azenia, and, especially, Attika, col. 2198), Wilamowitz (*Aristoteles und Athen*, II, pp. 148, 151-152, 158), and Bates (*The Five Post-Kleisthenean Tribes*, p. 47), and involves an emendation in the text of Strabo, IX, 398. Löper and v. Schoeffer (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s. v. Ἀῖμοι, col. 50) simultaneously proposed to emend 'Αῖνεῖς (the reading of all codices according to Kramer; v. Schoeffer reports Ἀῖνεῖς), usually corrected to Ἀῖνεῖς, into Ἀρνεῖς, for otherwise the position in the text of Strabo would make the site of Azenia completely isolated from the other demes of Hippothontis. Wilamowitz, who by error assigns Azenia to Antiochis (*op. cit.*, II, p. 158), and Milchhöfer retain Cascorbi's correction of Ἀῖνεῖς. Their analogy of Thorikos no longer applies, for the trittyes of Akamantis are now known (see Meritt, *Hesperia*, IX [1940], pp. 53-54), and there is no topographical discontinuity (see the map in Gomme's *Population of Athens* and compare Wrede, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s. v. Thorikos, and Kirchner, *ad I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6225). Milchhöfer (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII [1893], p. 301) also compares Kopros, but his identification of this deme is incorrect; see Honigsmann, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s. v. As a possible *enclave*, there remains Probalinthos of the coastal trittys of Pandionis. This was the southernmost member of the ancient confederacy called the Tetrapolis. Milchhöfer, Bates (*op. cit.*, p. 47), Frazer (*Pausanias*, II, pp. 434, 441), Möbius (*Ath. Mitt.*, XLIX [1924], p. 10), Kirchner (*ad I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7292), and Soteriades (*B. C. H.*, L [1926], pp. 540-541; *A. J. A.*, XXX [1926], p. 507; *Πρακτικά*, 1933, pp. 32-46; 1936, pp. 41-42, where Soteriades promises to make a complete report of the topography of this region) locate Probalinthos on the coast immediately to the south of Marathon. Cf. also Crosby, *Hesperia*, VI (1936), p. 456. Löper (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVII [1892], pp. 367-368), however, has argued that the original



Kirchner, following Löper, has recognized an arrangement according to trittyes in prytany inscriptions dated as late as A. D. 169/70.<sup>57</sup> In favor of this principle, one might point also to the period of military oligarchy at the opening of the third century when the expense of stelai was borne in part by the trittyarchoi, who as executive heads of the trittyes were concerned with military finance.<sup>58</sup> The principle of trittys-division, however, had lost its local significance as early as 307/6. When the post-Kleisthenean tribes were created, the reassigned demes, drawn from the three trittyes of the various tribes, were not grouped into contiguous regions.<sup>59</sup> Thus, among the coastal demes of Demetrias, as determined by their earlier trittys affiliation, are Atene and Thorai from the south of Attika, but Kothokidai and Phyle from the west. The so-called inland trittys of Ptolemais was composed in part of Aphidna in the north-east, Phlya in the central portion, and Prospalta in the south; the so-called coastal trittys of Attalis included Atene and Sounion in the south, but Oinoe near Marathon. Another point of consideration is the trittys as a unit of population in the time of the post-Kleisthenean tribes. If the bouleutic representation for the demes of Antigonis and Demetrias, as given in *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), pp. 188-191, is approximately correct, the so-called coastal trittys of Antigonis and inland trittys of Demetrias were greatly outweighed. Similarly, if Berenikidai is correctly located

Tetrapolis extended over a considerable area (cf. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, 259, s. v. 'Ερακλία) and that Probalinthos should be brought into connection with the coastal trittys of Pandionis. Löper is followed by Solders (*Die ausserstädtischen Kulte*, pp. 122-123) and J. H. Young (*Hesperia*, X [1941], p. 165). There is no decisive epigraphical evidence; cf. Hauvette-Besnault, *B. C. H.*, III (1879), p. 201. The coastal trittys of Leontis included the demes of Sounion and Phrearrioi in the southernmost part of Attika and Potamos Deiradiotes and Deiradiotes near the modern village of Keratea (see, e. g., P. Kastromenos, *Die Deme von Attika*, pp. 55-56; C. Blümel, *Ath. Mitt.*, LI [1926], p. 61; J. Kirchner *ad I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5965; A. W. Gomme in his map in *Population of Athens*; S. Solders, *op. cit.*, p. 90). Thorikos of Akamantis apparently separated these two groups (Strabo, IX, 398-399), but the distance involved was not large and there is no problem of a single *enclave*.

<sup>57</sup> *Ad I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1776. Cf. *Rhein. Mus.*, LIX (1904), pp. 300-301, and *ad I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1152.

<sup>58</sup> See, in particular, Ferguson, *Class. Phil.*, XXIV (1929), pp. 16-17.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Milchhöfer, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

near Eleusis as a coastal deme,<sup>60</sup> the so-called town-trittys of Ptolemais would be noticeably deficient in representation.

Wilamowitz has argued that the institution of the trittys began to break down as early as 340 B. C.,<sup>61</sup> and our inability to discover units of equal population or of contiguous territory in the so-called trittyes of the post-Kleisthenean tribes confirms this conclusion. Wilamowitz noted that the three *συνλογεῖς τοῦ δήμου* praised in *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749 (341/0) did not belong to different trittyes.<sup>62</sup> Although prytany catalogues of the fourth century were frequently arranged according to trittyes and in at least one case the names of the trittyes were included in the catalogue, inscriptions of the third and following centuries which exhibit this arrangement are so few as to be exceptional. In the case of prytany inscriptions which included decrees, the principle of the precedence of the demes of the treasurer and the secretary of the prytaneis prevailed,<sup>63</sup> but the demes listed below these two show no trittys arrangement.

#### Evidence for Demes of Ptolemais.

Aigilia. From Antiochis. Coast-deme.

*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 972, line 5 (= *Prytaneis*, no. 80); 1008, lines 102-103; 1028, line 142; 1034, frag. *d*, line 6; 1036, line 44 (= Hutton, *B. S. A.*, XXI [1914-16], pp. 158-159); 1706, line 99; 2362, line 56.

Akyaia.

*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2049, lines 52-53; 2067, line 75.

Aphidna. From Aiantis. Inland-deme.

Harpokration, *s. v.* *Θυργωνίδαι*. Hesychios, *s. v.* *Ἀφιδνα*. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, lines 119-120; 1008, line 99; 1009, lines 80, 83-84; 1011, line 111; 1028, line 143; 1036, line 45 (= Hutton, *B. S. A.*, XXI [1914-16], pp. 158-159); 1043, lines 86, 87; 1706, lines 51, 138; 1717, line 10; 1755, line 7 (= *Prytaneis*, no. 99); 1963, line 58;

<sup>60</sup> Milchhöfer, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, *s. v.* Berenikidai.

<sup>61</sup> *Aristoteles und Athen*, II, pp. 166-168; Hommel (*R.-E.*, *s. v.* Trittyes, cols. 361 and 364), has noted that the significance of trittyes began to decline as early as 403/2.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatskunde*, II, p. 973. The rejection by Kochler and Kirchner of the restoration *ἐπιμεληται* in *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2824 on the ground that the honored men are not listed *κατὰ τριττῆς* may be correct, but the restoration *ἐπιμεληται* is not a possibility if *ἐπιμεληται* is taken from each trittys (*Μουσικαί*, v [1906], no. 13, lines 120-121).

<sup>63</sup> See *Dei. Demeis*, pp. 14 and 98.

2336, line 192. *Prytaneis*, no. 49, lines 42-43. Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 114-115, line 21 (= II<sup>2</sup>, 916).

Berenikidai.<sup>64</sup>

Examples are too numerous to list. See Schoeffer, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s. v. *Δῆμοι*, cols. 51-54, and Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-32.

Boutadai. From Oineis. Town-deme.

*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1011, line 104; 2049, line 54; 2067, lines 65-66; 2122, line 21; 2207, lines 7, 8, 11; 2338, line 35.

Eunostidai.<sup>65</sup>

*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1036, line 37 (= Hutton, *loc. cit.*); 2067, line 76; 2103, line 113; 2362, line 55.

Hekale. From Leontis. Inland-deme.

*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1008, line 95; 1034, frag. d, line 7; 1036, line 39 (= Hutton, *loc. cit.*); 2122, line 24. *Hesperia*, IV (1935), no. 37, line 119.

Hyporeia.

*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2362, line 54. Cf. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2068, lines 46-47.

Ikaria B. From Aigeis. Inland-deme.

*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2107, line 24; 2362, line 53 (see above, p. 425); 2442, line 5.

Klopidai.

*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2067, line 64; 2362, line 51 (see above, pp. 424 f.).

Kolone B. From Antiochis. Town-deme.

*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, line 123; 2018, line 34; 2065, line 73; 2086, line 80; 2103, line 111; 2122, line 25.

Konthyle.<sup>66</sup> From Pandionis. Inland-deme.

Schol. to Aristophanes, *Vespae*, 233. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2128, line 46.

Kydantidai. From Aigeis. Inland-deme.

Phrynichos in Stephanos Byz., s. v. Hesychios, s. v. *Hesperia*, IV (1935), no. 37, line 114 (= *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1960).

<sup>64</sup> The location of this large deme is uncertain. Milchhöfer (*Untersuchungen*, p. 40, note 1, and in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s. v. Berenikidai), on the evidence of the provenience of two inscriptions, has located it in the western part of Attika near Eleusis. Cf. Kirchner, *ad I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5868.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Schiff, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s. v. Eunostidai 1.

<sup>66</sup> The text of *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1036, line 37 may no longer be considered as evidence for the tribal affiliation of Konthyle. See Hutton, *B. S. A.*, XXI (1914-16), p. 159.

Melainai. From Antiochis.<sup>67</sup>

*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2119, line 55.

Oinoe A. From Hippothontis. Coast-deme.

Hesychios, *s. v.* *Οἶναι*. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1008, line 105; 1034, frag. *d*, line 5. *Hesperia*, IV (1935), no. 37, line 115. Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 114-115, lines 13, 18 (= II<sup>2</sup>, 916).

Pentele. From Antiochis.<sup>68</sup> Inland-deme.

• *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2097, line 77.

Perrhidai. From Aiantis or Oineis.<sup>69</sup> Inland-deme.

Harpokration, *s. v.* *Περρυχίδαι*. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2362, line 52.

Petalidai.<sup>70</sup> Inland-deme.

*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2050, lines 75-76.

Phlya. From Kekropis. Inland-deme.

Hesychios, *s. v.* *Φλυεῖς*. Schol. to Aristophanes, *Vespae*, 234. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, line 124; 1008, lines 98, 104, 126, 127; 1009, lines 81-82, 85-86; 1011, lines 101, 106-110; 1028, line 112; 1034, frag. *d*, lines 3, 8; 1036, lines 38, 40-42 (= Hutton, *loc. cit.*); 1043, lines 82, 83, 85; 1714, line 7; 1729, line 2; 1736, line 8; 1755, line 6 (= *Prytaneis*, no. 99); 1945, line 41; 1960, lines 15, 19 (= *Hesperia*, IV [1935], no. 37, lines 113, 117); 1963, line 57; 1996, lines 54-56, 138-139; 2017, line 17; 2018, line 37; 2049, lines 45, 47; 2050, lines 72, 73, 77; 2051, lines 34-36; 2052, lines 55-56; 2067, lines 67-72; 2086, line 79; 2090, lines 93, 94, 100, 103-107; 2097, line 78; 2103, lines 104-109, 112, 114; 2107, lines 23, 25; 2119, lines 52-53; 2128, lines 42-45; 2130, lines 127-128, 130-131; 2207, lines 9, 10, 12; 2223, lines 64-65; 2336, lines 154, 251; 2338, line 36; 2468, line 4. *Insc. Délos*, 2610, lines 13, 26. *Hesperia*, XI (1942), no. 25, lines 18-22, 24-25.

<sup>67</sup> See Stephanos Byz., *s. v.*, and Kirchner, *ad I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1602 and 6823. The passage in Stephanos Byz. which assigns Melainai to Antiochis is considered erroneous by Löper (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVII [1892], p. 426, note 1) and Solders (*Die ausserstädtischen Kulte*, p. 115). For the location of this deme in the northwest of Attika, see Milchhöfer (*Untersuchungen*, p. 40) and Toepffer (in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, *s. v.* Apaturia).

<sup>68</sup> So Stephanos Byz. Kirchner (*I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, Index, p. 326) does not consider Pentele to have been a deme in the fifth century; see also Milchhöfer, *op. cit.*, p. 40, and Löper, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII (1892), pp. 424-425. Kirchner is followed by Solders (*Die ausserstädtischen Kulte*, p. 115), who apparently believes, however, that Pentele is to be removed entirely from the list of demes. For bibliography, see Wrede, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, *s. v.* Pentele.

<sup>69</sup> See above, p. 426, note 50.

<sup>70</sup> See above, p. 426.

Prospalta. From Akamantis. Inland-deme.

*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1008, line 100; 1011, line 112; 1043, line 84; 1960, lines 20, 22 (= *Hesperia*, IV [1935], no. 37, lines 118, 120); 2103, line 110; 2128, line 39. *Prytaneis*, no. 49, line 45.

Semachidai A. From Antiochis. Inland-deme.<sup>71</sup>

*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2086, line 82; 2193, line 73; 2194, line 14.

Themakos. From Erechtheis. Town-deme. •

Stephanos Byz. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, line 125; 1008, line 124; 1009, line 87; 1011, line 113.

Thyrgonidai. From Aiantis. Inland-deme.

Harpokration. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2362, line 49.

Titakidai. From Aiantis. Inland-deme.

Harpokration, *s. v.* Θυργωνιδαι. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2050, line 74; 2067, line 63. *Hesperia*, XI (1942), no. 18, line 13.

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<sup>71</sup> Solders (*Die ausserstädtischen Kulte*, pp. 41 and 115) has located Semachidai in the Laureotike, thereby making it a coastal deme. This is also the assignment of Gomme (*Population of Athens*, p. 65). The basis for this is to be found in the mining inscription published as *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1582, lines 51-54. Kirchner (*ad loc.*), however, following Wilamowitz, had already indicated the inconclusive nature of this reference to Semacheion. Milchhöfer, Löper, Wilamowitz (*Aristoteles und Athen*, II, p. 157), Kirchner (*ad I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1172, 1582, 1750, and 7377; and *P. A.*, II, p. 609), and Honigmann (in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, *s. v.* Semachidai) assign Semachidai to the inland trittys. See also C. D. Buck, *A. J. A.*, V (1889), pp. 162-5—an important topographical study which seems to have been unknown to the German scholars. It may be noted that the inland trittys of Antiochis is now known to have been Pallene; see *Hesperia*, IX (1940), pp. 55-56.

## POSSIBLE TROCHAIC DIMETERS IN NON-LATIN ITALIC AND IN GAULISH INSCRIPTIONS.

Careful study of the prayers in the Iguvine Tables, of the Oscan Curse of Vibia, of the scanty Volscian and Paelignian texts, and of the few Gaulish inscriptions which have survived, has led me to believe that portions of them contain trochaic dimeter verse. Metre is, indeed, what one would not unnaturally expect, especially in the prayers and in the Curse, which is really an imprecatory prayer addressed to the divinities of evil. In early times, prayers, like sacrifices, had to be offered with minutest exactness; the slightest deviation, even unintentional, rendered them at best of no effect, and at worst, full of peril; and poetry is notoriously easier to remember than is prose.

So far as non-Latin Italic texts go, the only one, to my knowledge, who has suggested that the Umbrian prayers might be in verse was Rudolf Westphal and he merely called attention to some tetrapodic alliterative lines in them which, he thought, resembled Old Teutonic "long verse" (VIb, 57-60; VIa, 31-33 = lines 103-115, 49-55; *Allgemeine Metrik der indogermanischen und semitischen Völker* [Berlin, 1892], pp. 221-222); for Gaulish, Sir John Rhys suggested metrical occurrences (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, II [1906], p. 281; VI [1910], pp. 283, 285), though I find myself unable to see the same metres as did he.

Metrical texts are very rare in the surviving Iguvine Tables in the native alphabet (only Ib, 18; IIa, 3-4, 25; IIb, 24); and in those in Latin script, several centuries later, the prayers had, in my opinion, suffered much corruption through addition of gloss-words which crept into the text, and through contamination of passages of similar meaning. Consequently, the original metrical form would appear to have been entirely forgotten, even by the priests of Iguvium. In the Curse of Vibia, the metre seems equally obscure as the text stands, complicated by the fact that the name of the man cursed—Pakis Kluvatis Valaimas pukls—is inserted where "N. or M." needs mention, to the harm of the poem (and perhaps of Pacius).

A remarkably close parallel to the state of affairs which I think I find in these documents is furnished by the history of the Avesta text. Much of this—even more than is commonly

supposed—was originally in verse. In the Gāthās, the oldest Avesta documents in written form, metre has been retained for the most part, although the Zoroastrian priests had no idea whatever that they were in anything but prose. Large portions of the so-called “Younger Avesta” (much of which is far older in material than the Gāthās, however later its linguistic form may be) have become so grossly interpolated in course of time that they are still printed as prose in Geldner’s edition; and only patient investigation can reconstruct even a tentative approximation to their original form (cf., e. g., my attempted restorations of Yasna lvii in *J. A. O. S.*, LVIII [1938], pp. 310-323, and of the Haðōxt Nask in the *Jackson Memorial Volume*, to appear in Bombay).

The metre here under consideration is trochaic dimeter throughout, except for the Umbrian VIb, 60 = lines 111-114, and the Oscan V = lines 17-19; the presence or absence of elision of final vowels and diphthongs seems capricious; final *-es* seems to suffer echthipsis in VIb, 62 = VIIb, 13, 14 = lines 122, 134, 142; and there are inconsistencies of epenthetic and syncopated vowels, though scarcely more so than in Early Latin verse. The Curse appears to fall into three-lined strophes, in which the interpolated name of the person execrated makes a spurious and unmetrical fourth; in the Volscian and Paelignian inscriptions, we may have strophes of five lines; in the Umbrian, I cannot yet find any definite strophic arrangement.

In the text of the Curse, I have followed, almost without exception, the admirable restoration by R. G. Kent (*Class. Phil.*, XX [1925], pp. 243-267; text, p. 256); and omitted text-words are indicated by square brackets, added words by parentheses, and the metrical thesis by the acute accent; but it has not seemed necessary here to distinguish typographically between documents in native and in Latin alphabets.

If the theory here advanced be deemed to possess merit, its implications have value far outside non-Latin Italic. The trochaic dimeter was evidently an Italo-Celtic metre; it may even have been that of the “great number of verses” in which the Druids transmitted their oral teachings (Caesar, *B. G.*, VI, 14, 3); and it reappears in Christian hymnody, as in the three-lined strophes of the twelfth-century sequence of the *Dies irae*; or even in a few Latin fragments, e. g., the lines ascribed to Hadrian

(*Fragmenta poetarum Latinorum*, ed. E. Baehrens [Leipzig, 1886], p. 373) :

ego nolo Florus esse,  
ambulare per tabernas,  
latitare per popinas,  
culices pati rotundos.

A. UMBRIAN—IGUVINE TABLES

- IIa, 3-4: (3) pēre kārne [speturie Atiieñie] áviekáte  
(4) áúú urtú fefúre,  
fétu púze néip erétu.<sup>1</sup>
- IIa, 25: tíu púni, tíu vínu.
- [5] IIb, 24: íupáter Ságe, téfe  
éstu vítlu vúfru séstu.
- VIa, 4-5: <sup>2</sup> (4) párfā dērsuā, c[u]rnāco dērsuā,  
péico mérsto, péica mérsta,  
mérsta áueif, mérstaf (5) ánglaf [esona]  
[10] méhe, tóte íiouéine,  
ésmei stáhmei stáhmeitéi.<sup>3</sup>
- VIa, 22-34: <sup>4</sup> (22) téio súbocáu subóco,  
(23) Déi Grabóui, ocríper Físju,  
t[o]táper íiouína, érer  
[15] nómneper, erár nomnéper;  
fós [sei], pacér sei ócre Físei,  
(24) tót[c] íiouíne, érer  
nómne(per), erár nomné(per),  
[Arsie,] tío súbocáu subóco; <sup>5</sup>  
[20] Déi Grabóue, ársier frite  
tío súbocáu (25) subóco,  
Déi Grabóue, Dí Grabóue,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. VIa, 27 = line 31.

<sup>2</sup> = VIa, 2-3, 17-18, except for *tefe* instead of *mehe* in the latter passage.

<sup>3</sup> For the metrical diphthongisation cf. Old Latin *Romai*.

<sup>4</sup> VIa, 23-25 are identical with VIb, 6-8, except for the substitution of *F[i]sóui Sánsi* for *Déi Grabóui*; VIa, 25-34 with VIb, 26-27, except for the similar substitution of *Téfro íouí*; and VIa, 25-34 with VIa, 35-41, 42-44, except for the unmetrical addition of *cizu* in lines 35, 38, 43, and 44, and in lines 45, 48, 53.

<sup>5</sup> For the quantity of *subóco* cf. that of Latin *vōci*-, Sanskrit *vāka*-.



- [tio esu] búe p[e]rácr[ei pihaclu] <sup>6</sup>ocréper  
 Físiu,  
 t[o]táper Íouína, írer  
 [25] nómnepér, (26) erár nomnéper  
 (tío súbocáu subóco).<sup>7</sup>  
 Déi Grabóuie, órer óse,  
 pérsei ócre Físié pír [orto] est,  
 (pérsei) tóte Íouíne <sup>8</sup>  
 [30] ársmor dérsecór (27) subátor [sent],  
 (fétu) púsei néip herítu.<sup>9</sup>  
 [Dei Grabouie,] pérsei túer pèrscler uás-  
 [e]t[o] est,  
 pés[e]t[om] est, pér[e]t[om] est, (28)  
 frós[e]t[om] est, dá[e]t[om] est,  
 [tuer] pèrscler uírs[e]t[o] auírs[e]to uás  
 est,  
 [35] Dí Grabóuie, pérsei mérsei,  
 [esu] búe (29) [peracrei] píhaclu píháfei.  
 Dí [Grabouie,] píhátu ócre Físei,  
 pího <sup>10</sup> tóta Íouína.  
 Dí [Grabouie,] píhátu órer (30) Físiér,  
 [40] (pího) tótar Íouínar  
 nóme, nér(e)f, ársmo, uéiro,  
 péquo, cástruo, frí píhátu;  
 fútu fós pacér pasé tua  
 ócre Físi, (31) tót[e] Íiouíne,  
 [45] érer nóme, érar nóme.  
 Dí Grabóuie, sáluo s[e]rítu  
 ócre Físi, [salua serítu] tót[a] Íiouína.  
 Dí (32) Grabóuie, sáluo s[e]rítu  
 órer Físiér, tót[ar] Íiouínar  
 [50] nóme, nér(e)f, ársmo, uéiro,  
 péquo, cástruo, frí [salua] (33) serítu;  
 fútu fós, pacér pasé tua

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also VIb, 28: [tiom esu] sórsu pérsontrú [Tefrali pihaclu] ocréper; VIb, 31: [esu] sórsu pérsondrú [pihaclu] píháfi.

<sup>7</sup> For the added line cf. VIa, 34 = line 59.

<sup>8</sup> Text: *toteme Iouine*, but *tote Iiouine* in VIb, 29.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. line 3.

<sup>10</sup> Text: *pihatu*; the verb is omitted in the parallel passage VIb, 31.

- ócre Físi, tót[e] Iouíne,  
 érer nómne, érar nómne.  
 [55] Dí Grabóuie, tío ésu  
 búe (34) p[e]rácr[ei] pihaclu] ocréper  
 Físiu,  
 t[o]táper Iouína, érer  
 nómnepér, érar nomnéper,  
 [Di Grabouie,] tío súbocáu (subóco).
- [60] VIa, 54-55: (54) [Di Grabouie,] tío cómo[ho]tá tribís[i]ne  
 búo p[e]rácr[i]o pihaclo] (55) ocríper  
 Físiu,  
 t[o]táper Iouína, érer  
 nómnepér, érar nomnéper,  
 [Di Grabouie,] tíom súbocáu (subóco).
- [65] VIb, 9-15: (9) F[i]sóuie Sánšie, [tiom esa] méfa spéfa  
 Físouín[a] ocríper Físiu,  
 t[o]táper Iouína, (10) érer  
 nómnepér, érar nomnéper.  
 F[i]sóuie Sánšie, dítu ócre  
 [70] Físi, tóte Iouíne,  
 (dítu) ócerer Fíšie, tótar  
 Iouínar dú(o)púrsus  
 (11) péturpúrsus fáto fíto  
 pérne póstne, sépse s[a]rsíte,  
 [75] uóuse áuie esóne;  
 fútu fóns, pacér pasé tua  
 ócre Físi, tót[e] Iouíne,  
 (12) érer nómne, érar nómne.  
 F[i]sóuie Sánšie, sálvo s[e]rítu  
 [80] ócrem Físi, tót[am] Iouínam.  
 F[i]sóuie Sánšie, sálvo s[e]rítu  
 (13) ócerer Fíšier, tót[ar] Iouínar  
 nóme, nér(e)f, ársmo, úiro,  
 péquo, cástruo, fríf [salua] serítu;  
 [85] fútu fóns, pacér pasé (14) tua  
 ócre Físi, tót[e] Iouíne,  
 érer nómne, érar nómne.  
 F[i]sóuie Sánšie, [tiom esa] méfa spéfa  
 Físouín[a] ocríper Físiu,

- [90] (15) t[o]táper f̃ioṓina, érer  
nómneper, erár nomnéper.  
[Fisouie Sansie,] tíom súbocáu (subóco)  
[Fisouie frite tíom subocau].<sup>11</sup>
- VIb, 53-55: (53) písest tótar (54) Társináter,  
[95] [trifor Tarsinater,] Túscer, Náharcér,  
Iabúscer  
nómner, é[e]tu é[he]su póplu.  
nósue íer [ehe] ésu póplu,  
sópír hábe (55) ésme póple,  
p[o]rtátu úlo púe mérsest,  
[100] fétu úru pírise mérs est.
- VIb, 57-62: (57) Sérfe Márt̃ie, Pr[e]stóta Šér̃fia [Šerfer  
(58) Martier],  
Túrsa Šér̃fia Šerfer Márt̃ier,<sup>12</sup>  
tótam [Tarsinatem], trifo Társinátem,  
Túscom, Náharcóm, Iabúscom [nome],  
[105] (59) tótar [Tarsinater], trifor Társináter,  
Túscer, Náharcér, Iabúscer [nomner]  
nér̃f sihítu ánsihítu,  
iōuī[e] hostátu (60) ánhostátu  
tursítu, tremítu,  
[110] hóndu, hól̃tu,  
níñctu, nepítu,  
sonítu, saṓítu,  
préplotátu, préũlátu.  
(61) Sérfe Márt̃ie, Pr[e]stóta Šér̃fia [Serfer  
Martier],  
[115] Túrsa Šér̃fia Šerfer Márt̃ier,  
f[u]túto fóñer pácrer páse [uestra]  
póple tótar f̃ioṓinar,  
(62) tóte f̃ioṓine, éro  
- nér[u]s sihítir ánsihítir,

<sup>11</sup> Cf. lines 59, 64; for the omission of the following line cf. the parallel passages VIa, 34, 55; VIb, 36.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. VIIa, 47-51, except, instead of the divinities here mentioned, only *Túrsa Iōuía* [*Šerfer Martier*]; *Tursa Iouia* is mentioned in VIIa, 47, 49, 53 = Ib, 43; *Tursa Šerfia* in VIb, 58, 61; VIIa, 41 = Ib, 31; *Honds Iouins* in IIa, 20, 34; and *Honds Šerfir* in Ib, 4; VIb, 45.

- [120]                    *íóuī[es]* <sup>13</sup> *hostátir ánostátir,*  
                          *éro nómne, érar nómne.*
- VIIa, 9-20: <sup>14</sup> (9) *Pr[e]stóta* (10) *Šérfia Šérfer Mártier,*  
                          *tíom ésir uésclir ádrir*  
                          *póplupér tot[ar] íiōuínar,*  
 [125]                    *tótapér íiōuína, érer*  
                          *nómnepér, (11) erár nomnéper*  
                          *(tíom súbocáu subóco).*  
                          *Pr[e]stóta Šérfia Šérfer Mártier,*  
                          *pr[e]uéndu uía écla át[e]ro*  
 [130]                    *tóte [Tarsinate], trífo Társináte,*  
                          (12) *Túrsce, Náharcé, íabúsce [nomne],*  
                          *tótar [Tarsinater], trífor Társináter,*  
                          *Túscer, Náharcér, íabúscer [nomner]*  
                          (13) *nér[u]s š(ih)ítir ánsihítir,*  
 [135]                    *íóuī[es]* <sup>15</sup> *hostátir ánostátir,*  
                          *éro nómne, (érar nómne).*  
                          *Pr[e]stóta Šérfia Šérfer Mártier,*  
                          *fútu fóns (14) pacér pasé t̃a*  
                          *póple tótar íiōuínar, [tote liouine,]*  
 [140]                    *érom nómne, érar nómne,*  
                          *[erár] nér[u]s šihítir ánsihítir,*  
                          *íóuī[es]* <sup>16</sup> (15) *hostátir ánostátir.*  
                          *Pr[e]stóta Šérfia [Šerfer Martier], sáluom*  
                          *s[e]rituu*  
                          *póplom tótar íiōuínar,*  
 [145]                    *sáluo s[e]rituu (16) tót[am] íiōuínam.*  
                          *Pr[e]stóta Šérfia [Serfer Martier], sáluo*  
                          *s[e]ritu*  
                          *pópler tótar íiōuínar [totar liouinar]*  
                          (17) *nóme, nér(e)f, ársmo, uíro,*  
                          *péquo, cástruo, fríf [salua] serítu;*  
 [150]                    *fútu fóns pacér pasé t̃a*  
                          *póple tótar íiōuínar, (18) [tote liouine,]*

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the echthipsis of final *s* before vowels in Early Latin, and the form *íóuī[e]* in line 108 and VIIa, 48.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. VIIa, 21-23, 25-34, except for *álfir* in VIIa, 26, 32, 34, instead of *ádrir*; the unmetrical *ahauendu* in VIIa, 27, instead of *pr[e]uéndu*; in VIIa, 21, 35, *tíom plener* is added after *ádrir* and *álfer* respectively.

<sup>15</sup> See note 13 *supra*.

<sup>16</sup> See note 13 *supra*.

- éerér nómnē, érar nómnē.  
 Pr[e]stóta Šérfia Šérfer Mártier,  
 tíom ésir uésclir ádrer  
 [155] póplupér (19) tot[ar] řiouiinar,  
 tótapér řiouiina, érer  
 nómnepér, erár nomnéper.  
 Pr[e]stóta Šérfia Šérfer Mártier,  
 tíom (20) súbocáuu (subóco);  
 [160] Pr[e]stótar Šérfiar Šérfer Mártier,  
 [foner] říte [tíom] súbocáuu (subóco).

B. OSCAN—CURSE OF VIBIA <sup>17</sup>

- I Kér[i] Arént(ikái man)áfum,  
 pái (*pai*) púi (p)ui hériam súvam,  
 légín(úm suvám ařl)ákád,  
 [(Pakim Kluvatiium Valaimas puklum,  
 inim)] <sup>18</sup>  
 [5] úsurs inim málaks nístrus  
 [Pakiu(i) Kluvatiui Vala(i)mas p(uklui)],  
 II ántkadúm damía(*i mállai*) <sup>19</sup>  
 (pái pui súvam hériam súvam),<sup>20</sup>  
 légín[um] ářlukád, idík tfei  
 [10] [manafum Vibiiar Prebai] <sup>21</sup>  
 III ámpu[(l)u]lúm da(dá)d (*manáfum*);  
 Kér[i] Ar[éntikái] (*manáfum*)  
 [(Pakim Kluvatiium) Valaimas puklum],  
 inim úlas légínéi. svai  
 [15] IV néip dadíd, lamátir ákríd  
 éiseis dúnte(is kúrups súlum,  
 inim dúmátir) <sup>22</sup>  
 V inim kaispátar  
 i(ním) krustátar.

<sup>17</sup> Restorations by Buck and Kent, the latter being noted in each instance; italicised restorations are proposed by the present writer.

<sup>18</sup> So Kent.

<sup>19</sup> Kent: *damia* (*d pesemad*).

<sup>20</sup> So Kent.

<sup>21</sup> Kent: *Vibiiar Prebiam pu(k)ulum*; the *ampu(l)ulum* of Buck's text seems to be a dittography.

<sup>22</sup> So Kent.

- [20] svái neip, ávt sv[ai tiium] idík fifíkus  
[pust eis(uk)],  
VI (pún kahád svemnúm [avt] diírnum),<sup>23</sup>  
pún kahád [avt] (*svemnúm*) n(uhtí)rnum,<sup>24</sup>  
néip putiíád (*pidúm*) pun[um] káhad;  
VII ávt svai píð perfá(kjūm káhad,  
[25] • púst eisúk (*per*) fákiúm neip)<sup>25</sup>  
• pútiíad; níp hu(n)trús níp súprūs  
VIII áisusís putiíáns píðum(*pid*),  
(*pid*) putiíáns uftéis udf(ákjūm  
[nistrus<sup>26</sup> Pakiui Kluvatiui) Valaimas  
puklui].  
[30] pún far ká[ha]d, níp pútiíad édum,  
IX níp menvúm limú(m) píð(úm (*pid*)  
pútiíad súlum éisunk páflum)<sup>27</sup>  
X pái humúns bivús karánter.  
súluh (*súluh*) [Pakis Kluvatiis Valaim(a)s  
puk(ls)] túr[u]mííad l(úvfrum;  
[35] ídik éstud ínim prúfum)<sup>28</sup> [Vibíiai Ak-  
viiai].  
XI (*sákr[im] iónk*) svai púh aflákus  
[Pakim Kluvatiium Valaimas puklum<sup>29</sup>],  
súpr(us téras, *súprus ápas*)<sup>30</sup>  
ínim túvai légin[ei] ínim  
[40] sákr[im] (*iónk*) svai púh aflákus  
XII húntrus téras, húntrus á(pas<sup>31</sup>  
[Pakim Kluvatiium) Valaima[i]s puk-  
lu(m)]  
(*ínim túvai léginéi*) avt  
Kér[i] Arét[ikái] avt úlas  
[45] léginéi (nuhtírnas)<sup>32</sup> trútas,

<sup>23</sup> So Kent.<sup>24</sup> So Kent.<sup>25</sup> So Kent.<sup>26</sup> So Kent.<sup>27</sup> So Kent.<sup>28</sup> So Kent.<sup>29</sup> Text: *puklui*.<sup>30</sup> Kent: *suprus teras tuvai heriai sakrim*.<sup>31</sup> So Kent.<sup>32</sup> So Kent.

tús(z fuid [Pakis Kluvatiis Valaimas  
puk(ls)] *idik tfei manáfum*).<sup>33</sup>

Buck, 20, 6, 8, 9: nép fatiũm nep deikũm pũtjans;  
nép deikũm nep fátũm pũtjad;  
nép memnĩm nep ũlam [sifei] hérijad.

C. VOLSCIAN (Conway 252 = von Planta 240)

[5] sépis átahús [pis] Ũélestrom,  
[faovia] ésarístrom, sé bim ásif,  
uésclis, ũnu árpátĩtu.  
sépis tóticũ couéhriũ  
sépu, férom píhom éstu.

D. PAELIGNIAN (Conway 216 = von Planta 254)

[5] úsur príst[a]falác[i]rix prĩsmu  
pétiedũ ip ũĩđad ũĩbđũ  
ómnit[u] Ũranías écuẽ  
émp(e)rátõis clĩuist, cérfum  
sácarácirĩx semũnu,  
sú[a] aetátu f[i]ráta fértlid  
praícimé Persépon[as] áfđed.  
éite [uus] prĩtromé pacrĩs puus  
écic léxe lífar; dída  
[10] déti ũús<sup>34</sup> hanúst[u] Heréntas.

E. GAULISH.

Dottin, no. 7: Σέγομάρος Ούιλλόνεος  
τ[ο]ούτιους νάμανσάτις εἰώρον  
Βήλησ[α]μί σοσίν νεμήγον.

Dottin, nos. 20, 32: δέδε βράτουδέ καντένα.

[5] Dottin, no. 33:<sup>35</sup> Mártiális Dánnotáli  
iẽuru Ũcuétin sósĩn  
célicnón etic gobédbi  
dúgiĩóntiĩo Ũcuétin  
ĩn Alisĩia.

<sup>33</sup> Kent: *tusz fuid pakis kluvatiis valaimas puk*.

<sup>34</sup> Text: *uus deti*.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. J. Rhys, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, II (1906), p. 281.

- [10] Dottin, no. 37:        Doíros Ségomári iéuru  
                                 Álisánu.
- Dottin, no. 38: <sup>36</sup>    Íccavós Oppíanícnos  
                                 iéuru Brigindóni cánt[a]lon.
- Dottin, no. 39: <sup>37</sup>    Lícnos Cóntextós ieúru  
                                 Ánval[o]nnácu cán[e]cosédlon.

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<sup>36</sup> Cf. Rhys, *op. cit.*, VI (1910), p. 283; my pupil, Mr. Robert Fowkes, suggests for the second line the equally possible reading *iéuru Bríndóni cantálon* (for the loss of intervocalic *g* in Gaulish, see his study of Gaulish phonology in comparison with Indo-European in *Language*, XVI [1940], pp. 285-299). The same phenomenon seems to be present in the Umbrian forms *fiouína*, *foúina*, *I(i)ouína* side by side, as compared with *Ikuvina*, *Iiuvina* in the native alphabet (cf. Buck, § 148).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Rhys, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 285.



## THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ERIN.

More than ten years ago we had an occasion to discuss the curious concept of the Sovereignty or Kingship of Ireland embodied in the form of a beautiful woman, and we drew attention to similar concepts known to have existed among other branches of the Indo-European family of peoples. On the strength of these data we inferred, tentatively, that this concept is very ancient and appears to antedate the separation of the *centum* from the *satem* branch of the great linguistic family.<sup>1</sup> In reviewing our book, M. J. Vendryes frankly admitted this possibility but added that our assertion would require additional proof.<sup>2</sup>

What prevented us, at the time, from a more thorough study of the problem was obviously the impossibility of including in a handbook, covering universal mythology in 450 pages, a dissertation devoted to a problem of this nature, however interesting in itself. Thus it may not be amiss to re-open the question and to inquire into the age, meaning, and probable origin of one of the most fascinating legends of Ancient Ireland.

The Book of Ballymote, an Irish MS dating from the end of the fourteenth century, contains the *Cóir Anmann*, a treatise on the origin of the nicknames of ancient Irish kings and heroes, which, among others, relates the following story.<sup>3</sup>

Daire has five sons all named Lugaid, of one of whom it had been foretold that he would be king of Ireland. Wishing to obtain more definite information, Daire consults a druid at the assembly of Teltown, where his sons have gone to race their horses; he is told that the one who will take the fawn with the golden sheen will succeed him to the kingship.

<sup>1</sup> *Mythologie Universelle* (Paris, Payot, 1930), p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue Celtique*, XLVIII (1931), p. 415.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. tr. W. Stokes, in W. Stokes u. E. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, III (2) (Leipzig, 1897), pp. 317-23, § 70; cf. Geoffrey Keating, *History of Ireland*, I, § 27; Dinneen's translation, II, pp. 149-51. Cf. further W. Stokes, *Academy*, XLI (1892), p. 399; A. Nutt, *ibid.*, p. 425; G. H. Maynadier, *The Wife of Bath's Tale* (London, 1901), pp. 25 ff.; J. Weston, *Folk-Lore*, XII (1901), p. 373; Gaston Paris, *Histoire Littéraire*, XXX (1888), p. 102; W. H. Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* (New York, 1906), pp. 224 ff.; John R. Reinhard, *The Survival of Geis in Mediaeval Romance* (Halle, 1933), pp. 349 ff.

When the fawn comes, Daire's sons with the men of Erin pursue it until a magical mist separates them from their followers. In the end Lugaid Laigde catches and kills the fawn. Then a great snow falls, and one of the sons goes to seek shelter. He finds a house with a huge fire, food and ale in abundance, silver dishes, couches of white bronze, and a horrible hag. She offers the boy a bed if he will lie with her that night. Upon his refusal she declares that he has thus severed from himself "sovranty" and the kingship. The other sons, except Lugaid Laigde, go in succession to beg for shelter; but none is asked to spend the night. At last Lugaid Laigde goes with her into the house for food and ale. As she goes into the couch he follows her and sees, to his astonishment, that her face is radiant like the rising sun in the month of May, and her fragrance is like an odorous herb-garden. Lugaid embraces her and is told: "Good is thy journey, for I am the Sovranty, and thou shalt obtain the sovranty of Erin."

A metrical version of the same story is found in the *Dindshenchas of Carn Máil*, in the Book of Leinster, a MS of the middle of the twelfth century: <sup>4</sup>

Daire, a king of Ulster in S. Patrick's time, had seven sons, all named Lugaidh. He had also a magical fawn, which was hunted down and slain one day by four of the sons. The latter, apparently separated from their retainers, arrive at a house where they are to pass the night. As they are sitting around the fire, an old hag enters, foul and loathsome to look upon. She threatens to transform them all, dogs and men, if one of the brothers will not lie with her. Lugaidh Laigde offers to sacrifice himself for the rest. Then, as the fire grows dark, the foul hag is changed into a beautiful woman who reveals herself as the Sovereignty of Ireland and Scotland. But Lugaidh Laigde is not to lie with her after all, that honor being reserved for his son, who will one day be a great king.

There is no need to rehearse here the common features of the two texts; they are sufficiently numerous to warrant the inference

<sup>4</sup> E. Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, IV (Dublin, 1924), pp. 135 ff. Cf. also Kuno Meyer, *Zeitschrift f. Celtische Philologie*, III (1901), p. 460, § 8; *Academy*, XLI, p. 399; Maynadier, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 ff.; 195; Reinhard, *op. cit.*, pp. 352 f. In view of the resemblance of the description of the hag to an analogous portrait of a loathly female in Cúán O'Lócháin's *Echtra mac Echdach Mugmedóin* the inference would seem justified that the story is much older than its MS form: O'Lócháin died in 1024.

that both are variants ultimately derived from a common original. This unknown text must have contained the two central motives found in both versions, viz. (1) the story of the fawn with the golden sheen and (2) the story of the hag.

Now it might be (and indeed has been <sup>5</sup>) conjectured that the former is a secondary theme, devised for the simple purpose of bringing about the separation of the princes from their followers and to put them in touch with the fairy (for such the hag evidently is), according to a wide-spread *märchen* formula.<sup>6</sup> But this conclusion is inadmissible, for the text of the Book of Ballymote expressly states that the sovereignty is destined to him who will hunt down the mysterious fawn, while in the metrical version the fawn is already in the possession of the heroes' father, who is king. If a hunt for it is arranged, it is evidently with a view to determining which of the seven princes is to be the old king's successor. In any case, it is evident that the two themes represent merely a doubling of the same idea; they are parallels. The sovereignty, i. e. the kingship, of Ireland is personified (1) by the fawn with the golden sheen and (2) by the hag subsequently transformed into a beautiful woman. The fact that the hero who slays the fawn is also the one who complies with the hag's request, thereby winning the kingship, merely confirms this conclusion.<sup>7</sup>

We now propose to examine the two motives, to determine, if possible, whether they are typically Irish and Celtic, or whether they are found elsewhere, either as universal folk-lore motives or, perhaps, as an appanage of the peoples of Indo-European speech.

## I

In the lost Greek epic known under the name of *Alcmaeonis* we meet with the tradition of the two hostile brothers Atreus and Thyestes, the sons of Pelops. Their hatred for one another is produced, according to the ancient legend, by a lamb with a golden fleece, a present given them by the god Hermes intent

<sup>5</sup> Nutt, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> W. Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch* (Stuttgart, 1900), p. 354; C. Pschmidt, *Die Sage von der verfolgten Hinde* (diss. Greifswald, 1911); Bolte-Polívka, *Märchen-Anmerkungen*, II, pp. 345 ff.; Thompson, *Motif-Index*, N 774.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also Maynadier, p. 27; Reinhard, p. 351.

on avenging on the sons of Pelops the death of his own son Myrtilus, treacherously slain by Pelops. The real import of this mysterious lamb is brought out by the Greek tragedians and by Seneca, who are agreed that the lamb confers upon Atreus, as *regni stabilimen sui*, the dominion over the inherited kingdom. Thyestes seduces his sister-in-law and obtains the lamb through her treachery; but a miracle frustrates his hope of seizing his brother's throne at the same time, and he has to go into exile.<sup>8</sup>

It is unnecessary to summarize here the various interpretations of the story proposed by the ancients; they merely prove that the real import and true meaning of the lamb was no longer understood in late classical times. In recent years Professor A. B. Cook<sup>9</sup> conjectured that the lamb was the theriomorphic manifestation of Zeus himself. It should be noted, however, that the Greek tragedians and Seneca (who drew on them) appear to have had no doubt about the essential fact that the lamb (in Seneca it is a ram) was meant to be a symbol of the kingship, while an *Iliad* commentary, which also utilized ancient sources, intimates that the kingship of Mycene was attached to the possession of the lamb.<sup>10</sup> Whoever has the lamb is king, and if Thyestes tries to obtain possession of the lamb he is evidently guided by the afterthought that he will thereby also obtain possession of his brother's kingdom. The lamb in this ancient Hellenic tradition is thus seen to play much the same rôle as the fawn with the golden sheen in the Irish tale.

A second parallel hails from Persia. There the compilation known under the title of *History of Artachšir i Pâpakân*,<sup>11</sup> composed toward the beginning of the seventh century of our era, relates the flight of Artachšir, the founder of the dynasty of the Sassanids, from Ardewân, the lawful ruler of Persia, with the latter's daughter. No sooner does Ardewân become aware of this flight than he sets out in pursuit of the fugitives. On the road he asks the peasants he encounters whether they have noticed the

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon*, I, pp. 712 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, II, cols. 2140 f.; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 405 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 407.

<sup>10</sup> Schol. *Il.*, II, 106; cf. schol. Euripides, *Or.*, 812; cf. Cook, pp. 405 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Th. Nöldeke, in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, IV (1879), pp. 44 f.; for a parallel version cf. Firdousi, *Le Livre des Rois*, trad. J. Mohl (Paris, 1876-78), V, pp. 230 ff.

fleeing couple, and he is told: "This morning at sunrise they passed as fast as the wind, followed by a fat ram, than which there can exist no better." Ardewân's dastûr, who accompanies his master, interprets this ram as the "majesty of dominion" which follows Artachšir. Ardewân obtains the same information about the fugitives on stopping at a second place. Finally he meets a caravan and is told: "Between you and the fleeing couple there is still a distance of twenty parasangs. We have noticed that a very large and powerful ram was sitting on the crupper behind the couple." Then Ardewân realizes that the "majesty of dominion" has now attained Artachšir and that it is past all possibility of overtaking him. Thus, discouraged, the king gives up the pursuit and returns home. But Artachšir soon collects an army, marches against his former master and dethrones him.

No one will seriously maintain that the occurrence of the ram, lamb, or fawn as symbols of kingship in Iran, in pre-historic Greece, and in mediaeval Ireland is due to literary borrowings. In all three cases we are rather dealing with very ancient legendary material shared by at least three branches of the Indo-European family.

## II

We now proceed to a discussion of the second of the two motives pointed out in the Irish stories, the personification of the kingship in the form of a beautiful young girl. Here it is worth noting, first, that even in Ireland it is not necessarily connected with the motive just discussed. Thus a second text of the Book of Ballymote presents the following reading:<sup>12</sup>

Eochaid, king of Ireland, had four sons by his wife and one, Niall, by a captive Saxon princess. One day, as the five brothers were hunting, they strayed away from their followers. Tired and thirsty they looked for a spring. When at last they found one, they beheld a frightful hag guarding it. Fergus, one of the elder sons, demanded a drink. He might have it, the hag replied, if he would kiss her. "Not so," he answered haughtily.—"Then the water shall not be granted by me." Two others of the elder sons had no better luck. The fourth, having learned from his brothers'

<sup>12</sup> S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* (London, 1892), I, pp. 326-30; II, pp. xxiv, 368-73; cf. also Maud Joynt, in *Eriu*, IV (1908), pp. 104 f.; Maynardier, pp. 27 ff.; W. Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XXIV (1903), pp. 190-207; Reinhard, pp. 353 ff.

- experience, kissed her, but it was the barest brush of a kiss, whereupon the hag said: "Have thou but mere contact of Tara!" And this came true, for of this prince's seed two did rule Ireland, but of the other brothers' not one. Last of all Niall went for water and consented to kiss and hug the hag. As he did so, the latter was changed into a young woman of extreme comeliness. "Who art thou?" he asked full of astonishment.—"Royal rule am I," was the answer; "Thine and thy children's shall be for ever the kingdom and the supreme power. And as at first thou hast seen me ugly, brutish, loathly but in the end beautiful, even so is royal rule. Without fierce conflict it may not be won; but in the end, he that is king shows comely and nobly forth." Niall became a famous king of Ireland, generally known as Niall of the Nine Hostages.

Another Irish version, entitled *Baile in Scáil* ("Champion's Ecstasy"<sup>13</sup>) has been preserved in the MS Harley 5280, of the sixteenth century, and Rawlinson B 512, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, though the story itself is much older, being mentioned by Flann Mainistrech, who died in 1056. It reads as follows:

The high-king Conn Cetchathach beholds a horseman approaching him in a dense mist, who invites the monarch to his palace, the splendor of which is described, and gives his name as Lug mac Ethlenn. In the palace Conn sees a maiden bearing a golden diadem and having beside her a vat of ale. She is none other than the Sovereignty of Ireland. Lug then reveals to Conn the length of his reign and names every king who shall rule in Tara after him. Then the maiden asks to whom the ale is to be given, and Lug instructs her to give it to Conn. He then pronounces a short prophecy in verse bearing on Conn's reign. The maiden repeats her question, and Lug replies that the ale is to be given to Art, son of Conn. Of him, too, Lug prophesies, and the process is repeated for each succeeding high-king.

Here again the Irish concept of a personification of the kingship has a close parallel in ancient Iran. In his account of the

<sup>13</sup> E. O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* (Dublin, 1878), pp. 388 f.; 618-22; H. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Le Cycle mythologique irlandais et la mythologie celtique* (Paris, 1884), pp. 301 ff.; J. Loth, *Revue archéologique*, IV<sup>e</sup> série, XXIV (1914), p. 222; Reinhard, pp. 356 f. On a related Welsh version in the Red Book of Hergest cf. H. N. and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, I (Cambridge, 1932), p. 455.

great revolt of Bahrâm-Tschubîn against Hormuzd IV, son of Kosrau I Anûshirwân (579-590), the chronicler Tabarî tells the following story: <sup>14</sup>

Hunting one day a wild ass, Bahrâm and his retinue enter a vast park inside of which they behold a beautiful château. Bahrâm enters the latter alone, bidding his followers wait for him outside, and promptly sends food and refreshments out, which they greatly enjoy. As he is long in rejoining them, one of them ventures inside the château and finds his master in conversation with a girl of superhuman beauty. Bahrâm sends him out again, promising to be with them in a short time, and after a while they see him come out, accompanied by the girl as far as the gate. On the following day two of his companions hastily depart for the king's court, to report to Hormuzd what they have seen. The king then calls his chief mobed to consult him on the matter. The mobed replies: "That young girl is a peri who accompanies him in all his battles and assures him of victory."

While this account does not expressly state that the fair girl is the Sovereignty of Iran but represents her rather as a personification of Bahrâm's fortune, the sequel of the story leaves no doubt about her true identity. For Bahrâm soon breaks out in open revolt against his royal master and after the latter's death drives the heir presumptive from the land. Then he seats himself on a golden throne, places the crown of the Sassanids on his own head, and exercises all the functions of a king.

Nor is a similar concept absent from India. There the great goddess Lakshmî, the Hindoo Fortuna, is looked upon more especially as the *Fortuna Regis*, the protecting deity of every king, while many texts declare outright that she is the king's wife. <sup>15</sup>

Here the objection might be raised that in some of the Irish texts Lady Royalty (as she may properly be called) appears in two completely different shapes, first as an old hag of repulsive exterior, then as a young woman of rare beauty. These versions involve a test: only he who is willing to caress the hag is evidently deemed worthy of enjoying the kingship. We have seen above that the unknown author of the second text of the Book of Bally-

<sup>14</sup> Trad. H. Zotenberg (Paris, 1867-74), II, pp. 267 f.; for a parallel account cf. Firdousi, trad. Mohl, VI, pp. 533 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Friedrich S. Krauss, *Sreča. Glück und Schicksal im Volksglauben der Südslaven* (Wien, 1886), p. 6.

mote ventured to explain the allegory. His interpretation is logical enough, although susceptible of greater generalization, e. g., that only he who is not afraid of its more unpleasant duties, the seamy side of kingship, is truly worthy of enjoying its blessings. But it may well be doubted whether such a fine-spun allegory was really in the minds of the first narrators. The true meaning is probably more simple, and here again Persian traditions furnish the clue. Speaking of the Iranian kings, the chronicler Al-Tha'âlibî expresses himself as follows: "[Zaw] had received the sovereignty from Afrâsiyâb when it was like an ugly toothless old woman; he transmitted it to Kaiqobâdh like a young bride."<sup>16</sup> In this text the ugly old woman is the kingship of an old and unpopular ruler—the tyrant Afrâsiyâb is stated to have reigned nearly 400 years—while the lovely young bride is the rule of a young king, on whom his subjects set high hopes, and one cannot help recalling that even now the first years of a new reign or a new administration are popularly likened to a honeymoon. In other words, the old hag represents the old reign, the beautiful young woman the new reign, initiated by a young ruler or a new dynasty.

This conclusion is borne out by other facts. A reign or administration is of course a more or less narrowly circumscribed period of time, comparable to one or the other of the natural divisions of time, e. g. the calendar year. Now it is a well-known fact that in many annually recurring rites, usually held in spring, the old year is represented by an old woman, who is ceremoniously driven out of the community, burned, drowned, fustigated, sawed asunder, etc., while just as often the new year is represented by a young girl, the May Queen.<sup>17</sup> On the same reasoning, it would appear, an old and worn-out reign could be symbolized by an ugly old hag who, at the death of the old ruler and the accession of a young one, might be thought to transform herself into a beautiful young woman. At all events, such an explanation will, we believe, do better justice to the texts than another one, proposed some thirty years ago, which saw in the hag a symbol of the

<sup>16</sup> *Histoire des Rois des Perses* par Aboû Mansoûr 'Abd al-Malik ibn Mohammed ibn Isma'îl Al-Tha'âlibî, éd. et trad. par Hermann Zotenberg (Paris, 1900), p. 137.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften*, IV (1914), pp. 93-143, especially pp. 199 ff.; Sir James G. Frazer, *The Dying God* (London, 1935), pp. 240 ff.



Night, in the hero, the Prince of Day, at whose contact Night is transformed into the fair Aurora or Dawn.<sup>18</sup> One fails to see how this explanation, which harks back to the mythological fancies of Max Müller and his school, can account for the clearly expressed connection of the theme with royal rule. Let us conclude this disquisition by pointing out that the likening of the supreme power to a fair woman appears to have been a commonplace with the rhetors of Hellenism; for Dio Chrysostomus in one place speaks of "blessed Lady Royalty, child of King Zeus."<sup>19</sup>

### III

It may be readily granted that with Dio Chrysostomus and with the authors of some of the mediaeval Irish texts the young woman of supernatural beauty was a fair and quite apt allegory of royal rule. The Persian texts relating the vision of Bahrâm make it clear, however, that to the Iranian chroniclers, composing these stories toward the end of the Sassanid period, that glorious woman in a fairy palace was far more than an allegory; for she evidently personified what in everyday parlance we should now call Bahrâm's "star," while to speak of the Hindoo Lakshmî, of Atreus' lamb, of Artachšir's ram, or of the Irish fawn with the golden sheen as "allegories" would be to profess obvious absurdities. Allegory is a product of late, one is tempted to say decadent, periods and a purely literary phenomenon. At best it is derived—as was mediaeval allegory—from models themselves created in periods of decadence. The concept underlying the stories discussed in this study is, however, truly archaic in that they presuppose a view of the kingship such as is found only in savage and barbaric societies.

In such societies, it will be remembered, the king, like the priest, is thought to be endowed with a frankly supernatural power, divine and holy, which is regarded as a mysterious entity, a sort of fluid substance, which is temporarily vested in the reigning monarch but separable and transferable to another individual. Normally it passes from father to son; but it may be appropriated by a pretender, as the cases of Artachšir and

<sup>18</sup> H. Kern, "De bronnen van 'The Wife of Bath's Tale' en daarmee verwante vertellingen," in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen*, IV<sup>e</sup> reeks, bd. IX (Amsterdam, 1909), pp. 346-66.

<sup>19</sup> Dio Chrysostomus, *Orat.*, I, 13.

Bahrâm clearly show, or transferred to another dynasty.<sup>20</sup> Thus the reigning sultan of Morocco possesses the *baraka* of the sultan-ship, conferred upon him by saints. In recent times Mulai 'Abd'l'aziz was believed to have lost his throne because this saintly aid was withdrawn from him. It is on the sultan's *baraka* that the welfare of the whole country depends. When it is strong and unpolluted, the crops are abundant, the women give birth to healthy children, and the country is prosperous in every respect. On the other hand, deterioration or loss of the ruler's *baraka* shows itself in disturbance and troubles, in drought, famine, and other calamities.<sup>21</sup>

The concept in question is fairly wide-spread. Its existence in Ancient Iran is proved by still another series of traditions. The royal majesty or glory (as this mysterious power may be called) of the Iranian kings was known as *Xvarōnah*, O. Pers. *Faruch*, occasionally referred to as *Xvarōnah baghalé* "glory of God."<sup>22</sup> It is peculiar to all supernatural beings, to the Sun, the Moon, to Mithra, to the Fravashis, to Verethragma,<sup>23</sup> etc., but also to priests<sup>24</sup> and to all legitimate kings; usurpers notoriously lack it.<sup>25</sup> When the latter wish to seize it, it escapes from them and hides in the water. Even legitimate kings may lose it by bad conduct, whereupon they are frequently deposed. Thus the *Xvarōnah* left Yima in the form of a raven, the bird of victory, when that monarch strayed from the path of virtue.<sup>26</sup> Firdousi

<sup>20</sup> E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (London, 1912-17), II, pp. 607 ff.

<sup>21</sup> E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, 1926), I, pp. 38 f.

<sup>22</sup> F. Justi, *Preussische Jahrbücher*, LXXXVIII (1897), p. 86; James Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, II (Paris, 1892), p. 615 (*Annales du Musée Guimet*, t. XXII).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 562.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 306.

<sup>25</sup> This may seem a contradiction to what has been said above on the subject of Artachšir and Bahrâm. In reality it is not; for if the *Xvarōnah* does pass to a usurper he becomes a *successful* usurper, i. e., he ceases to be one, becoming a legitimate king, at least so long as the *Xvarōnah* stays with him.

<sup>26</sup> *Yt.*, XIX, 34; cf. F. Spiegel, *Iranische Alterthumskunde*, II (Leipzig, 1873), pp. 42 f.; I (1871), p. 536; Fr. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien* (Berlin, 1863), p. 27; Darmesteter, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 624 ff.; J. Scheftelowitz, *Die altpersische Religion und das Judentum* (Giessen,

relates at length how the same *Xvarōnah*, here called *yezdan* "grace of God," left King Jemshid when the latter refused to recognize God as his superior in power.<sup>27</sup>

The words of Artachšir's dastūr, the interpretation by Hormuzd IV of Bahrām's vision, to say nothing of the rôle of Lakshmī as *Fortuna Regis*, make it amply clear that this royal *baraka*, this *Xvarōnah*, was thought to assume, on occasion, the shape of a stately ram or of a young woman of superhuman beauty. Its manifestation in animal or human form denoted the impending promotion of the hero to the kingly office, just as its departure in bird shape from Yima, the first Iranian king, indicated that this sovereign had been forsaken by what we should call his "star." Its possession alone assured the king of his continuance in the royal dignity.

The Irish stories which formed the starting point of this study have generally been considered only for their import on a certain Middle English romance.<sup>28</sup> The Hellenic, Iranian, and Hindoo parallels pointed out in the present article prove, it would seem, the existence of a concept analogous to the Persian *Xvarōnah* also in Ancient Ireland<sup>29</sup> and, since literary borrowings are well-nigh out of the question in this case, its existence in Indo-European antiquity.

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1920), pp. 109 f. As is well known, this feature was transferred to Adam in Hebrew and Arabic tradition; after his fall his "diadem" (*tadj*) flew away; cf. A. Certeux, *Revue des Traditions populaires*, I (1886), p. 162; S. Baring-Gould, *Legends of the Patriarchs and Prophets and Other Old Testament Characters* (New York, 1872), p. 83; W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (Tübingen, 1926), pp. 409, 490.

<sup>27</sup> Firdousi, trad. Mohl, I, p. 38.

<sup>28</sup> To the references given in note 3 add: Chaucer, *Works*, ed. F. N. Robinson (Boston, [1933]), pp. 8 and 807; J. L. Weston, *The Legend of Sir Gawain* (London, 1897), pp. 48 ff.; Laura Sumner, *The Weddynge of Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell*, in *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, V (4) (Northampton, Mass., 1924).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. also Henri Hubert, *The Greatness and Decline of the Celts* (London, 1934), p. 171.

ON TWO ASTRONOMICAL PASSAGES IN PLUTARCH'S  
*DE ANIMAE PROCREATIONE IN TIMAEO.*

1. The following investigations arose from a question of Prof. A. Bidez. He drew my attention to § 31 (1028 F) of the work mentioned in the title, in which Plutarch speaks about a "Chaldean" doctrine according to which the four seasons of the year can be arranged in certain harmonic proportions. The discovery of the unequal length of the four seasons is undoubtedly one of the most fundamental achievements of ancient astronomy because it is equivalent to the discovery of an inequality in the movement of the sun. The explanation of this inequality as apparent by assuming a certain eccentricity of the sun's orbit with respect to the earth is the basis for the ancient theory of the eccentric movements, a theory which finally led to Kepler's discovery of the elliptic orbits of the planets. On the other hand, the cuneiform astronomical tablets of the Seleucid period show that the inventors of these mathematical devices also were fully conscious of the fundamental rôle of an adequate description of the inequality of the movement of the sun in the prediction of the visibility of the moon's crescent and of eclipses. The careful investigation of every ancient statement about the unequal length of the seasons is therefore fully justified.

The first passage in question reads as follows:<sup>1</sup> Χαλδαῖοι δὲ λέγουσι τὸ ἔαρ ἐν τῷ διὰ τεττάρων γίνεσθαι πρὸς τὸ μετόπωρον, ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ πέντε πρὸς τὸν χειμῶνα, πρὸς δὲ τὸ θέρος ἐν τῷ διὰ πασῶν. "The Chaldeans say that spring makes a fourth with respect to autumn, a fifth to winter, an octave to summer." These musical harmonies can be represented by the proportions  $\frac{4}{3}$ ,  $\frac{3}{2}$ ,  $\frac{2}{1}$ , respectively; if we therefore denote the four seasons by  $s_1$ ,  $s_2$ ,  $s_3$ ,  $s_4$ , respectively, beginning with spring as  $s_1$ , then one would offhand interpret the sentence in question as

$$(1) \quad s_1 = \frac{4}{3} s_3 = \frac{3}{2} s_4 = \frac{2}{1} s_2$$

which is obvious nonsense because spring ( $s_1$ ) is certainly not twice as long as summer ( $s_2$ ), etc.

On the other hand, spring is actually the longest of the four seasons according to the following inequality:

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia*, VI, ed. Bernardakis, p. 202, 14 (1028 F).

$$(2) \quad s_1 > s_2 > s_4 > s_3$$

while from (1) follows

$$(3) \quad s_1 > s_3 > s_4 > s_2.$$

Plutarch's statement, although undoubtedly incorrect in its interpretation (1), has at least as a consequence the relation (3), which is correct except for the interchange of  $s_3$  and  $s_2$ .

Having found at least a partial justification for Plutarch's statement, we might try to replace the obviously incorrect proportions (1) by some more reasonable expression. Now one need only remark that the four seasons actually differ very little in length in order to realize that all speculations about the relations between the seasons should sooner be directed towards the *deviations* from some constant time interval than towards the lengths of the seasons themselves. In other words, we may assume that the lengths of the seasons are considered as consisting of two parts

$$(4) \quad \begin{array}{ll} s_1 = s + \sigma_1 & s_3 = s + \sigma_3 \\ s_2 = s + \sigma_2 & s_4 = s + \sigma_4 \end{array}$$

namely a common part  $s$  and deviations  $\sigma_1, \dots, \sigma_4$ . Then the meaning of the sentence in question would be <sup>2</sup>

$$(5) \quad \sigma_1 = \frac{4}{3} \sigma_2 = \frac{3}{2} \sigma_4 = \frac{2}{1} \sigma_3.$$

From (5) and (4) follows

$$(6) \quad \begin{array}{l} s_1 = s + 12\sigma \\ s_2 = s + 9\sigma \\ s_4 = s + 8\sigma \\ s_3 = s + 6\sigma \end{array}$$

where  $s$  and  $\sigma$  are still undetermined numbers, but common to all four numbers  $s_1, \dots, s_4$ . We therefore must find six unknown quantities  $s_1, \dots, s_4, s$ , and  $\sigma$  satisfying the four conditions (6) and in addition to it the obvious relation

$$(7) \quad s_1 + s_2 + s_3 + s_4 = 1 \text{ year.}$$

Thus, with only five equations for six quantities *one* of them can be chosen arbitrarily.

<sup>2</sup> Here also, of course, we interchange the second and fourth place in Plutarch's statement.

The most natural assumption is evidently  $\sigma = 1$ , which means that the differences in question are not only multiples of the famous harmonic numbers 12, 9, 8, and 6 but *equal* to these numbers. Making this assumption and adopting  $365\frac{1}{2}$  days as the length of one year, one can easily solve (6) and (7). The result, compared with the values accepted by Hipparchus,<sup>3</sup> are

$$\begin{array}{ll}
 (8) & s_1 = 82\frac{9}{16} + 12 = 94\frac{9}{16} \quad \text{Hipparchus } 94\frac{1}{2} \\
 & s_2 = 82\frac{9}{16} + 9 = 91\frac{9}{16} \quad 92\frac{1}{2} \\
 & s_3 = 82\frac{9}{16} + 6 = 88\frac{9}{16} \quad 88\frac{1}{2} \\
 & s_4 = 82\frac{9}{16} + 8 = 90\frac{9}{16} \quad 90\frac{1}{2}
 \end{array}$$

The coincidence is not perfect, yet so close that there can be little doubt that we are on the right track. Thus Plutarch refers to the theory that the following relation holds:

$$\begin{array}{ll}
 (9) & s_1 = s + 12 \quad s_4 = s + 8 \\
 & s_2 = s + 9 \quad s_3 = s + 6
 \end{array}$$

which makes the remainders harmonic numbers, respectively yielding fourth, fifth, and octave by their proportions.

That the numbers found do not exactly agree with Hipparchus' values is not surprising. Hipparchus determined the length of the seasons by careful observations and did not hesitate to introduce fractions of days. We have, however, a better chance to find the right numbers by going back to older and less elaborate systems which expressed the length of the seasons by an integral number of days.<sup>4</sup> And indeed, one of them, the system of Callippus (*ca.* 330 B. C.)<sup>5</sup> shows a very close relationship to the formulae (9) if we assume  $s = 83$ . Then we get

$$\begin{array}{ll}
 (10) & s_1 = 83 + 12 = 95 \quad \text{Callippus } 95 \\
 & s_2 = 83 + 9 = 92 \quad 92 \\
 & s_3 = 83 + 6 = 89 \quad 89 \\
 & s_4 = 83 + 8 = 91 \quad 90
 \end{array}$$

I have no doubt that this contains the solution of our problem. Having realized that the inequality of the seasons according to Callippus can be brought into the form (10) with three har-

<sup>3</sup> Ptolemy, *Almagest*, III, 4.

<sup>4</sup> See e. g. W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens* (Cambridge, 1931), p. 318, note.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. Böckh, *Über die vierjährigen Sonnenkreise der Alten* (Berlin, 1863), p. 46.

monic increments 12, 9, and 6, the Pythagorean philosophers did not hesitate to improve the work of nature by replacing 90 by 91 in order to obtain complete "harmony."

In attributing these speculations to the so-called Pythagoreans, we consider Plutarch's reference to the "Chaldeans" as unhistorical. We know that Babylonian astronomy of the Seleucid period used values for the lengths of the seasons very close to Hipparchus' values<sup>6</sup> and therefore equally unsuitable to the set (10) of Plutarch's numbers. No traces of a Babylonian theory which could be brought into relation with the number-mysticism of Plutarch's source are preserved. There exists, on the other hand, a certain Greek tradition which assumes the "Chaldean" origin of the harmonic proportions;<sup>7</sup> here also, proofs of its reliability are lacking.

2. The second passage to be discussed precedes the report about the harmonic qualities of the seasons and deals with the unequal length of the days during the year. We read:<sup>8</sup> τοῦ δ' ἡλίου περὶ τὰς τροπὰς ἐλάχιστα καὶ μέγιστα περὶ τὴν ἰσημερίαν ἔχοντος κινήματα, δι' ὧν ἀφαίρει τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῇ νυκτὶ προστίθῃσιν ἢ τοῦναντίον, οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐστίν· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς πρώταις ἡμέραις λ' μετὰ τὰς χειμερινὰς τροπὰς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προστίθῃσι τὸ ἕκτον τῆς ὑπεροχῆς, ἣν ἡ μεγίστη νύξ πρὸς τὴν βραχυτάτην ἡμέραν ἐμποιεῖ, ταῖς δ' ἐφεξῆς τριάκοντα τὸ τρίτον, τὸ δ' ἡμισυ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἄχρι τῆς ἰσημερίας
- "Because the movement of the sun has its minimum at the solstices and its maximum at the equinox, it subtracts or adds to day and night according to the following proportion: during the first 30 days one sixth of the difference between the longest night and the shortest day is added, one third in the following thirty (days), one half during the rest until the equinox." These
- sentences obviously contain different astronomical errors. The sun's velocity cannot be a maximum in two opposite points of its orbit and a minimum 90° distance from the maxima. Furthermore, the extremes of the sun's velocity have nothing at all to do with the solstices and equinoxes, which depend only on the inclination of the ecliptic toward the equator; but it is

<sup>6</sup> Cf. F. X. Kugler, *Babylonische Mondrechnung* (Freiburg, 1900), pp. 83 ff. and O. Neugebauer, *Untersuchungen zur antiken Astronomie*, III, pp. 206 ff. (*Quellen u. Studien zur Gesch. d. Mathem.*, B, III [1938]).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Iamblichus, *In Nicomachi arithm. introd.*, ed. Pistelli, p. 118, 23 f.

<sup>8</sup> 1028 F = p. 202, 4, ed. Bernardakis.

interesting to notice that here the problem of the inequality of the sun's movement is mentioned, which is the basis for the inequality of the seasons as we have mentioned above. The following remark about the intervals of 30 days is also not quite correct because instead of 30 days one should rather speak about 30 degrees travel of the sun. The final paragraph is the really interesting part, although it too contains an error. The increase of the length of the days from winter solstice to equinox is said to be  $\frac{\Delta}{6}$ ,  $\frac{\Delta}{8}$ ,  $\frac{\Delta}{12}$ , respectively, if  $\Delta = M - m$  ( $M$  = longest,  $m$  = shortest day). The error here lies in taking  $\Delta$  instead of  $\frac{1}{2}\Delta$ , i. e., instead of the difference between the longest day and equinox.<sup>9</sup> But correcting this carelessness, we obtain a theorem which is well known in Greek time-reckoning, explicitly formulated in Cleomedes, *De motu circulari orbium caelestium*, I, 6.<sup>10</sup> This associates Plutarch, or rather, his source, with a known geographical doctrine, represented not only by Cleomedes but also by Gerbert, Martianus Capella, and *Pap. Michigan*, III, 149, a doctrine which can finally be traced back to Babylonian astronomical tablets of the first, second, and third centuries B. C.<sup>11</sup> Plutarch is now the earliest representative of the appearance of this theory in Greek literature.

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<sup>9</sup> This is the inverse error to the first mentioned: the extremes of the sun's velocity were assumed to be only 90° distance instead of 180°; now the increase  $\Delta$  is taken for diametrically opposite points of the sun's orbit instead of points 90° apart.

<sup>10</sup> Ziegler, p. 50. Cf. Neugebauer, "Cleomedes and the Meridian of Lysimachia," *A. J. P.*, LXII (1941), pp. 344 ff.

<sup>11</sup> The details of these relations are discussed in Neugebauer, "On some astronomical Michigan Papyri and related problems of ancient Geography and Astronomy," *Trans. Am. Philos. Soc.*, XXXII (1942). The Babylonian theory referred to is the so-called "system B" in the terminology of the quoted paper.



# TWO NOTES ON PINDAR, *ISTHMIAN* I AND VII.

*Isthmian* I, 67 f.

εἰ δέ τις ἔνδον νέμει πλού-  
τον κρυφαῖον,  
ἄλλοισι δ' ἐμπίπτων γελᾷ, ψυχὰν Ἀτῖδα τελέων οὐ  
φράζεται δόξας ἀνευθεν.

All agree that Pindar aims this at the detractors of Herodotus, who ignobly hoard their wealth and deride him for spending his upon athletic sports. But ἄλλοισι δ' ἐμπίπτων γελᾷ has caused trouble. Some explain ἐμπίπτων as "attacking" or even "oppressing," which is most improbable without supporting words, and in presence of γελᾷ. Others translate by "meeting"; but the sense thus gained is very flat, and the verb seems to be used nowhere else of falling in with people, only with things. Some have emended to ἐμπαίζων, (ἄλλοις δ') ἐνιλλώπτων, and ἐν πόνοις. Rather we should take ἄλλοισι as governed by γελᾷ<sup>1</sup> and with ἐμπίπτων understand πλούτῳ from πλούτων in the preceding verse: the miser *defosso incubat auro*. An excellent sense thus emerges: "he hoards his wealth secreted at home and laughs at others while he embraces it."<sup>2</sup>

*Isthmian* VII, 31 ff.

The μάτρως ὁμώνυμος of Strepsiadas is said to have died

μαχατὰν  
αἰνέων Μελέαγρον, αἰνέων δὲ καὶ Ἑκτορα  
Ἀμφιάραόν τε,

where Amphiaraus is entirely out of place.<sup>1</sup> The feeble pallia-

<sup>1</sup> The bare dative with γελᾷ is frequent enough when one laughs at things; e. g. Sophocles, *Ajax* 957, Euripides, *Tro.* 406, Aristophanes, *Clouds* 560. For persons, the regular construction is e. g. ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡδὺ γέλασσαν (*Iliad*, II, 270). I can find but one parallel to the Pindaric phrase as I understand it: Philemon, frag. xiv ab (Meineke), ὅταν ποτ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἡ τύχη γελᾷ.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Horace, *Sat.*, I, 1, 66 f.

<sup>1</sup> Fennell writes: "The allusion to Amphiaraos is . . . not open to

tives quoted in note 1 will not satisfy those who consider: (i) that the scholiast's paraphrase<sup>2</sup> mentions Meleager and Hector, but conspicuously omits Amphiaraus; (ii) that he did not die in defence of his country—which is clearly the point; (iii) that he was not merely an invader, but an invader of Thebes, the very town which Strepsiadas defended; (iv) that he did not die at all. Emendation is inevitable. But Bergk's ἀν' Ἀμφιάρειον ("near the shrine of Amphiaraus") not only destroys the metre<sup>3</sup>—as to which, however, Bergk had his own view; it gives a very poor sense,<sup>4</sup> damaging, indeed, the noble simplicity of the passage. Bury's ἀμφ' Ἀμφιάρειον adds to this failure a monstrous cacophony, which is the last fault one would have expected from a scholar whose taste in poetry was remarkably fine and alert. Hartung's ἀμφὶ πατρίᾳ γὰρ is better, but not attractive, for the idea has been stated in the preceding πρὸ φίλας πάτρας (v. 27). Rather we should read ἀντιφερίζων τε, "and rivalling"<sup>5</sup>: the participle would reinforce αἰνέων and would find strong support in the paraphrase of the scholiast, ἐν ἐπαίνῳ τιθέμενος Μελέαγρόν τε καὶ Ἑκτορα καὶ τὰς τούτων ζηλῶν ἀρετάς.

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serious objection . . . If Strepsiadas fell near Amphiaras' shrine, that would quite account for the mention of the hero." But (to say nothing else) why αἰνέων? Christ is reduced to the feeble remark: "suspiciari licet Strepsiadem quoque vatem fuisse ideoque Amphiarum vatem magno in honore habuisse." Wilamowitz (*Pindaros*, p. 412) suggests that, since Amphiaraus lives on as a hero and knows that his son Alcmaeon will conquer, "der eine Name genügt, Gedanken und Hoffnungen zu wecken, die anzusprechen sich nicht schickte." Coppola (*Introd. a Pindaro*, p. 202), quoting *Pyth.* VIII, 39 ff., offers the same hopelessly far-fetched idea. Farnell (I, p. 280) does hardly better, being able only to remark that Amphiaraus was a righteous man, and "had in fact become endeared to the Thebans, his spirit now being part of the Theban land." But we cannot assume that his presence as a ἥρωας made him a favourite figure of Theban history.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted below.

<sup>3</sup> As I see it, and as it is given by Christ, Schroeder, and Puech.

<sup>4</sup> "Putida haec diligentia geographica esset in poeta res, quae ad animum commovendum nihil afferant, suo iure neglegente" (Christ).

<sup>5</sup> The verb is found in *Pyth.* IX, 50.

## THE SHIPWRECKED SLAVER.

The two villains of Plautus' *Rudens*, Labrax the greedy pander and his disreputable accomplice Charmides, do not appear until line 485. Then they come up the cliff, still dripping and shivering from their shipwreck. The scene begins and ends with ordinary dramatic conversation: they curse their luck and each other, they lament their losses, and they fit the end of their conversation neatly into the plot by remarking that things would not be so bad if the girls had not been drowned. (The girls have of course escaped; and thirty seconds later Sceparnio enters, loudly asking the audience what has come over the two girls who are weeping in the temple.)

The middle of the scene, however, has nothing to do with the plot. It is a series of disjointed jokes, usually just two lines long. Both Labrax and Charmides step quite out of character when they exchange remarks like:

535 LA. Suppose I joined a circus, as an ogre!

CH. Why?

LA. Why, because my teeth keep clashing loudly!

At the beginning and end of the scene, Labrax is much too miserable to offer jokes for Charmides' amusement, and, even if he were not, Charmides is much too miserable to ask him to explain them. Both the matter and the form of this particular joke are Roman anyhow, not Greek—the ogre (*Manducus*) was the clown who walked in processions wearing a big head with movable jaws. The other jokes in this section too are fairly obviously Roman. Fraenkel<sup>1</sup> describes the whole passage (516-539) as a "coarse expansion" of the original, made by Plautus himself. If it is cut out, he says, the scene will run straight on from 515 to 540.

That is probably true. But we must not be led by this to imagine that a poet so versatile as Plautus was content merely to translate the rest of the scene phrase by phrase from his Greek original and to add nothing of his own until he came to a place where twenty-five lines of "gagging" could be inserted. For instance, the first speech of Labrax opens with a gentle joke

<sup>1</sup> *Plautinisches im Plautus*, p. 112.

about the dangers of associating with Neptune (485-8), and goes on to a stronger one, which no one now understands because the myth is lost (489-490):

How smart of you, Liberty, to refuse  
ever to go to sea with Hercules!

(This is a double-edged joke. In the first place, the comparison between the miserable human castaway and the wise if somewhat abstract deity is funny; and, secondly, it is ridiculous to hear the slave-dealer praising Liberty.)

A little later there is another joke which has always seemed rather pointless. Labrax suddenly says:

510 LA. Oh dear, I feel so bad. Please hold my head!

CH. I really wish you'd spew out all your lungs.

Evidently, Labrax is sick on the stage, suddenly and very briefly. In the very next line, however, he has recovered, and is, like Shylock, lamenting his ducats and his daughters:

512 LA. Palaestra, Ampelisca, where are you now?

Now, what is the point of line 510? Line 511 accepts the fact that Labrax is being sick and makes a little cruel fun of the fact. But line 510 looks as though it were meant to be funnier than it is.

In the first place, Plautus and his audiences (and doubtless his originals) did not think it was funny to see people being sick on the stage. Aristophanes is full of gross jokes about such acts—they are described, or actually performed, in elaborate detail. But throughout Plautus and the fragments of Roman comedy there is not one other scene in which a character is actually seen performing one of the coarser physical functions. There are in fact only nine or ten indirect references to vomiting in the plays;<sup>2</sup> and they are mostly brief scurrilous threats, like *Cas.* 732:

potin a me abeas  
nisi me uis  
uomere hodie?

The nearest thing to the incident in the *Rudens* is *Pseudolus* 952:

<sup>2</sup> *Amph.* 329, *Curc.* 74 and 688, *Merc.* 389 and 575, *Most.* 652. Mimes, of course, are different: cf. Pomponius, frag. 130 (Ribbeck).

Ps.                               credo, animo malest  
                               aedibus.  
 SIM.                    quid iam?  
 Ps.                               quia edepol ipsum lenonem euomunt.

Still, although that is not a drawing-room joke, it is not a physical act.

Second, it is not even very appropriate for Labrax to be suddenly seasick, and as suddenly to recover, in the middle of a conversation. He has been out of the water for about twenty minutes—long enough to climb up the cliff and speak the first lines of the scene. If he were seriously sick from the effects of the wreck (as Sosia says he is from the voyage in *Amph.* 329), more would be made of it; both Labrax and Charmides make a great deal of the dampness and chills which afflict them, from 523 to 536.

Therefore there may be something more in the joke than meets the eye. Let us look at the lines before it. Charmides tops off a rather random exchange of well-earned abuse by an allusion to the dinner at which (497, 501) he became the guest-friend of Labrax:

508 CH.   scelestiorem cenam cenaui tuam  
                               quam quae Thyestae quondam aut posita est Tereo.  
 LA.   perii, animo male fit. contine quaeso caput.

Now, the feast of Thyestes (like the feast of Tereus), at which he ate the corpses of his own children, was the climax of the saga. Both banquets were often described by poets and portrayed by tragedians. The scene is always conceived in the same way: Thyestes (or Tereus) dines in state, encouraged by his treacherous host. Immediately after the feast, he is told that he has eaten his own children's flesh. At once he leaps up, and either vomits it out or tries to do so. The poets describe this act with varying degrees of realism, according as they are grandly truthful like Aeschylus, or subtly sophisticated like Seneca. Here are the most notable descriptions of it.

κάπειτ' ἐπιγνὼς ἔργον οὐ κατὰισιον  
 ὤμωξεν, ἀμπίπτει δ' ἀπὸ σφαγῆν ἑρῶν.

Aeschylus, *Agam.* 1598

quis hic tumultus uiscera exagitat mea?...  
 uoluuntur intus uiscera, et clusum nefas  
 sine exitu luctatur et quaerit fugam.

Seneca, *Thy.* 999, 1041-2

et modo, si posset, reserato pectore diras  
egerere inde dapes immersaque uiscera gestit.

Ovid, *Met.*, VI, 663 (of Tereus)

Ovid and Seneca, of course, could not say anything so drastic as Aeschylus' ἀπὸ σφαγῆν ἐρῶν, and they have converted it into the victim's wish to cut himself open: Seneca in a peculiarly disgusting epigram says "ferro liberis detur uia." But it is perfectly clear what the original dénouement was. Neither Thyestes nor Tereus committed suicide; they could not calmly continue with the process of digestion: they must therefore have behaved as Aeschylus says.

Parodies of tragedy are of course extremely frequent in Plautus.<sup>3</sup> They are mainly verbal reminiscences.<sup>4</sup> But sometimes they are allusions to the plot and stage effects of a recently produced tragedy: as in this very play (line 86), where Sceparnio explains to the audience how violent was the storm which knocked the tiles off his master's roof (and caused the shipwreck), by saying

non uentus fuit, uerum Alcumena Euripidi.

I suggest that the rather flat line 510, with the imitation vomiting which accompanied it, was a parodic allusion to the feast of Thyestes or Tereus. As soon as Labrax hears the monstrous banquet mentioned, he vomits—as the unhappy father had done in the tragedy. Of course the tragic poet would not show anything like this on the stage; but he would have it described by a messenger; while for Plautus' audience the joke of seeing what the tragedian had only described would justify its coarseness.

It is unfortunately impossible to tell what tragedy Plautus was parodying in this passage. Livius Andronicus wrote a *Tereus*, which must have been produced before his death ca. 204. Ennius' *Thyestes* appeared in 169 (Cicero, *Brut.* 78), which is too late for Plautus to have parodied it here.<sup>5</sup> There is no surviving

<sup>3</sup> Kiessling thought the parodies were all in Plautus' originals: *Analecta Plautina*, I, p. 14; II, p. ix. Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*, p. 132. Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus*, pp. 67 f., 88 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Bacch.* 933 and 1053, *Cas.* 621, *Pseud.* 703, *Rud.* 523, *Stich.* 365, and *Truc.* 931 are some of the more notable examples, with, of course, the prologue to the *Poenulus*. See Ribbeck, *Quaestiones Scaenicae*, p. 352.

<sup>5</sup> Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.*, p. 202, suggests that its climax was the entry of Thyestes after the feast, fragments II and VIII.

fragment of Roman tragedy describing this scene. But both Plautus and his audiences knew the legends (that of Tereus is alluded to once again in the *Rudens*, at 604), and it can only have been from Roman tragedies that they knew them. Even as explained, the joke is not very good; but it is rather better than it has hitherto been thought to be.

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CORRECTION TO THE NOTE ON MENANDER'S  
*EPITREPONTES*, VOL. LXII, pp. 355 f.

A friend has called my attention to the fact, which he illustrates with many examples,<sup>1</sup> that use of the phrase *πρὸς θεῶν* is strictly confined to imperative and interrogative clauses<sup>2</sup> and that it is never placed at the end of a sentence of any length. It follows that the punctuation which I had suggested for line 725 cannot stand and that a new sentence must begin with *Πρὸς θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων*. So far, then, the editors are right.

I see no reason, however, to follow my correspondent all the way and revert to the distribution as printed by A. Körte or others. The bulk of my argumentation, I should think, remains unaffected, and I still feel that it was a mistake to assign to Onesimus most of the speech which the papyrus gives to Smicrines in lines 722-25. The sequence, then, must be as follows. Smicrines, after insisting on the righteousness of his intention (*Ἐγὼ γε—θαυμαστὸν οἶον*), is about to continue: "In the name of the gods and daemons,<sup>3</sup> let me go about my business" when Onesimus breaks in with his lecture on the gods' unconcern with human affairs.

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<sup>1</sup> He also quotes, as a parallel to the unusual combination *πρὸς θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων*, [Demosth.], 42, 17: *πρὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων*.

<sup>2</sup> A possible exception is Menander, *Perikeir.*, 401, apparently an exclamatory use. Actual exceptions seem to be rare: Euripides, *Hippol.*, 219 (Aristophanes, frag. 51 Kock); Anaxilas, frag. 27 Kock.

<sup>3</sup> The sequence *Ἡράκλεις—πρὸς θεῶν* is paralleled in Aristophanes, *Ach.*, 94 f. Cf. also *Equ.*, 1390.

## REVIEWS.

FÉLIX PEETERS. *Les Fastes d'Ovide, Histoire du Texte*. Brussels, Librairie Falk Fils, 1939. Pp. 514.

This is without any doubt the most exhaustive work of description ever dedicated to the text of Ovid's *Fasti*. M. Peeters' book contains lengthy chapters on the *Fasti* in antiquity, in the Middle Ages, in "modern times," and at the present moment. These are followed by chapters on the classification of the MSS, on the MS G (Bruxellensis 5369 = Gemblacensis); finally in the last chapter there is a very full "Histoire du Texte." There are also appendices, a formidable stemma printed map-like "hors-texte," and several ample indices and bibliographies.

The kernel, however, is without question Peeters' classification of the MSS the chief feature of which is his high estimate of the Brussels MS (G). In fact his work is in the main an elaborate description and panegyric of G to which most of the other material is appropriately introductory or complementary.

The re-discovery of G is certainly the greatest recent event in the higher criticism of the *Fasti*. Its readings were long known only in the form of Heinsius' citations of certain marginalia written in an Aldine text (itself unknown till its discovery at Leyden in 1910 by De Vries). Kugener's rediscovery of the *Fasti* in G (long known for its Ausonius in another and later hand) and Alton's<sup>1</sup> certain identification of it with the source of the Aldine marginalia (formerly known as the lost *Zulichemianus*) have added to A and U a third MS of capital importance for the text. The question now at issue is the real value of G in relation to A, U, and the rest.<sup>2</sup>

Peeters does not hesitate to attribute prime importance to G. Rejecting former defenses of the primacy of A and the vagrant eclecticism of Lenz and Landi, he declares roundly: "L'étude de la tradition indirecte nous a forcé à une conclusion assez brutale et presque inattendue: G et ses cognats remontent, sans intermédiaires interpolateurs, à une tradition antique excellente, chrétienne probablement, qui nous donne, du texte proprement ovidien, un fidèle reflet en maints passages capitaux. Les omissions, les déplacements opposent, non seulement G à AU et aux autres représentants importants de la tradition, mais détruisent la notion de 'bon manuscrit' qui s'attachait jusqu'ici à A. Le groupe A, U, D se voit dissocié; des groupes, comme BC, s'en détachent partiellement; U, parfois D, se rattachent à G dont les parents forment autour de lui comme une nouvelle famille, très étroitement unie."<sup>3</sup> He thus throws entirely overboard any attempt to establish a single archetype; he rather assumes two main archetypes established in antiquity,—one Ovid's own copy as revised at Tomis and possibly edited by Hyginus and Macer, and the other a vulgate derived from private copies going back to the poet's

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Alton, "The *Zulichemianus*, *Mazarinianus* and other MSS of the *Fasti* of Ovid," *Hermathena*, XX (1926), pp. 101 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The sigla here used are those of the last Teubner text (ed. F. W. Lenz — Levy [1932]).

<sup>3</sup> Peeters, p. 311.



pre-exilic days. Both of these sources were then, according to Peeters, subjected to a reiterated process of conflation starting in antiquity and continuing through the Middle Ages. The stemma thus established is therefore almost indescribably complex,—the only relatively pure and isolated tradition being that represented by the MSS G M I h, etc. of which G is by far the best. The net result of Peeters' work is in effect to make G the successor of A in the contest for priority in *Fasti* MSS.

But is this a necessary conclusion? Must the discovery of G cast such a shade on A and U? And is the only alternative to "Lachmanian rigidity" the great and almost impenetrable complexity of Peeters' stemma?

This is obviously not the place to discuss the matter adequately but it is perhaps worth while to test the validity of Peeters' deductions in a crucial instance, e.g. his refutation of Alton's theory of the relation of A and G. Alton has tentatively proposed a partial stemma in which both A and G come from an archetype  $\alpha$  with a hypothetical MS  $\zeta$  as intermediary between  $\alpha$  and G. A is thus, according to Alton, the younger brother of  $\zeta$ , the parent of G. Peeters rejects this explanation mainly because (1) G alone has the lines IV, 136-7 in the first hand, (2) G omits IV, 331-332 while A omits IV, 330, 332, 333; (3) G is quite distinct from the "famille U" by not having VI, 271-276; (4) A U omit II, 203-4; and (5) A and G go back to different archetypes with different numbers of lines per page. Let us take the first point which is also reasonably analogous to the other instances cited.

The lines in question are:

- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| 135 | aurea marmoreo redimicula demite collo,     |
| 136 | demite divitias: tota lavanda dea est.      |
| 137 | aurea siccato redimicula reddite collo:     |
| 138 | Nunc alii flores, nunc nova danda rosa est. |

A U omit 136-137 (U adds at foot of page in later hand); G has in the order 138, 137, 136 with lines 136, 137 crossed out.

In interpreting these lines, according to Peeters, Alton's stemma "nous oblige à supposer, dans le seul G, le fait de l'insertion et du déplacement des vers, ce qui est impossible, ou bien dans  $\zeta$  dont on ne voit pas où il aurait puisé."<sup>4</sup> This is certainly logic with a vengeance! The omission of ll. 136-7 is of course easily explained i. e. by the similarity of ll. 135 and 137. The omission affected G's exemplar as well as A's, as is shown by the omission in A and the confusion in G. The circumstances are accounted for, therefore, if we assume an error (with marginal or interlinear corrections) in  $\alpha$  that affected the scribes of both  $\zeta$  and A, although in slightly different ways. In general the fact that one MS omits a verse does not necessarily prove its total independence of another that does not. It merely proves that one scribe was in one instance lazier than another either in straight copying or in overlooking a marginal correction. Here the presence of error in both A and G tends strongly to support Alton's hypothesis of a common archetype. This is also true of

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 309.

instance (2) where both ζ and A reproduce slightly differently (as is natural) the original error of *a*.<sup>5</sup>

It is, however, not only on the basis of the omission of lines that Peeters argues for the independence of G and the non-existence of a common archetype; his principal reason is that G shows traces of good readings elsewhere only revealed by the indirect tradition, i. e. by Priscian, Lactantius, Servius, etc. But does this necessarily indicate a tradition quite independent of the archetype of A, U, and the rest? A positive answer to this question ignores the strong probability of early texts with variants in the margin.<sup>6</sup> Papyrological evidence has pretty clearly indicated that what were once assumed to be mediaeval variants in our texts are in many cases of ancient origin. This consideration, however, hardly warrants the assumption of several independent MS traditions unless there seems to be very clear evidence that the ancient variants were not assembled in some ancient or early mediaeval "variorum edition." When there is elsewhere evidence for a common archetype—as is the case with the *Fasti*—the supposition of a "variorum edition" becomes the most probable available hypothesis.

Peeters of course makes an attempt to dispose of all the evidence used by scholars such as Krueger, Peter, Landi, Lenz, and Alton to prove the existence of this common archetype. But here again his reasoning is extremely difficult to follow. "Ces cas allégués," he says,<sup>7</sup> "se réduisent à néant par des considérations paléographiques ou par la possibilité d'expliquer, d'une manière différente, mais au moins aussi satisfaisante, l'origine de l'erreur commune." Thus he explains the capital common error of A U D G, etc. in III, 430 (*Vtiovis* for *Veiovis*) as "*Majuskelkorruptel* tres ancienne et commune à toute la tradition."<sup>8</sup> But this is in fact a tacit admission of the existence of an archetype (even if majuscule), unless Peeters believes the error *Vtiovis* existed independently in the two MS traditions that go back to Ovid's own time! As for Peeters' refutation of Alton's reasoning for a common minuscule archetype of G and A on the basis of the *duro-vestro* reading (IV, 692) we can only say that it is difficult for us to understand.

Briefly stated, in the line (IV, 692) *rus breve cum duro parca colona viro*, MG read *vestro* for *duro* and A omits the *cum*. Alton supposes that in G's and A's minuscule archetype the scribe first omitted and then added *cum* (abbreviated *c̄*) above the line, and that

<sup>5</sup> Points 3, 4, and 5 cannot be discussed here. I have already indicated something of the way in which 3 and 4 might be interpreted; such variations in no way disprove a common origin. As for 5, the "different archetypes" in question may well be intermediary MSS such as must be assumed in any stemma.

<sup>6</sup> Peeters (p. 395) attempts to refute this thesis by trying to show that few of the so-called "variants" can be real or ancient. But he hardly makes his case. After a list of some of the most striking "variants" of this sort he merely says: "les cas sont douteux et d'autres explications se présentent." It is important to remember that—in any stemma—A and G must be widely separated. It is also important to avoid confusion of "Ovidian variants" with the variants of a supposed variorum archetype. They have nothing in common.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 396.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 312.

therefore A overlooked it and G supposed it to be a correction of the *d* in *duro*, hence writing *cum vestro* (*c̄ vro*—the bar over *c* being prolonged to extend over the *v* of *vro*). This neatly explains both the omission of *cum* in A and the reading of G.

To this clear reasoning Peeters responds as follows: "Sans insister sur l'in vraisemblance de *uro* lu: *vestro* [sic!] et d'un *duro* compréhensible corrigé en *cum vestro*, nous proposons une autre explication tout aussi simple et plus logique: le *duro* écrit avec un *d* oncial aurait été pris pour *curo* (*cum vestro*). Dans ce cas la barre du *d* pouvait parfaitement être interprétée comme s'étendant sur *uro* (*vestro*), puisque sur la même ligne."<sup>9</sup> But this much more unlikely supposition (the arbitrary importation of an uncial *d*) fails entirely to explain the omission of *cum* in A! These instances may suffice to illustrate Peeters' reduction of the archetype theory to "néant par des considérations paléographiques."

Be that as it may, Peeters has at least assembled such an array of excellent and defensible G readings that no student of the text of the *Fasti* can hereafter ignore them. Until indeed we have the definitive edition of Alton based on his herculean actual and projected examination of most of the existing MSS we can at least attempt to reconstruct a tenable working stemma for the relationship of A, G, and U with due attention to D C B (M and Y can help us supply deficiencies in G and U). Though such a stemma can hardly be as "G-centric" as Peeters' in effect is, we can at least accept certain of his conclusions in regard to the relative positions of G D U. A is written in a ninth century Carolingian script, U in early eleventh Beneventan, G in early eleventh century minuscule which shows traces of a South Italian exemplar.<sup>10</sup> Peeters would explain the affinities of A and U as due to conflation and "tripartition"<sup>11</sup> rather than direct descent from a common origin. More probable in my opinion is the hypothesis of a common insular<sup>12</sup> archetype with French (A) and Italian descendants, the latter being the ancestor of D U G.<sup>13</sup> It is therefore important at this stage of the business to emphasize once again that A and U both have great value and that G's agreements with the indirect tradition do not necessarily mean too much. The importance of U is brought out by the famous VI, 271-276 passage, which—whether spurious or not—can be no recent interpolation and hence is good evidence for the independent value of U. In my opinion the passage is quite genuine.

Such criticism will not, I hope, lead anyone to underestimate the importance of Peeters' book. Besides his full account of G and its

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 314.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 261, n. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Peeters assumes that the two different sources ( $\Phi$  and  $\Psi$ ), after some preliminary conflation, ultimately become three sources ( $\Gamma$ ,  $\Delta$ ,  $H$ ),  $\Gamma$  and  $H$  coming from  $\Phi$  and  $\Psi$  respectively but  $\Delta$  being the result of the convergence of both  $\Phi$  and  $\Psi$ .

<sup>12</sup> G certainly shows abundant insular traits. A more careful study of the other MSS is, however, desirable before the hypothesis of a common insular origin is adopted. Possibly the archetype was Italian. Photographs of A U G and D are shown in Frazer, *Fasti* (1929), Vol. V, Plates 1-4.

<sup>13</sup> This does not agree with Peeters' stemma as it abandons the ideas of a double archetype and of later "tripartition." See note 11 *supra*.

relation to the stemma, he gives us, as I have indicated, a valuable history of the origin and influence of the poem. This is up to date the fullest and ablest discussion of this subject.

Peeters' treatment of Ovid himself is full and well documented. I cannot agree with his comparative estimates of the literary value of *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*. The *Metamorphoses* seems to me the self-confessed *chef d'oeuvre* of Ovid with a real unity despite its superficial formlessness, as I have tried to prove elsewhere.<sup>14</sup> Certainly many classical scholars would say that Ovid abandoned the elegiac meter and style at least partly because he had a more serious purpose than the limits of that meter and style allowed.<sup>15</sup> Heinze has developed an impressive argument for this thesis—and in that very work which Peeters quotes in proof of the opposite conclusion.<sup>16</sup> This again seems to be a case of somewhat overrating the thing about which one is writing—the values of both *Fasti* and the Brussels MS are relative.

The discussion of Ovid in the middle ages is very useful although based primarily on secondary materials. In contrast, the careful description of the scholia in the Brussels MS throws new light on the subject and is a real addition to Alton's former work on it.<sup>17</sup> Peeters now distinguishes two types of scholia: one in a majuscule or Merovingian minuscule of a size approximately similar to that of the text proper; the other in a definitely smaller minuscule hand. The former seems to go back to an ancient commentator; the latter is mediaeval, and very probably the work of Sigebert of Gembloux, whence of course the MS originated. We would hazard the guess that these earlier scholia (marginal annotations, titles, fabulae, etymologies, etc., partially based on Festus) are very probably the remains of that old edition which was the basis of our supposed archetype with variants. Precisely the same thing can be said of scholia embalmed in the so-called Lactantian *Argumenta* in the MSS of the *Metamorphoses*.<sup>18</sup>

The "Histoire du Texte" chapter contains a good discussion of "Ovidian" variants; Peeters' skepticism on this subject seems well advised.<sup>19</sup> His discussion of the missing six books (VII-XII), the sources of the poem, and many other points is full, lucid, and convincing. His estimate of his predecessors is shrewd and kindly. If Lenz and Landi failed to escape a confused eclecticism, if Frazer

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *T. A. P. A.*, LXIX (1938), pp. 188 f.

<sup>15</sup> Hence I would disagree with Peeters by dating the bulk of the *Fasti* definitely *before* that of the *Metamorphoses*.

<sup>16</sup> Peeters, p. 16, n. 3. Peeters here claims that Heinze (*Ovids elegische Erzählung*) "marque nettement la supériorité des *Fastes* sur les *Metamorphoses*." I would say that Heinze does, if anything, the opposite. Cf. his statement (p. 71): "Ovid mit seiner lebhafteren Phantasie, seiner Freude an der Bewegung und den Farben des bunten Lebens ist viel reicher als Virgil an sinnlichen Eindrücken und hat viel mehr den Trieb, sich selbst und dem Hörer sichtbare Bilder vor Augen zu führen. In seiner elegischen Erzählung tritt das freilich ganz zurück; aber in den *Metamorphosen* schwelgt er in der Erfindung und Ausmalung solcher Bilder."

<sup>17</sup> *Hermathena*, XX (1926), pp. 119 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. my article "The *Argumenta* of the so-called Lactantius," *H. S. C. P.*, XLVII (1936), pp. 131 f.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. note 6 *supra*.

unfortunately was unable to profit by Alton's identification of G and Z—there is at least no excuse for such things now. Nor does Peeters fail to pay his debt to Alton, even if he perhaps fails to appreciate the worth of Alton's work at all points. That is why we can all rejoice in the prospect of a new *Budé Fasti* edited by Peeters himself. And may his text be better than his stemma!

BROOKS OTIS.

HOBART COLLEGE.

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H. W. PARKE. *A History of the Delphic Oracle*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1939. Pp. viii + 457; 8 plates.

Professor Parke deserves our thanks for having written the first complete history of the Delphic Oracle from earliest times down to the fourth century A. D. It was a tremendous task to gather and sift all the literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence upon this famous shrine. Outside of Athens, what other place in Greece can offer as much material to the historian as Delphi? And Professor Parke, with some trifling exceptions, has introduced into his book all the evidence that is relevant to the oracle.

He divides his book into three parts. The first considers the origin and procedure of the oracle and the sources of the oracle's history; the second, which is more than half the entire book, presents the history of the oracle from the colonization period to the fourth century A. D. in half-narrative, half-scholarly form; the third considers the relation of the oracle to the mythology, religion, ethics, and private life of the Greeks.

It is to be expected that no two "Delphians" would treat so vast and important a subject in the same way or arrive at the same conclusions about all problems. Much of what I shall have to say of Professor Parke's book, therefore, will be a statement of my own differences in matters where a third "Delphian" might very well agree with Professor Parke.

The chapter on the origin of the oracle can hardly be criticized for shedding no new light upon the darkness in which the subject lies; that Ge held the site before Apollo is all that is certainly known. But Professor Parke provides us with an interesting discussion of the several traditions and of the place of Ge, Poseidon, Dionysus, and the Sibyl at Delphi.

The same thing can be said of the chapter on the procedure of the oracle. It contains nothing new, but the discussion of the evidence is interesting and complete. Professor Parke is certainly right in adopting the view that there was no chasm beneath Apollo's adytum nor any subterranean vapor that issued from a cleft in the rock but that there was a chamber below the floor of the adytum into which the Pythia could have descended. The discussion of fraud in the operation of the oracle is unsatisfactory. It is a difficult question, of course; but Professor Parke seems to pit conscious fraud against sincerity coupled with self-deceit and believes that there

was very little of the former. He has not considered unconscious fraud, an intent to deceive that the deceiver hides even from himself beneath an exterior of rationalization and sincerity. The only question then is whether the oracle was fraudulent or genuine; i.e., genuine in the sense of actually possessing occult knowledge of events distant in time or space. It is my conviction that the priests and Pythia possessed no occult knowledge at any time. The whole question is a fascinating one; a study of the pious fraud in the Mediterranean world, ancient and modern, is greatly needed.

After discussing the origin of the oracle, Professor Parke plunges at once into the period of colonization. He has almost nothing to say of the oracle in the Greek middle ages. Granted that the evidence is scanty, there is more to say than Professor Parke has said. Later in the book (p. 319) he fails to see the real meaning of the oracle that was given to Agamemnon at the beginning of the Trojan war (*Od.*, VIII, 73-82). At least he fails to make it clear that the quarrel foretold in the oracle was the great quarrel of the *Iliad* between Agamemnon and Achilles, and that Agamemnon was mistaken in supposing that the oracle was fulfilled in the quarrel between Achilles and Odysseus.

My chief difference with Professor Parke arises over his judgments on the genuineness or spuriousness of oracles reported in Greek and Latin literature. Though he considers an exact ambiholy spurious (p. 43), he is inclined to be lenient and allow as genuine or partly genuine a great number of dubious responses. He says (p. 42) in his discussion of the sources of the oracle's history that he accepts many responses that have hitherto been doubted as post-eventum prophecies; at least, that the quoted response bears some relation to the original response given before the event. In consequence he accepts as genuine many responses quoted by Diodorus Siculus, Pausanias, Plutarch, Aelian, and Athenaeus, most of which, in my opinion, cannot possibly be accepted as historical. Particularly unfortunate, I feel, is his acceptance of the oracles quoted by Eusebius from Porphyry's *De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda* (pp. 381-383, 420). These long-winded oracles are certainly spurious; it has been thought that many were the product of Alexander of Abonuteichos; see E. H. Gifford's edition of Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* (Oxford, University Press, 1903), IV, pp. 141 ff., and the citations given there. The reasons that Professor Parke gives for accepting many oracles are far from cogent. Let us consider a few instances.

P. 73. Professor Parke considers the second oracle to Croton (Diodorus Siculus, VIII, 17) genuine on the ground that the list of place-names contained in it are an improbable invention for a forger. But is it probable that a response given before the founding of Croton would show such great familiarity with place-names in and around Croton? And is it not likely that a forger would introduce place-names in order to gain credence for his invention?

P. 75. Again, I am not impressed by Professor Parke's argument that one version (Athenaeus, XII, 520A) of the oracle on the fall of Sybaris is genuine. He argues that the prophecy (that

the Sybarites' prosperity would end when they honored a mortal above a god) deals in generalities and is not like the oracle of Herodotus, I, 55, in being only intelligible in terms of its fulfilment. Here and elsewhere Professor Parke believes that Delphi shot in the dark, putting forth a sufficiently general statement that could be interpreted in the light of later events. But is it not obvious that this prophecy is written with the story of the Sybarite and his slave in mind? Is the prophecy really so unspecific as Professor Parke says? Moreover he fails to see that the profanation of Hera's altar is the kernel of all versions of the Sybaris story (see Aelian, *V. H.*, III, 43; Plutarch, *Mor.* 557C). Clearly these stories have something to do with the cult of Hera at Sybaris. We have here a cult-myth into which the Delphic oracle is brought in a conventional way. See Professor Parke's own remarks on the use made by myth-makers of the Delphic oracle as the best-known source of oracles (p. 299).

In the majority of instances, however, Professor Parke does not find the colonization oracles genuine (p. 86). He also rejects the oracles on Sparta's Messenian war and the Croesus-oracles of Herodotus. But if he sees that these are the stuff that legends are made of, why does he accept the Tegean oracles given to Sparta (pp. 110-112)? Are they not plain cases of responses that are intelligible only in terms of their fulfilment?

Pp. 184 f. I am not sure that we have in the "wooden walls" oracle to Athens (Herodotus, VII, 141) an undoubtedly original utterance of Delphi, as Professor Parke supposes. It appears to me to be written with full knowledge of the Themistoclean walls and the victory at Salamis. The only question is how a forged oracle would be accepted as genuine in perhaps less than one generation after the event. But this was possible, I believe, under the conditions of the time.

P. 201. Certainly the oracle on the foundation of Thurii was written with full knowledge that at Thurii there was a spring called *Medimnos*. It is impossible to suppose that Delphi had spoken words in reference to the scantiness of water in southern Italy, only to have its words given a more specific interpretation. The source is Diodorus Siculus (XII, 10, 5).

Pp. 220 f. The oracle on the death of Lysander is another case of the same sort: there was a river near Haliartus called *Hoplites*. It seems clear on the face of it that Lysander's death by the *Hoplites* suggested a clever story of an oracle that had warned him against a hoplite. Yet Professor Parke says that "the obscurity of the wording seems too great for the forger."

P. 389. As to the question that Glaucus Epicydes' son put to the oracle (Herodotus, VI, 86), whether he might forswear himself for gain, can Professor Parke really believe that anyone in Greece could have seriously asked such a question at an oracular shrine? Was this not a story invented to illustrate the terrible consequences of breaking one's oath? See p. 399 on cautionary tales.

P. 406. The Telesicles oracle is not likely to be genuine. Professor Parke accepts it in spite of the fact that it contains the motive

of the "first to be met." But this motive is not to be found in any certainly genuine oracular response. Moreover the oracle is quoted by Eusebius, all of whose oracles are highly dubious.

P. 419. The silence of Cicero in his own works about the oracle that the Pythia is supposed to have given him as a young man is conclusive. Cicero's character being what it was, we can hardly suppose that he never thought of mentioning it except perhaps in the lost *De Gloria*.

My rejection of these oracles that Professor Parke accepts is based upon a comparison of the certainly genuine oracles, those found in inscriptions and contemporary historians, with those that are certainly fictitious, the oracles that are set in the dim legendary past. Only in this way can criteria be established whereby to decide the genuineness of all other records. Many oracles that Professor Parke accepts are exactly like the legendary oracles and not at all like the certainly genuine group. The latter, in fact, show the oracle's business to have been largely a cut-and-dried affair. There were no clever ambiguities, no revelations of the future in difficult language, no motives of the "first to be met" and "this will happen when such and such happens." No matter what the question, the oracle prescribed the foundation of a cult to states, the making of certain sacrifices to individuals; or it merely ratified plans already decided upon. The sort of business that Socrates in the *Republic* would leave to the Delphic oracle was actually the sort of business that it usually handled. Professor Parke recognizes that the oracle's responses "on questions of religion and cult were among the most important of its activities" (p. 325). But, like Plutarch, he supposes that in the heyday of the oracle it pronounced on momentous questions of state in revelatory terms, that its administration possessed an almost uncanny knowledge of the affairs of the entire Mediterranean area. But though Delphi once had great influence on the city-states, it was not through cleverly phrased responses. Its actual effect on politics was somewhat more devious than that.

On the cautionary Daphnitas story, Professor Parke says that Strabo's allusion to a breastplate in his version (XIV, 647C) is left unexplained (p. 400). But it is likely that the breastplate of Strabo's version replaces the horse of the other version (see Cicero, *De Fat.*, 3).

On the reply to the Emperor Hadrian, when he asked the oracle about Homer's birthplace, Professor Parke says that the oracle's motive in making an answer utterly inconsistent with the Ios legend is obscure (p. 404). But it is probable that Delphi was gratifying Hadrian by accepting a pet theory of his own on the "Homeric question" of that time.

I am not so sure as Professor Parke that Delphi was conspicuously impartial on constitutional questions (p. 431). While it was often opportunistic, and courteous to tyrants, whose purpose was the settlement of class-conflict through dictatorship, it appears to me to have always leaned heavily to the conservative and oligarchic side. Its pro-Persian policy, its favoring of Sparta against Athens, the Thessalian predominance in the Amphictyony, all point towards an



oligarchic bias. We find that it was the oligarchic states and the oligarchic factions in democratic states that had most respect for the oracle. It is another fault of this book that it makes no more than a brief mention of Delphi's relation to the class-conflicts of the Greek city-states. Yet this is rather like writing a history of the Spanish civil war without discussing the land question.

But in spite of shortcomings this is a good book. It is full of sound judgments on the numerous problems that the massive evidence presents. We have here a detailed account of the Delphic oracle throughout antiquity, and we can see how much the history of the oracle was the history of Greece. We learn from it something of what the Delphic oracle meant to an ancient Greek, how it affected every phase of his life.

In conclusion I wish to call attention to the fine plates in the book and to the very useful bibliography and *Index Locorum*.

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WILFRED L. KNOX. *St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles*. Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, The Macmillan Company, 1939. Pp. xi + 261. \$4.00.

Canon Knox here faces a problem fundamental for the study of Paul and in fact of the whole development of Christianity. How did the eschatological gospel of the Kingdom pass into the theological gospel of the Church? How did he who was "sent" become a cosmic figure, "by whom all things were made"? The greatest crisis which Christianity has ever surmounted was the failure of the Kingdom to appear in visible form—probably above all its failure to appear in the tragic days of the Jewish uprising, the siege and capture of Jerusalem, and the destruction of the Temple: could anything look more like Mark 13? Yet the theology with which this crisis was surmounted was already developed, by Paul, through the application to Jesus of concepts of a divine hypostasis already familiar to Hellenistic Judaism.

The realization of this is not new, but Canon Knox has developed it with a wealth of learning and suggestiveness. Much of what he says is questionable, not a little is forced, and in fact impossible, and I can understand the adverse tone of some reviews.<sup>1</sup> Yet if you will read this book closely, looking up quotations and checking their interpretation (not their accuracy, which is high), you can hardly fail to derive considerable profit.

<sup>1</sup> B. S. Easton, *Anglican Theological Review*, XXI (1939), pp. 210 f.; H. J. Cadbury, *Church History*, VIII (1939), pp. 373 f. For more favorable comment, cf. R. P. Casey, *J. Bibl. Lit.*, LIX (1940), pp. 71 ff.; H. E. W. Turner, *J. R. S.*, XXIX (1939), pp. 252 ff.; M. S. Enslin, *Journal of Bible and Religion*, VIII (1940), pp. 59 f.; L. Cerfaux, *Rev. hist. ecol.*, XXXV (1939), pp. 779 f.

The first chapter, "The Failure of Eschatology," starts with Paul's speech at Athens, and Knox does in fact regard this rebuff as a crucial point in the Apostle's life and as responsible for his change of teaching (or should we say of emphasis?). This I cannot accept. First, while Norden's suggestion that the speech was based on a work of Apollonius of Tyana has been rightly abandoned by its author, his demonstration that the altar "to the Unknown God" did not exist and that the speech is full of Hellenistic commonplaces<sup>2</sup> remains unshaken. Paul may have spoken like this; but the fact that Acts says so does not increase the probability that he *did* so speak.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, it was not his only failure. Thirdly, on any probable chronology, all his Epistles are subsequent to it; and the real development, as C. H. Dodd showed, begins in 2 Corinthians, and includes an increased emphasis on the idea of reconciliation, a hope of ultimate universal salvation, and a more tolerant appraisal of the values of ordinary life.<sup>4</sup> In all this there is something of intense personal experience, something of a return to earlier ideas. Paul had grown up in a Judaism which though Hellenistic made far less use than did Philo of Greek philosophy. He could not speak of man as "a creature blended from mortal and immortal nature" (*Praem. Poen.*, 13) or glorify his essential gentleness (*ibid.*, 92); he does not develop the mystery metaphor; he once uses the argument that God is to be known through his works (Rom. 1, 19 ff.), but he shows no trace of the mystical joy in the contemplation of the noblest of those works, the starry heaven, no reverence for nature (*Praem.*, 34: if he ever had this, eschatology killed it), and on the other side no dichotomy of God's functions into mercy and power. Yet he valued the concept of conscience, he liked lists of virtues and of vices; he could accept the antithesis of soul and body<sup>5</sup> and the concept of the soul's liberation from the body; in Rom. 13, 1 he recognizes established civil authority as of God; and his doctrine of grace has affinities to Philo, whose doctrine of inspiration was no less serious for that it was different.<sup>6</sup>

Knox's chapter surveys pagan as well as Jewish ideas of an impending cosmic catastrophe and urges that in the pagan world such ideas were far less prominent now than a century before. His material here and elsewhere is in need of revision<sup>7</sup> but interesting.

<sup>2</sup> Knox, p. 1, n. 2 gives useful parallels from Hellenistic Judaism.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. now M. Dibelius, *Paulus auf dem Areopag (Sitzungsb. Heidelberg, 1938/9, ii)*, especially pp. 52 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Bull. J. Ryl. Library*, XVIII (1934), pp. 3 ff. (cf. XVII, pp. 3 ff.); cf. Nock, *St. Paul*, pp. 202 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Nock, *St. Paul*, pp. 166 f.

<sup>6</sup> On Paul and the Hellenistic synagogue, cf. A. Meyer, *Das Rätsel des Jakobusbriefes*, pp. 99 ff., 296, who notes the practice of allegorizing without bothering to state what is allegorized.

<sup>7</sup> Thus for instance a conviction of the power of fate came not from political chaos (p. 10) but from physical theory, and in spite of what is said on this page there is little evidence for the idea of immortality in the Hellenistic age proper, before the time of Posidonius and Cicero. To speak of the Cabiri as offering grace to achieve moral dignity (p. 11) is to press the evidence too far and to introduce a Christian accent, as Knox does in his remarks about "conformity" and (pp. ix f.) "a philosophic basis which would justify him in continuing to practise

There follows a chapter on "The Synagogue and the Gentiles" which reconstructs rather freely on evidence mainly drawn from Philo. Here again the careful reader will find useful observations, e. g. pp. 33 ff. on the agreement in reading cosmic symbolism into the high priest's robe<sup>8</sup> (though to say, p. 34, "the figure of the High Priest has replaced Zeus" goes beyond the evidence and the true explanation seems to me to lie in the desire to make of worship an act shared with the celestial powers and with the universe; *unde cum angelis et archangelis*<sup>9</sup>); pp. 36 f. on the divergence between two versions of a Jewish reworking of an Orphic text; pp. 56 ff. on the possible relation of various glorifications of Sophia to the Hellenistic "Praises of Isis."

Knox's theory involves an early but not impossible date for the "Praises,"<sup>10</sup> Yet, while there may have been a psychological need for something like a goddess, the supposition that young Jews had to be protected against the attraction of Isis is venturesome and the comparison (p. 59, n. 1; p. 78, n. 3) of Wisdom 8, 4 with Isis as initiating initiations is incorrect, since *μύστις* means "initiate" i. e. "in the secret of" and not "initiating." Further Ecclesiasticus 24, 13 ff. seems Semitic poetry, like the Odes of Solomon: I cannot see that Wisdom is represented, p. 60 "in the character of the great

the form of religion which attracted him or which he had inherited" (cf. p. 50; p. 53, n. 1): this Entweder-Oder did not exist. P. 14, "the Orphic-Stoic remodelling of the Olympian religion" shows the same lack of feeling for paganism. P. 16, "caring for the gods less than" should be "less or more dear to the gods than" (we need not delete *ἢ μάλλον*). Pp. 16-7, the trumpet-blast heard in 88 B. C. might of course be related to Jewish practices and ideas, but it was a natural way in which attention might be thought to have been attracted; in any case, for Etruscan prophecies cf. K. Latte, *Philol.*, LXXXVII (1932), pp. 268 ff. (on Vegoia and on supposedly Etruscan developments parallel to the creation of Hermetic literature and of the Chaldaic oracles). P. 28, n. 4, "dedication of a synagogue to Cleopatra and Ptolemy XV as the great gods who give ear (*ἐπήκοοι*)" is in part an error of Oesterley-Robinson, *History of Israel*, II, p. 411, quoted by Knox. In fact the proseucha was dedicated *on behalf* of Cleopatra and Ptolemy "to the great God who hears prayer": a Hellenized but not unorthodox phrase (*O. G. I.*, 742; note that neither here nor *ibid.*, 96, 726 are the rulers given their cult-epithets). On p. 38 the note supplies no evidence for Orpheus as calling men to wakefulness. In spite of p. 46, n. 5, why should God's fear of rebellion reflect Iranian dualism? On p. 50, Seneca, *N. Q.*, II, 43, 1 cannot come from Posidonius (cf. 54: *nunc ad opinionem Posidonii reuertor*).

I often disagree with Knox on the interpretation of Philo, but there we are *in re lubrica*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. F. H. Colson's *Philo*, VI, p. 609. For the interrelations of Palestinian and Alexandrian Judaism note that a Midrashic text protests against the use of the Logos doctrine (L. Finkelstein, *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XXXI [1938], p. 296, n. 13).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Philo, *Virt.*, 72-3 (which offers notable parallels to *Corp. Herm.*, XIII) and the prayers in *Const. Ap.*, identified by W. Bousset, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1915, as Jewish and discussed by E. R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light*, pp. 306 ff.

<sup>10</sup> The story in Diodorus Sic., I, 27, 6 of the mostly obliterated letters of the supposed Egyptian original is probably a fiction: cf. p. 222, n. 34. The basic text may be decidedly earlier than the verse-form preserved on Andros; cf. O. Weinreich, *D. Lit.-Z.*, 1930, cols. 2028 f.

nature-goddess." In any case, Prov. 8, 22 ff. was a regular Rabbinic proof-text for the identity of Torah and Wisdom.<sup>11</sup> The concept was natural: the work of Ezra turned on the understanding of *Torah*, "revelation" not "law"; if you understood the Pentateuch, you would understand everything: that understanding was the virtue at the heart of things—just as to Brahmanic priests the Vedic sacrifice was the act at the heart of things. Yet there is a marked resemblance in form between the praises of Sophia and the praises of Isis, and stylistic borrowing is possible. Aristides in his hymn *To Sdrapis* speaks of that god as "adorning the soul with wisdom, which alone shows to men their kinship with the gods, by which we differ from other mortal creatures, which gave to men the concept of the gods themselves and invented temples and solemn rites and all honors and further taught and established laws and the state and all inventions and all arts, and gave the power of distinguishing truth and falsehood, and in a word made life";<sup>12</sup> so even in the context of devotion to the Egyptian gods such language could be applied to the abstract notion of wisdom.

We may note also p. 57, n. 3 and p. 195, n. 2, on the association of the Jewish Pentecost with the giving of the Law; p. 69, on the personification of Sophia in Plato, *Philebus* 30 C and the absence of reference in later writers to it (the treatise was perhaps too difficult: the *Timaeus* and epitomes were enough for simple faith).

In all this there is much that will provoke dissent: e.g. p. 88, "drawn apparently from a source which had greater scruples than Philo naturally displays in the matter of verbosity" with the note "Philo can hardly be responsible for *στοχαστέον γὰρ τοῦ μὴ μακρηγορεῖν*." To be sure, the phrase hardly represents Philo's practice: but compare *Spec. Leg.*, IV, 78, *Praem.*, 52 (*Virt.*, 16), passages which have nothing else in common; we do not always know our failings and Philo can say this as well as *Spec. Leg.*, IV, 204, "we must not fail to use the same point to bring out more than one moral if possible"—which suggests a fundamental characteristic of cultivated Hellenistic Judaism. It was concerned with edification and not with theology in the stricter sense of the word. What we think of as Philo's theology is the sum total of those ideas and metaphors (mainly, no doubt, unoriginal) which he most frequently used in interpreting revelation (cf. Knox, p. x). In spite of pp. 79 f., Wisdom 9, 15-16 has but a changed echo of *σῶμα-σῆμα*: what is desired is not deliverance "from the burden of the body which crushes down the soul" but knowledge in spite of the handicaps imposed by our physical condition. So Philo, like Posidonius, used the Platonic antithesis of soul and body, without any desire for supernatural deliverance from the body; you must, with the help of grace, pull yourself out of the mire; but there is no yearning to be free of the body; and in general, in spite of *Virt.*, 67, no positive anticipation of disembodied bliss: nothing like the pathos of 2 Cor. 4.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, III, p. 82, n. 32. H. St. J. Hart's observation (Knox, p. 60, n. 3) on the possible influence of Deut. 4, 6 is noteworthy.

<sup>12</sup> 45, 17, p. 357 Keil; I, pp. 88 f. Dindorf; cf. A. Höfler, *Der Sarraphismos des Ailios Aristides*, pp. 53 f.; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.*, 1 and 60; P. Oxy., 1380, 44 and 124.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Nock, *Gnomon*, XIII (1937), pp. 160, 165.

The second half of the book <sup>14</sup> is an exegesis of much of Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Colossians, and Ephesians; the title of the last chapter "The Ephesian Continuator" hits the nail on the head. This too needs to be read critically; but this you will certainly read with profit, above all on 2 Corinthians; Knox has thought through this very difficult document, with freshness, insight, and knowledge. Among the Notes at the end that on Greek writers and Persian religion, though interesting, is of less value than those on Jewish influences on magical literature and on the descent of the redeemer, which last deserves special praise; that on Paul and "Mysteries" presents the Old Testament and Rabbinic evidence in a useful way.<sup>15</sup> The indices are admirable.

The Pauline Epistles are in truth writings "in which are some things hard to be understood." Canon Knox has helped us to understand them better.

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CORA E. LUTZ (ed.). *Iohannis Scotti Annotationes in Marcianum*. Cambridge, Mass., The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1939. Pp. xxx + 244. \$3.50. (*Mediaeval Acad. of America Publ.*, No. 34.)

Martianus Capella's strange work *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae* was extremely popular during the Middle Ages as we know, and his exposition of the *Septem artes liberales* was one of the basic foundations for the tradition of the Trivium and Quadrivium. The extent to which he was studied is confirmed by three commentaries, all belonging to the ninth century and attributed respectively to Dunchad, to Johannes Scotus Eriugena, and to Remigius of Auxerre. Among them that of Johannes Scotus has a particular importance because of its author: his *De divisione naturae* is certainly the most distinguished work of occidental philosophical literature between Boethius and Anselm, and his translation of the works of Dionysius

<sup>14</sup> I discuss this part of the book in *J. Theol. S.*, XLI (1940), pp. 292-4. We may here note à propos of the rabbinical answer to Alexander the Great (p. 99, n. 6) that the text from which it comes is a variant on the traditional answer of the Brahmins to him (U. Wilcken, *Sitzungsb. Berlin*, 1923, p. 182, n. 3) and preserves the traditional number of ten questions and ten answers (W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 428 ff.); for a revised translation cf. L. Goldschmidt, *Der babylonische Talmud*, IX, pp. 665 f.

<sup>15</sup> Knox, p. 224, n. 1 makes Celsus *apud* Origen, *C. Cels.*, II, 31 speak of the Word as son of God; but, in spite of Knox, Celsus is clearly quoting the supposed Jewish opponent and therefore shows evidence of personal acquaintance with Hellenistic Jewish thought. This is a fact of some importance.—Can we take as genuine the supposed "Greek," i. e. pagan, proverb about Philo in Hieronymus, *De Vir. Illust.*, 11 and Suidas s. v. (cf. O. Crusius, *Plutarchi de proverbii Alexandrinorum libellus ineditus*, p. 26: ἡ Πλάτων φιλονίζει ἡ Φίλων πλατωνίζει)? Or is it simply an adaptation of Numenius *apud* Clement Alex., *Strom.*, I, 22, p. 93, 11 St. τί γάρ ἐστι Πλάτων ἡ Μωσῆς ἀττικίζων?

the Areopagite had a large influence upon later authors. His commentary on Martianus is preserved without the author's name in a Paris manuscript of the ninth century from Corbie (Paris. lat. 12960, ff. 47-115). The attribution to Scotus made by Hauréau and confirmed by Rand is based on solid arguments, since there are contemporary testimonials to his having commented upon Martianus and since some quotations from his commentary given in that of Remigius correspond literally to the text of the anonymous commentary. Some passages of Book IV have been published by Hauréau, and some from Books I-III by Manitius. Miss Lutz now presents the first complete edition of the text along with a philological introduction and some appendices. The work was begun as a doctoral dissertation at Yale University under Professor E. T. Silk.

The commentary consists of a large number of brief Scholia and of some more extensive notes. A large part is devoted to the explanation of glosses as well as to the grammatical, syntactical, and stylistic interpretation of the text. Also metrical and mythological questions occupy a comparatively large space. Much emphasis is given to the allegorical meaning of the myths (cf. the *leges allegorie*, p. 9, 15); but, when such a meaning cannot be found in a satisfactory way, the author speaks with contempt of the *vanissima poetarum deliramenta* (17, 34, etc.). He quotes quite extensively from the Latin classical and late ancient writers. But his knowledge has its limits, of course (Vulcanus e. g. is considered as a brother of Jupiter, 13, 2 ff.). Yet it is interesting to see how much of the classical inheritance was still alive in an author of the ninth century who certainly was one of the most erudite men of his time. His knowledge of Greek is remarkable in spite of incidental mistakes and a rather vague knowledge of classical Greek literature (*Pindarus quidam musicus*, 61, 22). He frequently indicates the textual variants found in different manuscripts of Martianus and thus reveals a marked philological sense of criticism (e. g. 190, 26).

Some of the larger notes are also interesting for their doctrinal content. His remarks on the planetary system and on geography are of interest for the history of science. In philosophy proper he gives much emphasis to the value of human reason (9, 25, etc.) and to the free will (10, 27 ff.). The theory of internal illumination is reminiscent of St. Augustine (13, 12 ff.), while the theory of the eternity of the world is asserted with some caution (10, 28 ff.). The transmigration of souls is rejected (21, 34 ff.), but there are some other reflections of the neo-platonic tradition, e. g. the concept of the world idea inherent in God (42, 35) or the double Venus (67, 3). But his direct knowledge of Plato is apparently limited to the part of the *Timaeus* translated by Chalcidius, and some of his assertions about Plato are quite erroneous (e. g. that he calls the world soul *Entelechia*, 10, 19). Among the notes referring to the seven special fields those on Dialectic are the most characteristic. There is an interesting definition of the *genus* (*genus est multarum formarum substantialis unitas*, 84, 10). *Essentia* is recognized as *generalissimum genus* (84, 11), *substantia* and *essentia* are clearly distinguished (86, 7 ff.). The liberal arts are inherent in the human soul by nature (86, 27 ff. and 87, 10 ff.; in this context we may also mention the thesis that the numbers exist first in the soul and are

there incorporeal, 147, 23 ff.). Scotus refers in this part explicitly to Porphyry's *Isagoge* and to Aristotle's *Categories* and *De interpretatione* (84, 1 ff.), thus indicating that the *Logica vetus* was already in the state of formation. His remarks on logic are also important for a history of philosophical terminology in Latin, which still remains to be written. (Curious enough is this note: Parmenides locus est ubi Parmenes philosophus philosophatus est et incia huius artis invenit, 82, 23 f.)

Miss Lutz gives an accurate transcription of the only manuscript traced so far, correcting only the obvious errors and following as a rule a rather conservative method. She even tends to preserve the original orthography, a procedure which seems to me somewhat exaggerated since the MS is not an autograph and since there apparently is no consistent orthography even within the same MS. The Lemmata are numbered in accordance with the last text edition of Martianus (ed. Dick), the quoted passages are carefully identified. Some proposals for a correction of individual passages will be given below.

The introduction gives full information about the bibliography and the problems connected with the text, and some remarks about the content, source, and style of the text, a description of the manuscript, and some indications of the method followed in editing the text. There are three appendices dealing with special questions: with the chronology of the text, with a quotation given from the *Peplus* of Theophrastus, and with the relation between Scotus' commentary and the earlier one attributed to Dunchad. An index concludes the handsome volume, which is certainly of interest both to students of classical antiquity and of mediaeval literature who will have an opportunity to discuss many detailed questions occurring in connection with it.

Corrections for the text.

- 8, 12, mariti sui [An]tifonis interempti ed., antifone cod: read a Tifone (Typhon was not the husband of Isis, but his murderer).
- 10, 7 f., read Non inrationabiliter quoque Pronoes idest Providentiae maior filiarum esse putatur Divinatio.
- 10, 33, videantur, read videatur.
- 11, 23, rationabiles, read rationabilis.
- 13, 18, inquirunt, read inquirant.
- 13, 25, hominum, read omnium.
- 13, 28, significat, read significatur.
- 14, 2, inquiri, malim elevat.
- 14, 4, The words quod autem sequitur belong to the following sentence.
- 25, 10, venisti, read venistis.
- 25, 32, Philologiam, read Philologia.
- 29, 13, suorum consiliorum, malim suo consilio.
- 29, 26, the addition que is superfluous.
- 29, 31, valens, malim valet.
- 35, 14 ff., The words quod autem sequitur belong to the following sentence.
- 44, 25, dicitur, read dicit.
- 47, 3, ad tertia, read a tertia.
- 47, 5, fatigatus, read fatigatum.
- 48, 11, instabilitas, read instabilitate.
- 65, 29, pro differentiam, read per differentiam (or pro differentia).
- 66, 13 f., Read Apotheosis mater Athanasiae interpretatur redeificatio, etc.
- 70, 15, totius, malim roris.

- 95, 1, read substantiam non essentiam; cf. 86, 7.  
 95, 7, conservanda, read consideranda; cf. 86, 13.  
 98, 13, illorum, read illam; cf. 87, 36.  
 108, 18, read Saturnus enim significat annum, Iovis quasi iuvans vitam.  
 111, 26, Quaeque nova facit, these words constitute a lemma.  
 114, 7 f., accedit, this word constitutes a lemma and goes with the following sentence.  
 116, 13, vitilis, read vitii.  
 120, 15, rem, this word must be cancelled.  
 120, 26, adversus quam intentionem, these words constitute a new lemma.  
 124, 16 f., per motionem, read permotionem.  
 126, 15, exasperamus, malim exaggeramus.  
 126, 27, saepe, malim scilicet.  
 127, 32, gestas . . . similes, read gesta . . . similis.  
 132, 1, more, malim moris et.  
 132, 9, luminis sit, read lumine fit.  
 132, 18, principio, read primo; cf. 159, 20.  
 133, 5, malim luminis et tenebrarum.  
 139, 30, non, read nam.  
 141, 28, dulcedinem, read dulcedine non.  
 146, 24, autem, read aurum.  
 147, 26, before geometria we have to add corporeus.  
 150, 15, et modum, read ad modum.  
 150, 29, qua ternario, read quaternario.  
 156, 5, corpulentia, read corpulentiae.  
 157, 13, habet, read habent.  
 162, 1, inferioris, read inferiores.  
 162, 29, qui, read quia.  
 163, 8, ratione, read rationem.  
 164, 19, et quasi monas, read est.  
 166, 1, vie ictus, read vi electus.  
 167, 5, Entellus is unobjectionable.  
 167, 20, iuvas, malim iuvat.  
 173, 2, aut, read autem.  
 180, 24, lunaria, read lunaris.  
 180, 32, Read longius enim a sole est luna quam terra.  
 186, 19, irrita, read irata.  
 191, 26, read id est sensus delectatio.  
 193, 4, qua si, read quas.  
 201, 18, quia, read qui.  
 212, 29, corporales, read incorporales.  
 216, 4 ff., read: temporum (habent enim bis terna) et in pedes (habent enim bis iambos et trocheos) resolvuntur, molossi.  
 218, 1, qui, read quia.  
 218, 3, semanticiis, read semanticus.  
 219, 29, unaque is unobjectionable.

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ERIC G. TURNER. Catalogue of Greek and Latin Papyri and Ostraca in the Possession of the University of Aberdeen. Aberdeen, University Press, 1929. Pp. xiv + 116; 5 plates. 8s. 6d. (*Aberdeen University Studies*, No. 116.)

The University of Aberdeen has recently presented to the University of Aberdeen a collection of papyri most of which came from the library of the



paai Nesus) in the Fayyûm. Attention was called to the collection first in 1907 by Mr. E. B. Winstedt, who published, though inadequately, two dozen of the literary texts.<sup>1</sup> Definitive arrangements for a full publication were made in 1918 when Mr. J. G. Tait undertook to draw up a catalogue of the material. Other duties forced him to relinquish this task unfinished, and in 1937 the present editor, a Lecturer in Classics at the University of Aberdeen, assumed the responsibility of editing the collection.

The papyri and ostraca included in this volume, one hundred and ninety-seven items in all, are arranged according to subject under the following headings: theological fragments, literary and near-literary texts, non-literary texts, documentary ostraca, and summary publications. Under the last rubric are comprehended nearly one hundred fragments, almost all of which are inconsequential. The reason for publishing these shreds is the hope, says Turner, that "custodians of other collections (notably in London, Berlin, or Vienna) may be able to recognize these scraps as parts of texts already known, to which they may be worth-while supplements."

The work of transcribing the original documents was done by Tait; Turner has elucidated their content by means of descriptive introductions, translations (in many instances), and notes on readings of unusual interest or difficulty. Classified indexes and five plates of facsimiles increase the utility of the volume.

One of the most fascinating papyri in this catalogue is number 72A, a fragment which the editor aptly calls "a palæographical puzzle." Assigned to the eighth century, it contains a list of names, not all of which are Greek. Nor are certain other words Greek, though they are written in Greek characters. In addition to Turner's remarks, the following may be added.

Two names in this fragment are found also on a very small papyrus in Preisigke's *Sammelbuch*, I, 4938. Moreover, in Wessely's *Studien zur . . . Papyruskunde*, X, 295 and XX, 264 further parallels occur. In each at least three names are duplicates of those in this papyrus, and in XX, 264 a similar use of dots can be observed, though here they stand at the beginning of the lines. In line 2 of the recto, Διμελ, which is presumably, as Turner says, the Arabic name *Djemil*, may be compared with the phonetically similar Τζαμούλ and its variants listed in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*. In line 6 of the recto, δαυηλ surely is a proper name and should be written accordingly. In line 4 of the verso, Χαήλ may be either (1) the second part of [Μ.]χαήλ, since it occurs at the beginning of the line, and the end of the preceding line has been lost (but this is not likely, for it is not clear that any other name in this fragment is thus divided); or (2) a Semitic name just as it stands (cf. II Esdras 10, 30, *var. lect.*). In the same line read Ἀνδ(ρέα) ἀδε[λφός], cf. Wessely's *Studien*, XX, 264<sup>r</sup>, line 4.

Several errors mar the otherwise favorable impression that Mr. Turner's work presents.

Page 2, lines 9 f. The restoration of a reading of the Latin frag-

<sup>1</sup> *Classical Quarterly*, I (1907), pp. 258 ff.

ment of St. John's Gospel is said by Turner to "offer an order of words found elsewhere in Sinaiticus and the Latin MSS. *b*, *e*, *l*." This is not so. The only manuscript that presents the restored order is the bilingual codex Bezae, D, in both the Greek and Latin.

Page 7, note to line 18. With regard to the Christian *terminus technicus* οἰκονομία, it would have been helpful to indicate that Ed. Schwartz collected all of the principal texts in early Christian literature which illustrate this word in his *Tatiani Oratio ad Graecos* (1888), pp. 86-91 (= *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, edd. Gebhardt and von Harnack, IV, 1).

Page 7, note to line 19. Not only can it be remarked merely that "the abbreviation  $\bar{\chi}\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  is noteworthy"; Ludwig Traube in the definitive work on the contraction of sacred names does not list any form that parallels this (*Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, II, *Nomina Sacra: Versuch eines Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung* [1907]).

Page 8, line 30. The Greek text of St. Luke 1, 54 is not quoted with strict accuracy according to the critical text of Tischendorf (ed. octava), Westcott and Hort, Souter, or Nestle.

Page 40, note to papyrus no. 40(g). Turner's statement of the date mentioned in *P. Fay*, 72 ("the twelfth year") is incorrect. It is "the sixth year"; nor does Preisigke's *Berichtigungsliste* alter it.

Page 63, papyrus no. 63. The editor's almost total reconstruction of lines 12-16 is not consistent with the date to which he assigns the papyrus, A. D. 101. Trajan was not given the title "Dacicus" until near the close of 102.

The following are minor corrections and suggestions.

Page 7, bottom. To the bibliography on the ostrakon bearing a hymn to the Virgin might very well be added Sophronios Eustratiades, *Ἡ Θεοτόκος ἐν τῇ Ὑμνογραφίᾳ* (Paris, 1930).

Page 17, line 15. For ἐγγενής read εὐγενής.

Page 55, last line. For "[line] 2" read "[line] 4."

Page 57, last line. For "[line] 12" read "[line] 13."

Page 59, line 2 from the bottom. For δίδοντας read διδόντος.

Page 96, last line. For "Deissman" read "Deissmann" and for "p. 156" read "facing p. 187."

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PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

Appiani Historia Romana, Vol. I, Prooemium, Iberica, Annabica, Libya, Illyrica, Syriaca, Mithridatica, Fragmenta, Index. Ediderunt P. VIERECK et G. ROOS. Leipzig, 1939. Pp. xxxiv + 584. Für das Ausland geheftet RM. 18.45; gebunden RM. 19.50. (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*.)

Thirty-four years after the second volume of his revision of L. Mendelssohn's 1879 text appeared, Paul Viereck, with the help of S.

Roos,<sup>1</sup> has now produced the first volume, a work so independent that the name of the former Teubner editor no longer appears on the title-page. The First World War was the delaying influence, and even now the book could not have appeared except for subventions from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and the Royal Academy of the Netherlands.

The preface follows Mendelssohn's general determination of the relation between the MSS of Appian, but with occasional corrections. No new codices for this volume have been used, while A (Mon. 374), which had hitherto occupied a very prominent place in the tradition ever since it was first used by David Hoeschel in 1599, and especially by Schweighäuser in 1785, who based his celebrated edition upon it, was long ago recognized by Viereck to be a copy of B (Ven. Marc. 387), with occasional corrections and marginal readings from unknown but inferior MSS, and hence is very seldom quoted. On the other hand a much larger number of MSS of the Byzantine Excerpts (in publishing which the junior editor is especially experienced) and of Suidas have been utilized from the newer critical editions of these sources, and this is an important fact for an author so much of whose text depends upon this secondary line of tradition from the first half of the tenth century. Whether it has been wise wholly to neglect certain other MSS of the so-called i-family, in Rome, Florence, and London, which Mendelssohn contemptuously rejected (*"sordes cumulare non nollem"*) after but a single glance (*"semel inspecti"*), in view of the fact that this general branch of the tradition not only contains better readings occasionally than O and C, but also alone has preserved the contents of a good many lacunae (Viereck—Roos, p. xv), I feel strongly inclined to doubt. There may turn out to be nothing really valuable here, but to refuse even to look carefully can hardly be justified. New collations, however, for this edition were prepared for B and V by Viereck, and for L by Roos.

The text of the present volume, like that of the second (1905), differs from Mendelssohn's markedly in allowing a considerable degree of variation in spellings, like *ἀεί* and *αἰεί*, *ἐς* and *εἰς*, *σήμερον* and *τήμερον*, and all that sort of thing, and this for what seem to be substantial reasons, that is, principally, because Appian's style is deliberately variegated, because many persons in his time were notoriously inconsistent, and finally because the MSS differ so greatly, not only from one another but also from themselves, that most of the time it is impossible to be certain what Appian himself may have written in the first place. There seems to be some evidence, also (pp. xxiv-xxv), of different practice in different books, and even in different sections of the same work, which suggests, what one might have expected anyway, that the tradition of the several divisions of his enormous work in twenty-four volumes might not have been quite uniform. In that case Viereck's conclusion regarding the precise relation of O to V, tested only by the evidence of the Libyca (p. xxi), and hence inferred to be the same for the

<sup>1</sup> The valuable index *nominum*, of forty-six pages (to both volumes), for the sake of convenience wisely cast in Latin forms, is the work of J. E. van Niejenhuis.

rest of the books, although a good working hypothesis for the present, is certainly not yet quite proved.

Similarly the present editors are clearly justified in not rewriting Appian, as Mendelssohn too often did, in order to make his tenses, moods, and forms agree with the usage of Attic prose in the fifth and fourth centuries, proposing *πλευσεῖσθαι* instead of *πλεῖν*, *ἀνηρημένον* instead of *ἀναιρούμενον*, *ἡπειλήκει* instead of *ἡπείλει*, and hundreds of things like that. The fact seems to be, if you can believe the best MSS at all, that Appian frequently used the imperfect for the aorist or pluperfect, and vice versa, as well as the present participle for the future, aorist, or even perfect, and was no fanatical Atticist either.

Admirable also are the usages, first introduced in the second volume long ago, of adding the date at the top of each page, and any change therefrom in the margin; of breaking up the text into sections averaging about five lines in length (something I have earnestly urged elsewhere), and adding an extremely brief, but always highly useful commentary, with cross-references, explanations, and citation of recent especially pertinent literature.

The printing is in the very highest degree accurate. Only the Greek part I find not intrinsically handsome, and certainly for me far more difficult to read rapidly than the wholly admirable and very widely used Porsonian type-face. If others feel the same way about it and so express themselves, possibly the publishers of this quite indispensable series might be induced to consider a modification. Any detail, no matter how slight, which distinctly interferes with facility in reading a text, as for example the type-faces formerly (or for that matter, even yet) employed in *Mnemosyne*, or in the Budé series of Greek texts (to say nothing of such a misfortune as Macmillan used for a while in the 'nineties, or the one that has been inflicted upon the Berlin Academy for the *Klassikertexte* and the Greek inscriptions), is an unnecessary obstacle to scholarship, and therefore out of place in scientific publications.

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Collectanea Schrijnen. Verspreide Opstellen van Dr. JOS. SCHRIJ-  
NEN. Nijmegen and Utrecht, Dekker & Van de Vegt N. V.,  
1939. Pp. xx + 496.

Josephus Schrijnen, who died in 1938, at the age of seventy-seven years, was not only Bishop of Roermond, but also Professor of Greek and Latin Philology and General Linguistics at the University of Nijmegen, distinguished in the fields of general and Indo-European linguistics, Greek and Latin etymology and semantics, Church Latin and the history of Early Christianity, and folklore. In his preface he wrote of his book, *Introduction to the Study of Indo-European Linguistics*, published in W. F. de Vries' *Studia* series, "In the opinion of one of my best students in linguistic science, 'the most helpful treatise as such' . . . out of the sub-

ject." As his articles were widely scattered in the periodical and other literature, it was the happy idea of his associates to issue the most notable of these in a single volume, which is that here reviewed, edited by Dr. Christine Mohrmann, P. J. Meertens, Dr. Win. Roukens. The volume includes a Bibliography (pp. xiii-xx) of 193 items (really 194, since there is an unnumbered item between 180 and 181); 47 articles (pp. 1-461); 7 indexes (pp. 462-493); contents (pp. 494-496).

While Schrijnen published in Dutch, German, French, and Latin, far the greatest part of his writing was in Dutch; and the editors have felt it desirable, for the wider use of the volume, to translate many of the articles from Dutch into German or French, the actual status in the volume being 27 in German, 14 in French, 6 in Dutch. They were, in fact, mostly published in Dutch journals, though a not inconsiderable number of his writings appeared in German, Belgian, and French journals, and a few in those of Austria, Italy, and Poland.

A critical review of a series of articles which appeared in print from 1902 to 1938 would hardly be expected, the more so as there would have to be a review of each article; a few general remarks only are in place. In any case, the years that have passed since the first publication of these articles have at some points brought new evidence which would now probably cause Schrijnen to withdraw certain interpretations: e.g., Hittite throws light on the IE verb-endings, controverting the denial of verbal *r*-endings in the original speech (p. 56). Also, the qualified support of Oštir's theory of "Alarodian" languages (pp. 33-72) as the substratum for numerous phenomena in the IE languages of the Mediterranean region—the accent of energy and the genitive in *-i*, *inter alia*—seems to be *ignotum per ignotius* erklären; for the *Alarodioi* occupy just six lines in Pauly-Wissowa, and as a term for the pre-IE peoples of the region the name must be wilfully extended in meaning.

Schrijnen is one of the chief proponents of the theory that the variable initial *s*- before consonants in IE roots and words (e.g., Greek *réyos* *σρέyos*) is by origin a prefix, and he extends this theory to include certain other variable initials (pp. 106-127, 144-151); but these others appear so infrequently that they can be disregarded. Although numerous scholars now adhere to the theory of prefixal *s*-, I am still of the opinion that the variable *s*- was a product of wrong division of words in sentence sandhi, for final *-s* was the commonest of consonantal finals in the primitive IE, and therefore lent itself most easily to the processes of accretion or disappearance in the initial position of the succeeding word. In some instances, and with other consonants, word contaminations may have played the main rôle.

Schrijnen's theory (pp. 139-143) that the *i* and *u* which may or may not be present after the initial consonant of a root is an "informative" seems to me even more dubious.

Schrijnen was much interested in the determination of the boundaries of linguistic isoglosses, and the application of them to the study of dialects (pp. 202-234); his studies apply particularly to ancient Italy, and must be thoughtfully considered by the scholar in that field.

Despite such strictures as I have made here, I am personally highly appreciative of the volume, which makes readily accessible these studies. Incidentally, the reference *Neophilologus*, VI, 90 ff. is on p. 193 attributed to 1921 and on p. xvii (in the Bibliography) to 1920: apparently the first number of the volume came out in 1920 and the subsequent issues in 1921, so that as a whole the volume is assigned to 1921, whence the contradiction.

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Diodorus of Sicily, Volume III (Books IV-VIII). With an English translation by C. H. OLDFATHER. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1939. Pp. v + 433. (*Loeb Classical Library*.)

This volume of the Loeb Diodorus contains the second half of Book IV (from chap. 59), Book V, and the fragments of Books VI, VII, and VIII. A miscellaneous collection of curious material thus emerges from the comparative obscurity of the Teubner text, including the remarkable geographical descriptions of Book V and some extremely heterodox mythology. Though the Greek of Diodorus is, as a rule, fairly easy to understand, his style is not without difficulty for a translator. An English rendering cannot fail to emphasize the faults of this style, with its ever-recurring banalities: the sentences beginning with "in general" or "speaking generally," the "notable cities" and "residences of costly construction," the "altogether fertile" plains "abounding in" this and that, the "trees of every variety presenting a pleasing sight," and the many other cloying superlatives. The present reviewer is reminded of a certain lady who never tired of explaining how her sons lived in "palatial homes" and had "every mortal thing you could want." The translator does his best to ring the changes with different English adjectives; but he quite rightly does not attempt to improve on the style of his original beyond a certain point.

There is no introduction to this volume; and the notes, both critical and explanatory, are reduced to a minimum. Oldfather follows the Teubner text of Vogel fairly closely, though he sometimes disagrees over the omission of words and phrases—as, for example, in IV, 74, 3; 77, 4; V, 21, 2; 31, 1; 33, 4. He notes and sometimes adopts the readings of Jacoby in the passages quoted in *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*—for example, in V, 38, 4; 39, 6; 45, 5; VIII, frag. 7; but no indication is given in what part of Jacoby's work these readings are to be found; the work is not cited by name until p. 402 is reached. For the fragments he follows the 1906 edition of the *Excerpta Constantini Porphyrogeniti*, which was not available to Vogel, but prints the fragments in the same order as they appear in the Teubner text. He is extremely sparing with new readings of his own; I have noted only three, in V, 47, 5; V, 56, 6, and VII, frag. 5. There are a few misprints in the Greek, not worth listing here, since they are not likely to mislead the reader.

The explanatory notes are fewer and briefer than many readers

could wish, but if the complete text is to be finished in twelve volumes, there is not much space available for commentary. Under these circumstances, it is perhaps not fair to complain that (to give one example) a note on the Eridanus is needed in V, 23. On the other hand, there seems no excuse for not giving a reference to Herodotus for the wooing of Agariste (VIII, frag. 19) and for failing to distinguish between Dionysius Scytobrachion and Dionysius the Cyclographer (VII, frag. 1).

The translation calls for a few criticisms in detail. The riddle of the sphinx becomes entirely unfair when it is rendered, "What is it that is *at the same time* a biped, a triped, and a quadruped" (IV, 64, 3). The point of the last sentence in V, 29 is lost because the initial negative in the Greek is ignored. In V, 22, 4 *πέζῃ* is not "on foot" but "overland" (cf. V, 38, 5). In V, 42, 5 *καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ οὗτοι* should be "and even they," not "and they of their own accord." In V, 17, 2 "extremely fond of wine" would be better than "exceedingly addicted to indulgence in wine"; and it is surely not true that the Gauls entered battle "with no more than a girdle about their loins" (V, 29, 2); *περιεξωσμένους* must mean "with their clothes girt about them." "Protuberances" would be more accurate than "large embossed figures" in V, 30, 2, "silvery" better than "grayish" (of infants' hair) in V, 32, 2, "devoid of comforts" better than "lacking in implements" in describing the life of the Ligurians in V, 39, 6. Sometimes the translator errs in an attempt to be literal in his rendering. "To the opposite Gaul" is not good English for *πρὸς τὴν κατ' ἀντικρὺν κειμένην Γαλατίαν* in V, 38, 5, and "a death of great vengeance" certainly does not describe the death of Sinis' victims in IV, 58, 3; it is not good English, even if *μετὰ μεγάλης τιμωρίας* is the correct Greek (which is doubtful). Furthermore, it is hard to see what end is served by writing Dioscori, Ganymedes, Pluton, Ide, and Cnosus, instead of Dioseuri, Ganymede, Pluto, Ida, and Cnossus.

There are some passages where the English is unnecessarily pompous and the abstract nouns are awkwardly piled up upon one another, but generally speaking (as Diodorus would say) this rendering is accurate and straightforward; its faults are in large measure faults of the original Greek and the translator cannot be blamed because Diodorus wrote in an undistinguished style; on the contrary, he deserves sympathy and gratitude for his patience and good workmanship.

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M. L. W. LAISTNER (ed.). *Bedae Venerabilis Expositio Actuum Apostolorum et Retractatio*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1939. Pp. xlv + 176. \$3.50. (*Mediaeval Acad. of America Publ.*, No. 35.)

Throughout the Middle Ages, as the worship of God was the essential activity of man, so Scriptural exegesis was the primary aim of scholarship. Mediaeval education, as nearly as we can learn, had for its main purpose the training of competent expositors, and certainly the most towering reputations during the ages of faith were

those built on interpretation of the Bible. Men thought first of the Doctors of the Latin church, and, after them, of Bede.

Thus Bede was ranked by his contemporaries, and thus he continued to be regarded for many centuries after his death. His Biblical commentaries were in universal demand while he lived, and scribes were still making copies of them as late as the fifteenth century. It is significant that his interpretation of the *Catholic Epistles*, for example, exists today in more than 150 manuscripts, whereas Hardy lists but 133 manuscripts of the *Ecclesiastical History*. The proportion is hardly accidental; rather it indicates where mediaeval scholarship laid the emphasis in valuing Bede's work.

In view of such facts we should expect the theological writings to have been widely studied in our own day, especially for the light they might throw on the methods of textual interpretation in the early Middle Ages and on the aims and content of mediaeval education. Yet, strangely, they have remained almost completely neglected, perhaps for the reason that anyone wishing to consult them has had to do so in the uncritical and often bewildering texts of Giles (*Venerabilis Bedae Opera Omnia*, Vols. 7-12 [London, 1843]) and the *Patrologia Latina* (Tom. XC-XCV). Bad editions can take the heart out of even the boldest literary explorer, whereas a clear and dependable text will encourage the weakest. Until now it has been a question of who would open a path.

An excellent beginning has been made in the volume at hand, a critical edition of Bede's *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum* and the later *Retractatio*, by M. L. W. Laistner, one of the most talented of contemporary mediaevalists and for years a devoted student of Bede. His choice of the commentaries on *Acts* was a happy one, since they not only provide an insight into Bede's expository method at two periods in his life, but also demonstrate his ability as a textual critic in his use of the Vulgate, Old Latin, and Greek versions to support his interpretation. These comments on *Acts* were among the most popular of Bede's works during the Middle Ages.

Laistner's text of the *Expositio* rests on a collation of fifteen manuscripts, most of them copied within a century of Bede's death; the two oldest belong to the end of the eighth century, the remainder to the ninth. In addition, there are descriptions of fifty-two others which Laistner examined and from which he took specimen readings. The text of the *Retractatio* is based on seven manuscripts, with a considerable collation of five more. Printed as an appendix is a critical text of the *Nomina Regionum atque Locorum de Actibus Apostolorum* so often appended to the *Expositio* in the manuscripts and probably written by Bede himself.

All three texts are supplied with full critical apparatus, arranged so as to offer the minimum of difficulty in checking the variants against the numbered lines of the page. Above the textual notes, and separated from them, are placed the citations of Bede's sources wherever he is indebted to earlier commentators. All in all, the mechanism of the text pages is as efficient and satisfying as it can well be made.

Between them are an introduction of thirty-four pages dealing with former editions of the two commentaries, their date or composition, the sources of the texts in which they are found, the glossary of geographical names, Bede's sources, and the system of orthography to be followed.



in the texts. Much of this material is valuable and interesting, especially the evidence for the dating of the two commentaries (the *Expositio* shortly after 709, the *Retractatio* between 725 and 731), the reasons for attributing the geographical glossary to Bede, and the relation between Bede's theories of spelling and the usage found in the manuscripts. Laistner's handling of evidence is careful and judicious, and one is inclined to side with him on all disputed points.

The volume closes with a series of indexes: *Scriptorum* (*Sacra Scriptura, Auctores, Codices Biblici*); *Nominum Rerumque Notabilium*; *Allegoricae Interpretationis*; *Graecitatis*. One is always grateful for such lists, especially in connection with materials of this kind, since the groupings facilitate analysis in many directions. There is a fascination, for instance, in checking through the roll of authors drawn upon by Bede, comparing his debt to Jerome with that to Augustine, observing his frequent use of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, and noting his acquaintance with such writers as Vegetius, Arator, and Cassius Felix. The other indexes are no less helpful.

Students of Bede and connoisseurs of good editing alike should welcome this volume. It marks a beginning in the adequate presentation of Bede's theological writings, and it sets a standard of scholarship against which future editors of Bede can measure their work. We hope that Professor Laistner will continue the task so well begun, and will provide us with further editions of the commentaries.

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CHARLES W. JONES. *Beda's Pseudepigrapha: Scientific Writings Falsely Attributed to Bede*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1939. Pp. xv + 154. \$3.

In this volume, described by the author as a prelude to an edition of Bede's computistical writings, Dr. Jones has sought to clear away the large body of spurious materials traditionally associated with Bede's name.

As a preliminary he sketches the history of the Bede canon both in the Middle Ages and in the printed editions of Sichardus (1529), Noviomagus (1537), Hervagius (1563), Giles (1843), and Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (1850). It becomes clear that Hervagius was the worst offender in adulterating the canon, and that Giles, though an inadequate editor, came closest to giving us what Bede actually wrote. The editors of the *Patrologia*, preferring to err on the side of inclusiveness, brought together everything previously ascribed to Bede, and hence presented a far greater bulk of materials than Giles. Because of its comprehensiveness, Dr. Jones uses the Migne collection as the basis for his examination.

The greater part of the book is devoted to a scrutiny, item by item, of the scientific writings attributed to Bede in Volumes XC and XCIV of the *Patrologia*. The author's judgment concerning the authenticity of these pieces rests not only on the examination of a great number of computistical manuscripts and their glosses but also on a thorough familiarity with the Bede tradition both in

the Middle Ages and since; in the opinion of this reviewer, his conclusions may be trusted. The volume closes with an index and description of manuscripts, an index of citations from the *Patrologia*, and a general index.

Obviously the book is more significant for what it promises than for anything definitive in itself. The information that an edition of Bede's computistical writings is in prospect comes very agreeably to those of us who have long regretted that Bede's scientific works were available only in unsatisfactory editions. A modern edition constructed with the care and skill so evident here will be eagerly awaited. Bede deserves it, and Dr. Jones is to be congratulated on his awareness of the fact and on his willingness to undertake the task.

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W. H. BUCKLER and W. M. CALDER. *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, VI. Monuments and Documents from Phrygia and Caria. Manchester University Press, 1939. Pp. xxii + 166; 73 plates.

This most recent volume of the *M. A. M. A.* deals mainly with inscriptions and monuments from the borders of Caria and Phrygia, from the towns of Laodicea, Colossae, Tripolis, Attouda, Heraclea Salbace, and Tabae. To these are added a very considerable number from Apamea, Aemonia, Diocele, Synnada, and the upper Tembris valley, together with a group of varied provenance now at Afyon Karahisar. The editors have gathered in a rich and varied harvest. There are 258 new inscriptions besides a considerable number of unscribed monuments, and the texts of many important published documents have been revised from the original stones. Many branches of ancient studies will profit from the new material, of which only a few examples can be given in the space of this review.<sup>1</sup>

From Laodicea come a revised text of the Hellenistic decree (no. 5), and mention of a guild of graziers, previously known only at Hierapolis (no. 11), and of a tribe named Ias (no. 18). Attouda yields further information on the family of the Carminii (nos. 74-5), and the first mention of games called Andrianteia (nos. 76, 82). The new texts from Heraclea far exceed the number previously known, and yield fresh evidence regarding the medical family of the Statilii (nos. 91, 97, 98, 105, 109, 110, 117, 118, 126, 129, 133; cf. no. 12), a decree in honor of a physician, Archelaus, "who made great use of the medical art for the benefit of the poor" (no. 114, II), another in honor of Antonius Zeno, a member of the famous Laodicean family (no. 104), the dedication of a library (no. 98), and a fragment, the first found at this place, of the preamble of Diocletian's Edict setting maximum prices (no. 102). The revision

<sup>1</sup> See the summaries and comment of L. Robert, *R. E. G.*, LII (1939), pp. 445 ff., nos. 4, 359, 361-2, 392-3, 396, 398, 400-3, 405, 407-13, 415, 419, 457.

of the well-known *Senatus Consultum de Tabenis* yields in line 10 the reading  $\delta\pi\omega[\varsigma$  instead of  $\pi\delta\lambda[\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  and effectively removes any evidence that neighboring towns were given to Tabae by Sulla (no. 162). From Apamea we should note the revision of the decree in honor of Cephisodorus (no. 173; cf. Robert's restorations, *R.E.G.*, LII [1939], p. 508), and of the Apamean fragments of the proconsular letter on the new calendar (nos. 174-5), a new instance of a *princeps peregrinorum* (no. 181), and the only use known in Asia Minor of the word  $\text{IX}\Theta\text{Y}\Sigma$  on a Christian tomb (no. 224). The Jewish inscriptions of Aemonia are especially numerous and interesting (esp. nos. 264, 325, 334, 335, 335a). Moreover, nos. 242 and 243 reveal the location here of the cult of Zeus Orkamaneites, 250 adds one to the short list of dedications to Britannicus, and 260 shows Sornatius, a Roman merchant, interested in the Phrygian slave market. From Synnada comes mention of a second benefactor who paved 2000 feet of the agora (no. 371), and of a tropheus (no. 375), as well as texts that settle the provenance of *J.R.S.*, II (1912), pp. 243 f., nos. 3 and 4 (nos. 380, 381). Many more inscriptions which I have left unmentioned name new local and imperial grandees, officials of the imperial service, a number of professions, and several villages, and one (no. 382) is a mixed Greek and Phrygian text.

The names of the editors are themselves a sufficient guarantee of the excellence of workmanship evident to all who study the texts and commentary in this volume. It maintains the high standard set by the previous volumes, has full and useful indices, and numerous and excellent plates. Especially welcome is the appendix giving a classified list of the other inscriptions found at the places discussed, which enables each student to complete a sort of corpus of his own. The only slip I have noticed occurs in the commentary to no. 177, where the date should be changed from 65/66-69 A. D. to 69/70-74/75 A. D. (cf. no. 191).

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ANTON VON PREMIERSTEIN. *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Giessener Universitätsbibliothek*, V: *Alexandrinische Geronten vor Kaiser Gaius*. Ein Neues Bruchstück der sogenannten Alexandrinischen Märtyrer-Akten (P. bibl. univ. Giss. 46). Giessen, Münchowsche Universitäts-Druckerei, 1939. Pp. iii + 71; 3 plates.

GRETE ROSENBERGER. VI: *Griechische Verwaltungsurkunden von Tebtynis aus dem Anfang des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (P. bibl. univ. Giss. 47-53). Giessen, privately printed, 1939. Pp. iv + 44.

Fascicle V contains the long-awaited<sup>1</sup> edition of the Giessen fragments (G) of the so-called Acts of the Pagan Martyrs. The MS,

<sup>1</sup> See, e. g., *The Cambridge Ancient History*, X (1934), p. 311, n. 1.

not quite completed by von Premerstein at the time of his death, was prepared for publication by Karl Kalbfleisch, who has added occasional comments and supplementary bibliographical indications.

Von Premerstein's name has been associated with the "Acts of the Pagan Martyrs" since 1923 when he published a study<sup>2</sup> of this body of literature which remains the standard work on the subject. In the present edition we find his customary keenness of perception, our admiration of which is in this case heightened when we contemplate the unprepossessing fragments which he has brilliantly reconstructed into a continuous text and from which he has drawn a series of important conclusions. At many points his reconstruction must remain highly conjectural, but his most important conclusions rest upon passages where the sense, at any rate, is beyond doubt.

As the title of the fascicle indicates, *G* is a portion of the minutes of a hearing of Alexandrian senators before Caligula. After a brief general introduction (pp. 12-14) and a discussion of details in the reconstruction of the text (pp. 14-32), von Premerstein sets forth first the information furnished by *G* on the matter before the Emperor (pp. 32-36). It used to be thought from *P. Oxy.*, 1089 (*O*), which tells something of the events preceding the hearing recorded in *G*, that what was involved was a dispute between the Greeks and the Jews of Alexandria, and that the *gerontes* mentioned in *O* were members of the Jewish Senate of that city. But *G* now informs us that, after the accession of Gaius, the Alexandrians on their own initiative elected a *Gerousia* of 173, that the leaders of a hostile Alexandrian faction journeyed to Rome and denounced the action to the Emperor, that a delegation of the newly-elected *gerontes* followed to plead their cause and were granted a hearing by the Emperor who treated them to a display of his "grim humor"<sup>3</sup> and ordered the illegal *Gerousia* dissolved. Thus the entire picture is changed by the new fragments. "Not Jewish *gerontes*, not quarrels and conflicts between Greeks and Jews, are involved in *O* [and *G*], but the controversy over the new Greek *Gerousia*, which had, to be sure, been decided upon by the majority of the citizen assembly, but on the other hand resulted in opposition by leading city politicians . . . and apparently in serious troubles (πόλεμος *G* III 31 ff.)" (p. 33).

Next (pp. 36-40) von Premerstein assembles all the data and drafts the chronology of the known events in the history of the Alexandrian embassies to Gaius in 37 and 38 A. D. Section V (pp. 40-42) is devoted to the claim made and reiterated by the *gerontes* that the Greeks of Alexandria have for 630 years been loyal to the rulers of Egypt (*G* II, 15-23). The number 630 is interesting, for it reveals a tradition, even if a deliberately propagandistic one, according to which there was a Greek settlement at Rhakotis already under the Saite pharaohs.

*G* tells us further that the illegal *Gerousia* was elected by the citizen body of 180,000. In a masterly exposition (pp. 42-57), von Premerstein musters the evidence on the size of the Alexandrian citizen body in Ptolemaic and Roman times, and demonstrates with

<sup>2</sup> *Philologus*, Supplement-Band XVI, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *The Cambridge Ancient History*, *ibid.*

great probability that the number was raised to 180,000 from only a fraction (perhaps one-quarter) thereof between *ca.* 5 B. C. and 37 A. D. In keeping with the practice initiated by Augustus of giving the Greeks as a people a status intermediate between provincials and Romans, the Alexandrian citizenship was extended—no doubt by reducing the census requirement—to include practically all the Greeks of the city. Von Premerstein also considers the details of the procedure of enrollment in the citizen body, and offers incidentally the convincing explanation that the "oath of former ephebes" in *P. Teb.*, 316 was sworn to record the eligibility of young men for whom there were no vacancies yet within the *numerus clausus*. Finally, he suggests that the illegal *Gerousia* had 173 members because that was the number of Greek *amphoda* in the city.

In the course of the hearing before Caligula it was discovered that the accuser of the Alexandrians was not a Greek and could not therefore legitimately appear as plaintiff. Section VIII (pp. 62-65), devoted to "The Accuser, His Crime and His Punishment," concludes that it cannot be determined whether *καῖναι*—the punishment decreed by Caligula—means death by burning or merely branding. A final section (pp. 65-71) is devoted to the "Literary Character and Historical Utility of G." The romantic element in these "Martyr Acts" is stressed, the anti-imperial purpose of these *Tendenzschriften*, compiled *ca.* 215 A. D. from various sources, probably in connection with the uprising against Caracalla, is recalled. Yet much remains that has the ring of historicity. Indeed, we can but agree with von Premerstein when he characterizes G as "the fragment richest in information in the whole group" (p. 13).

Miss Rosenberger's fascicle contains much more usual, much less exciting material—seven *Verwaltungsurkunden* dating from between 213 and 225 A. D. To the texts are added translations and full, even lavish, commentaries. Nos. 47 and 48, records of payments of weavers' tax and beer tax, respectively, attest for the first time the existence of collectors called *μισθωταὶ ἱερατικῶν ὀνῶν*, no doubt the same functionaries who in several second-century papyri are called *ἐπιτηρηταὶ ἱερατικῶν ὀνῶν*. Nos. 49-51 (221 and 222 A. D.) are concerned with monthly summaries of receipts and payments sent by the *sitologos* Aurelius Polion to the *strategos* Aurelius Sereniskos. These form a single group with *P. Teb.*, 339, the date of which they serve to correct to 220 A. D. An interesting sidelight on attempted adulteration of the *annona* appears in No. 53, in which the liturgic *παιδοφύλακες* of Tebtynis swear that they will "bring (the crops) to the usual threshing-floors, not release any in the field and not permit anyone to throw in any Nile reeds."

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- H. OELLACHER. Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer), Neue Serie, III. Folge: Griechische literarische Papyri, II, mit Autoren-, Namen-, Wort-, und Sachindex zu I und II von H. GERSTINGER und P. SANZ. Baden bei Wien, 1939. Pp. 108. RM. 9.

This second fascicle completes the publication of the non-Christian literary papyri (so far as they have been identified as such) contained in the former Erzherzog Rainer Collection. The first fascicle devoted to this literary material was published in 1932, and other literary fragments from the collection have appeared in various periodicals since that date (see pp. 4-6). This second part was ready for the press in 1935, but its publication was delayed by financial difficulties. We now have comprehensive indices to both fascicles. Professor Gerstinger announces, in his introductory remarks (dated April, 1938), that the next publication will be that of the Christian Greek papyri, to be edited by P. Sanz, and that this will be followed by the appearance of the Hebrew papyri and the Coptic literary texts. It is to be hoped that some means will be found to provide for these publications without too great delay, but the encouragement which Professor Gerstinger finds in the fact that "dank der befreienden Tat des Führers des deutschen Volkes die alte Ostmark nach langer leidvoller Trennung wieder heimkehren durfte ins grosse deutsche Vaterland" (p. 4) now seems rather pathetic.

Even very small fragments have been included in this publication, on the chance that they might be "matched up" with pieces in other collections and thus prove important. And Gerstinger feels, particularly on account of the antiquity of the papyrus texts, that "der Papyrologe . . . hat nicht zu werten und zu wägen, sondern alles, was ihm ein gütiges Geschick in die Hand legt, mit gleicher Liebe und Sorgfalt zu umfassen und aufzuarbeiten" (p. 3). But a number of larger and more important fragments are also found in the fascicle. Those of fairly large size which contain new material are: a fragment probably of Heraclides of Miletus, *De Verbis Anomalis* (XXXIII); a number of pieces of medical works (LVII-LVIII); parts of an oration of the *στεφανωτικός* type, addressed to an emperor (LXII), and school exercises containing gnomie selections from Menander (XXIV-XXV). Some of the most interesting of the smaller fragments of lost texts are: several pieces in the epic form, probably from "catalogue poetry" (V-IX); part of a tragic choral song, perhaps from Euripides (XVIII); a school exercise containing dialogue from New Comedy, possibly Menander (XXVI); and, perhaps the most interesting of all, a piece of the third century B. C. containing a small portion (unfortunately no line is complete) from the almost contemporary New Comedy (XXII).

The fragments of extant literature include, in addition to the usual bits of Homer, about twenty lines of Aratus, *Phaenomena*, with scholia (XVII), a generous portion of Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, II,

576-84 (XXXVI), part of Isocrates, *Philippus*, 40-42 (XL), and a bit of the treatise *Περὶ Τρόπων* assigned to Gregory of Corinth (XXXV; fourth century?). Delay in the identification of No. XL has produced a state of some confusion in the commentary; those interested in this fragment should first read the remark at the bottom of p. 67.

This review is hardly the place for a discussion of the problems of textual detail arising from these fragments, many of which are interesting. The work of editing has been carefully and efficiently done. Dr. Oellacher has given most complete descriptions of the fragments and has conservatively quoted the conjectures of various scholars about the nature of some of them merely as conjectures. The following minor adverse criticisms are included in the hope that they may be of some use to future editors of similar material. The present fascicle uses Roman numerals for the fragments, and begins again with I, not continuing the numeration of the first fascicle. The Roman numerals attached to the six photographs do not correspond with those used to identify the fragments which they depict. All this is rather inconvenient, and so is the apparent lack of arrangement of the pieces. The separation of fragments of extant literature from new material and the arrangement of the items in each category according to some principle, perhaps in approximate chronological order, seem obviously desirable.

As more and more editions of literary papyri appear in various publications, it becomes urgent that some comprehensive work of organization be done on these fragments. Oldfather's useful treatise<sup>1</sup> is now out of date, and any new work of similar character will soon suffer the same fate. Shall we have a *Corpus* with annual supplements, or will a continuing bibliography in the form of card indices suffice? American papyrologists have recently been discussing this subject; let us hope that these conversations will bear fruit, and that, in this country at least, there may continue to be a little time, and perhaps even a little money, for such projects.

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<sup>1</sup> C. H. Oldfather, *The Greek Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (Univ. of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, No. 9 [Madison, 1923]).

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